

THE
First and second *volumes of Chronicles*,
compriſing

1 The deſcription and hiſtorie of England,
2 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Ireland,
3 The deſcription and hiſtorie of Scotland:

First collected and publiſhed by Raphaell Holinſhed, William Harriſon, and others:

Now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of ſingular note and worthie memorie) to the yeare 1586. by Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell Gent. and others.

With conuenient tables at the end of theſe volumes.

Hiſtoriæ placeant noſtrates ac peregrinæ

To the Right Honorable, and his ſingular good *Lord and Maiſter, S. William Brooke Knight, Lord Warden of* the cinque Ports, and Baron of Cobham, all increaſe of the feare *and knowledge of God, firme obedience toward his Prince,* infallible loue to the common wealth, and commendable *renowme here in this world, and in the world to come* life euerlaſting.



HAuing had iuſt occaſion, Right Honorable, to remaine in London, during the time of Trinitie terme laſt paſſed, and being earneſtlie required of diuers my freends, to ſet downe ſome breefe diſcourſe of parcell of thoſe things, which I had obſerued in the reading of ſuch manifold antiquities as I had peruſed toward the furniture of a Chronologie, which I haue yet in hand; I was at the firſt verie loth to yeeld to their deſires: firſt, for that I thought my ſelfe vnable for want of skill and iudgment, ſo ſuddenlie & with ſo haſtie ſpeed to take ſuch a charge vpon me: ſecondlie, bicauſe the dealing therein might prooue an hinderance and impechment vnto mine owne Treatiſe: and finallie, for that I had giuen ouer all earneſt ſtudie of hiſtories, as iudging the time ſpent about the ſame, to be an hinderance vnto my more neceſſarie dealings in that vocation & function wherevnto I am called in the miniſterie. But when they were ſo importunate with me, that no reaſonable excuſe could ſerue to put by this trauell, I condeſcended at the length vnto their yrkeſome ſute, promiſing that I would ſpend ſuch void time as I had to ſpare, whileſt I ſhould be inforced to tarie in the citie, vpon ſome thing or other that ſhould ſatisfie their requeſt; and ſtand in lieu of a deſcription of my Countrie. For their parts alſo they aſſured me of ſuch helps as they could purchaſe: and thus with hope of good, although no gaie ſucceſſe, I went in hand withall, then almoſt as one leaning altogither vnto memorie, ſith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in ſunder. In this order alſo I ſpent a part of Michaelmas and Hilarie termes inſuing, being inforced thereto I ſay by other buſineſſes which compelled me to keepe in the citie, and abſent my ſelfe from my charge, though in the meane ſeaſon I had ſome repaire vnto my poore librarie, but not ſo great as the dignitie of the matter required, and yet far greater than the Printers haſt would ſuffer. One helpe, and none of the ſmalleſt that I obtained herein, was by ſuch commentaries as *Leland* had ſomtime collected of the ſtate of Britaine, books vtterlie mangled, defaced with wet and weather, and finallie vnperfect through want of ſundrie volumes: ſecondlie, I gat ſome knowledge of things by letters and pamphlets, from ſundrie places & ſhires of England, but ſo diſcordant now and then amongſt themſelues, eſpeciallie in the names and courſes of riuers and ſituation of townes, that I had oft greater trouble to reconcile them one with an other, than orderlie to pen the whole diſcourſe of ſuch points as they contained: the third aid did grow by conference with diuers, either at the table or ſecretlie alone, wherein I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, chooſing in the end the former, and reiecting the later, as one deſirous to ſet foorth the truth abſolutelie, or ſuch things in deed as were moſt likelie to be true. The laſt comfort aroſe by mine owne reading of ſuch writers as haue heretofore made mention of the condition of our countrie, in ſpeaking wherof, if I ſhould make account of the ſucceſſe, & extraordinarie cõming by ſundrie treatiſes not ſuppoſed to be extant, I ſhould but ſeeme to pronounce more than may well be ſaid with modeſtie, & ſay farder of my ſelfe than this Treatiſe can beare witnes of. Howbeit,

I re-

I refer not this ſucceſſe wholie vnto my purpoſe about this Deſcription, but rather giue notice thereof to come to paſſe in the penning of my Chronologie, whoſe crums as it were fell out verie well in the framing of this Pamphlet. In the proceſſe therefore of this Booke, if your Honor regard the ſubſtance of that which is here declared, I muſt needs confeſſe that it is none of mine owne: but if your Lordſhip haue conſideration of the barbarous compoſition ſhewed herein, that I may boldlie claime and challenge for mine owne, ſith there is no man of any ſo ſlender skill, that will defraud me of that reproch, which is due vnto me for the meere negligence, diſorder, and euill diſpoſition of matter comprehended in the ſame. Certes I proteſt before God and your Honour, that I neuer made any choiſe of ſtile, or words, neither regarded to handle this Treatiſe in ſuch preciſe order and method as manie other would haue done, thinking it ſufficient, truelie and plainelie to ſet foorth ſuch things as I minded to intreat of, rather than with vaine affectation of eloquence to paint out a rotten ſepulchre; a thing neither commendable in a writer, nor profitable to the reader. How other affaires troubled me in the writing hereof manie know, and peraduenture the ſlackneſſe ſhewed herein can better teſtifie: but howſoeuer it be done, & whatſoeuer I haue done, I haue had an eſpeciall eye vnto the truth of things, and for the reſt, I hope that this foule frizeled Treatiſe of mine will proue a ſpur to others better learned, more skilfull in Chorographie, and of greater iudgement in choiſe of matter to handle the ſelfe ſame argument, if in my life time I doo not peruſe it againe. It is poſſible alſo that your Honour will miſlike hereof, for that I haue not by mine owne trauell and eyſight viewed ſuch things as I doo here intreat of. In deed I muſt needs confeſſe, that vntill now of late, except it were from the pariſh where I dwell, vnto your Honour in Kent; or out of London where I was borne, vnto Oxford & Cambridge where I haue bene brought vp, I neuer trauelled 40. miles foorthright and at one iourney in all my life; neuertheleſſe in my report of theſe things, I vſe their authorities, who either haue performed in their perſons, or left in writing vpon ſufficient ground (as I ſaid before) whatſoeuer is wanting in mine. It may be in like ſort that your Honour will take offenſe at my raſh and retchleſſe behauiour vſed in the compoſition of this volume, and much more that being ſcambled vp after this maner, I dare preſume to make tendour of the protection therof vnto your Lordſhips hands. But when I conſider the ſingular affection that your Honour dooth beare to thoſe that in any wiſe will trauell to ſet foorth ſuch profitable things as lie hidden, and therevnto doo weigh on mine owne behalfe my bounden dutie and gratefull mind to ſuch a one as hath ſo manie and ſundrie waies benefited me that otherwiſe can make no recompenſe, I can not but cut off all ſuch occaſion of doubt, and therevpon exhibit it, ſuch as it is, and ſo penned as it is, vnto your Lordſhips tuition, vnto whome if it may ſeeme in anie wiſe acceptable, I haue my whole deſire. And as I am the firſt that (notwithſtanding the great repugnancie to be ſeene among our writers) hath taken vpon him ſo particularlie to deſcribe this Ile of Britaine; ſo I hope the learned and godlie will beare withall, & reforme with charitie where I doo tread amiſſe. As for the curious, and ſuch as can rather euill fauouredlie eſpie than skilfullie correct an error, and ſooner carpe at another mans dooings than publiſh any thing of their owne, (keeping themſelues cloſe with an obſcure admiration of learning & knowledge among the common ſort) I force not what they ſaie hereof: for whether it doo pleaſe or diſpleaſe them, all is one to me, ſith I referre my whole trauell in the gratification of your Honour, and ſuch as are of experience to conſider of my trauell, and the large ſcope of things purpoſed in this Treatiſe, of whome my ſeruice in this behalfe may be taken in good part, that I will repute for my full recompenſe, and large guerdon of my labours. The Almightie God preſerue your Lordſhip in continuall health, wealth, and proſperitie, with my good Ladie your wife, your Honours children, (whom God hath indued with a ſingular towardneſſe vnto all vertue and learning) and the reſt of your reformed familie, vnto whom I wiſh farder increaſe of his holie ſpirit, vnderſtanding of his word, augmentation of honor, and continuance of zeale to follow his commandements.

Your Lordships humble ſeruant
and houſhold Chaplein. W. H.

¶ The names of the Authors from whome this *Historie of England is collected.*

A.

Aelius Spartianus.
Aelius Lampridius.
Asserius Menevensis.
Alfridus Beuerlacensis.
Aeneas Syluius Senensis.
Auentinus.
Adam Merimouth with additions.
Antoninus Archiepiscopus Florentinus.
Albertus Crantz. *Alexander Neuill.*
Arnoldus Ferronius.
Annius Viterbiensis.
Amianus Marcellinus.
Alliances genealogiques des Roys & Princes de France.
Annales D. Aquitaine per Iean Bouchet.
Annales de Bourgoigne per Guilamme Paradin.
Annales de France per Nicol Giles.
Annales rerum Flandricarum per Jacobum Meir.
Antonius Sabellicus.
Antonius Nebricensis. *Aurea Historia.*

B.

Biblia Sacra. *Beda venerabilis.*
Berosius. *Brian Tuke knight.*
Blondus Forliuiensis.
Berdmondsey, a Register booke belonging to that house.

C.

Cæsars Commentaries.
Cornelius Tacitus.
Chronica Chronicorum.
Chronica de Dunstable, a booke of Annales belonging to the Abbey there.
Chronicon Io. Tilij.
Chronica de Eyton, an historie belonging to that colledge, although compiled by some Northernman, as some suppose named Otherborne.
Chronicles of S. Albon.
Chronica de Abingdon, a booke of Annales belonging to that house.
Chronica de Teukesburie.
Claudianus.
Chronicon Genebrard.
Chroniques de Normandie.
Chroniques de Britaine.
Chroniques de Flanders published by Denis Sauage.
Continuation de Historie and Chroniques de Flanders by the same Sauage.
Couper. *Cuspinianus.*
Chronica Sancti Albani.
Caxtons Chronicles.
Carion with additions.
Crockesden, a Register booke belonging to an house of that name in Staffordshire.

D.

Diodorus Siculus.
Dion Cassius.
Dominicus Marius Niger.

E.

Edmerus.
Eusebius. *Eutropius.*
Encomium Emmæ, an old Pamphlet written to hir, conteining much good matter for the vnderstanding of the state of this realme in hir time, wherein hir praise is not pretermitted, and so hath obteined by reason thereof that title.
Enguerant de Monstrellet.
Eulogium.
Edmund Campian.

F.

Fabian. *Froissart.*
Franciscus Tarapha.
Franciscus Petrarcha.
Flauius Vopiscus Siracusanus.
Floriacensis Vigorinensis.

G.

Guiciardini Francisco.
Guiciardini Ludouico.
Gildas Sapiens.
Galfridus Monemutensis, aliàs Geffrey of Monmouth.
Giraldus Cambrensis.
Guilielmus Malmesburiensis.
Galfridus Vinsauf.
Guilielmus Nouoburgensis.
Guilielmus Thorne.
Gualterus Hemmingford, aliàs Gisburnensis.
Geruasius Dorobernensis.
Geruasius Tilberiensis.
Guilielmus Gemeticensis de ducibus Normaniæ.
Guilielmus Rishanger.
Guilielmus Lambert. *Georgius Lillie.*
Guilamme Paradin.

H.

Higinus.
Henricus Huntingtonenſis.
Henricus Leiceſtrenſis.
Hector Boece. *Hiſtorie Daniou.*
Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Magdeburgenſis.
Henricus Mutius.
Hiſtoria quadripartita ſeu quadrilogium.
Hardings Chronicle.
Halles Chronicle. *Henricus Bradſhaw.*
Henricus Marleburgenſis.
Herodianus. *Humfrey Luyd.*

I.

Iohannes Bale.
Iohannes Leland.
Iacobus Philippus Bergomas.
Iulius Capitolinus. *Iulius Solinus.*
Iohannes Pike with additions.
Iohannes Functius.
Iohn Price knight. *Iohannes Textor.*
Iohannes Bodinus. *Iohannes Sleidan.*
Iohannes Euerſden a Monke of Berry.
Iohannes or rather Giouan villani a Florentine.
Iohannes Baptiſta Egnatius.
Iohannes Capgraue.
Iohannes Fourden. *Iohannes Caius.*
Iacob de Voragine Biſhop of Nebio.
Iean de Bauge a Frenchman wrote a pamphlet of the warres in Scotland, during the time that Monſieur de Deſſe remained there.
Iohn Fox. *Iohannes Maior.*
Iohn Stow, by whoſe diligent collected ſummarie, I haue beene not onelie aided, but alſo by diuers rare monuments, ancient writers, and neceſſarie regiſter bookes of his, which he hath lent me out of his own Librarie. *Ioſephus.*

L.

Liber conſtitutionum London.
Lucan. *Lælius Giraldus.*

M.

Marianus Scotus. *Matthæus Paris.*
Matthæus Weſtmonaſter. aliàs Flores hiſtoriarum.
Martin du Bellay, aliàs Monſ. de Langey.
Mamertinus in Panegyricis.
Memoires de la Marche.

N.

Nicephorus. *Nennius.*
Nicholaus Treuet with additions.

O.

Roſius Dorobernenſis.
Oſbernus Dorobernenſis.
Otho Phriſingenſis.

P.

Auſanias. *Paulus Diaconus.*
Paulus Aemilius.
Ponticus Virunius. *Pomponius Lætus.*
Philip de Cumeins, aliàs M. de Argenton.
Polydor Virgil. *Paulus Iouius.*
Platina. *Philippus Melanchthon.*
Peucerus. *Pomponius Mela.*

R.

Rogerus Houeden.
Ranulfus Higeden, aliàs Ceſtrenſis the author of Polychronicon.
Radulfus Cogheſhall. *Radulfus Niger.*
Regiſter of the Garter.
Records of Battell Abbey.
Richardus Southwell. *Robert Greene.*
Radulfus de Diceto. *Robert Gaguin.*
Rodericus Archiepiſcopus Toletanus.
Records and rolles diuerſe.

S.

Strabo. *Suetonius.*
Sigebertus Gemblacenſis.
Sidon Appollinaris. *Simon Dunelmenſis.*
Sextus Aurelius Victor.

T.

Rebellius Pollio.
Thomas More knight.
Thomas Spot. *Thomas Walſingham.*
Titus Liuius de Foroliuiſys de vita Henrici. 5. *Titus Liuius Patauienſis.*
Thomas Lanquet. *Thomas Couper.*
Taxtor a Monke of Berry. *Theuet.*
Thomas de la More. *Tripartita Hiſtoria.*

V.

Vlcatius Gallicanus.
Volfgangus Lazius.

W.

Whethamſted, a learned man, ſometime Abbat of Saint Albons a Chronicler.
William Harriſon.
William Patten of the expedition into Scotland. 1574.
William Proctor of Wiats rebellion.

Beſides theſe, diuers other bookes and treatiſes of hiſtoricall matter I haue ſeene and peruſed, the names of the authors being vtterlie vnknowne.

FINIS.

A Table of ſuch Chapiters as are conteined *in the firſt booke of this Deſcription.*

1 Of the diuiſion of the whole earth.
2 Of the poſition, circuit, forme, and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine.
3 Of the ancient denominations of this Iland.
4 What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion.
5 Whether it be likelie that anie giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not.
6 Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland.
7 Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided.
8 The names of ſuch kings and princes as haue reigned in this Iland.
9 Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
10 Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine.
11 Of riuers, and firſt of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into it.
12 Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of Sauerne.
13 The deſcription of the Sauerne, and ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.
14 Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.
15 The deſcription of the Humber or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as doo increaſe hir chanell.
16 Of ſuch fals of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.
17 Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.
18 Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities of this Iland.
19 Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.
20 Of the generall conſtitution of the bodies of the Britons.
21 How Britaine at the firſt grew to be diuided into three portions.
22 After what maner the ſouereigntie of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England.
23 Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.
24 Of the maruels of England.



REGVM ANGLIÆ SERIES & catalogus.

Wil. Conqu.
Wil. Rufus.
Henricus 1.
Stephanus.
Henricus 2.
Richardus 1.
Ioannes.
Henricus 3.
Eduardus 1.
Eduardus 2.
Eduardus 3.
Richardus 2.
Henricus 4.
Henricus 5.
Henricus 6.
Eduardus 4.
Eduardus 5.
Richardus 3.
Henricus 7.
Henricus 8.
Eduardus 6.
Phil. & Mar.
Eliſabeth.

COnqueſtor, Rufus, prior Henricus, Stephanúſque,
Alter & Henricus, Leonino corde Richardus,
Rex & Ioannes, Henricus tertius inde:
Eduardus primus, Gnatúſque, Nepóſque ſequuntur:
His infœlicem Richardum iunge ſecundum:
Henricus quartus ſoboles Gandaui Ioannis,
Præcedit Gnato quinto, ſextóque Nepoti:
Eduardus quartus, quintus, homicida Richardus,
Septimi & Henricus octauus clara propago:
Eduardus ſextus, regina Maria, Philippus:
Eliſabeth longos regnet victura per annos,
Seráque promiſſo fœlix potiatur olympo.

CARMEN CHRONOLOGICON
Thomæ Newtoni Ceſtreſhyrij.

GRamine, fluminibus, grege, principe, fruge, metallis,
Lacte, ferís, armis, vrbibus, arte, foris,
Quæ viget ac floret generoſa Britannia, quæque,
Obruta puluereo ſqualluit ante ſitu:
Exerit ecce caput, genuinum nacta nitorem,
Et rutilum emittit cum grauitate iubar.
Et quod blæſa hominum mutilarat tempore lingua,
Illud habet rectum pumice terſa nouo.

Loydus.
Lelandus.
Priſius.
Stous.
Holinſhedius.
Lambardus.
Morus.
Camdenus.
Thinnius.
Hallus.
Vocalis aliâs
Hookerus.
Graftonus.
Foxius.
Harriſonus.
Hardingus.
Gildas.
Staniherſtus.
Beda.
Neuillus.
Flemingus.
Parkerus.

Loydus in hac pridem gnauus proluſit arena,
Lelandus, Priſius, Stous, Holinſhedius,
Lambardus, Morus, Camdenus, Thinnius, Hallus,
Vocalis, Grafton, Foxius, Harriſonus,
Hardingus, Gildas, Staniherſtus, Beda, Neuillus,
Doctáque Flemingi lima poliuit opus:
Nec te cane ſenex, magne ô Parkere, ſilebo,
Cui decus attulerat pontificalis apex.
Omnibus his meritò eſt laus debita & optima merces,
Quòd patriæ accendant lumina clara ſuæ.
Longa dies opus hoc peperit, longæua ſenectus,
Et libri authores perbeet, atque librum.

An Hiſtoricall deſcription of the Iland of Britaine, with a briefe reherſall of the nature and qualities of the people of England. and ſuch commodities as are to be found in the ſame. Comprehended in three bookes, and written by W. H.

Of the diuiſion of the whole earth. Chapter. 1.

WE read that the earth hath beene diuided into three parts, euen ſithens the generall floud. And the common opinion is, that Noah limited and beſtowed it vpon his three ſons, Iaphet, Cham, and Sem, preſerued with him in the Arke, giuing vnto each of them ſuch portions thereof as to him ſeemed good, and neuertheleſſe reteining the ſouereignetie of the whole ſtill vnto himſelfe: albeit as yet it be left vncertaine how thoſe ſeuerall parts were bounded, and from whome they toke ſuch names as in our times are attributed to each of them. Certes the words, Aſia, Europa, and Africa, are denominations giuen but of late (to ſpeake of) vnto them, and it is to be doubted, whether ſithens the time of Noah, the ſea hath in ſundrie places wonne or loſt, added or diminiſhed to and from each of them; or whether Europa, and Lybia were but one portion; and the ſame weſterlie regions of late diſcouered (and now called America,) was the third part (counting Aſia for the ſecond) or the ſelfe region of the Atlantides, which Plato and others, for want of traffike thither in their times, ſuppoſed to be diſſolued and ſunke into the ſea: as by their writings appeareth.

Noah firſt diuided the earth among his ſonnes.

The diuiſion of the earth not yet certeinlie knowne.

Not long before my time, we reckoned Aſia, Europa, and Africa, for a full and perfect diuiſion of the whole earth, which are parcels onelie of that huge Iland that lieth eaſt of the Atlantike ſea, and whereof the firſt is diuided from the ſecond by Tanais (which riſeth in the rocks of Caucaſus, and hideth it ſelfe in the Meotine moores) and the Ocean ſea; and the laſt from them both by the Mediterrane and red ſea, otherwiſe called Mare Erythræum. But now all men, eſpecially the learned, begin to doubt of the ſoundnes of that partition; bicauſe a no leſſe part than the greateſt of the three ioined with thoſe Ilands and maine which lie vnder the north and Southpoles, if not double in quantitie vnto the ſame, are found out and diſcouered by the diligence of our trauellers. Hereby it appeareth, that either the earth was not exactlie diuided in time paſt by antiquitie; or els, that the true diuiſion thereof came not to the hands and notice of their poſteritie, ſo that our anceſtors haue hitherto as it were laboured in the Cimmerian darkeneſſe, and were vtterlie ignorant of the truth of that whereabout they indeuoured to ſhew their trauels and knowledge in their writings. Some peece of this confuſion alſo is to be found amongſt the ancient and Romane writers, who (notwithſtanding their large conqueſts) did ſticke in the ſame mire with their ſucceſſors; not being able (as appeareth by their treatiſes) to deliuer and ſet downe the veritie. For Saluſt in his booke *De bello Iugurthino* cannot tell whether Africa be parcell of Aſia or not. And with the ſame ſcruple Varro in his booke *De lingua Lat.* is not a litle incumbred, who in the end concludeth, that the whole earth is diuided into Aſia and Europa: ſo that Africa is excluded and driuen out of his place. Silius alſo writeth of Africa, (as one not yet reſolued whereunto to leane,) that it is;

Aut ingens Aſiæ latus, aut pars tertia rerum.

Wherein Lucane *lib. 9.* ſheweth himſelfe to be far of another iudgement, in that he aſcribeth it to Europa, ſaieng after this maner:

Tertia pars rerum Lybia: ſi credere famæ
Cuncta velis, ſi ventos cœlumque ſequaris,
Pars erit Europæ, nec enim plus littora Nili
Quàm Scythicus Tanais primis à gradibus abſunt.

Variance among the writers about the diuiſion of the earth.

Whereby (I ſaie) we may well vnderſtand, that in the time of Auguſtus Tiberius, Claudius & Nero, the Romanes were not yet reſolued of the diuiſion of the earth. For my part, as I indeuour not to remoue the credit of that which antiquitie hath deliuered (and yet loth to continue and maintaine any corruption that may be redreſſed) ſo I thinke good to giue forth a new diuiſion more probable, & better agreeing with a truth. And therefore I diuide the whole into fiue ſeuerall parcels, reteining the common diuiſion in the firſt three, as before; and vnto the fourth allowing not onelie all that portion that lieth by north of the Magellan ſtreicts, and thoſe Hyperborean Ilands which lie weſt of the line of longitude, of late diſcouered by Frobiſher, and called by hir Maieſtie *Meta incognita:* but likewiſe ſo manie Ilands as are within 180. degrées Weſtwards from our beginning or common line of longitude, whereby they are parted from thoſe, which by this diuiſion are allotted vnto Aſia, and the portion it ſelfe made equipollent with the ſame for greatnes, & far exceeding either Europa or Africa, if it be not fullie ſo much in quantitie as they both vnited and laid togither. The firſt & laſt part is the Antartike portion with hir Ilands annexed, that region (I meane) which lieth vnder the South pole, cut off from America, or the fourth part by the Magellan ſtreicts; & from Africa by the ſea which paſſeth by the Cape of good hope; a countrie no leſſe large for limits and bounds than Africa or America, and therefore right worthie to be called the firſt: howſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the curious to miſlike of this diuiſion. This alſo I will adde, that albeit the continent hereof do not extend it ſelfe vnto the verie Antartike point, but lieth as it were a long table betweene two ſeas, of which the later is vnder the South pole, and as I may call it a maine ſea vnder the aforeſaid pricke, yet is it not without

The earth diuided into fiue parts, whereas Relforreſt hath but foure, in Prefat. lib. 4.

Cape di bona Speranza.

The forme of the firſt part.

out ſundrie Ilands alſo adioining vnto it, and the inner moſt ſea not deſtitute of manie, as by experience hath béene of late confirmed. Furthermore, whereas our deſcribers of the earth haue made it ſuch in their deſcriptions, as hath reached litle or nothing into the peaceable ſea without the Antartike circle: it is now found by Theuet and others, that it extendeth it ſelfe northwards into that trace, by no ſmall number of leagues, euen in maner to the Equator, in ſo much that the weſterlie part thereof from America, is ſuppoſed to reach northward ſo far from the Antartike article, as Africa doth ſouthwards from the tropike of Cancer, which is no ſmall portion of ground; & I maruell why not obſerued by ſuch as heretofore haue written of the ſame. But they excuſe themſelues by the ingratitude of the Portingals and Spaniards, who haue of purpoſe concealed manie things found out in their trauell, leaſt they ſhould ſéeme to open a gap by doing otherwiſe, for ſtrangers to enter into their conqueſts. As for thoſe Ilands alſo which lie in the peaceable ſea, ſcattered here and there, as Iaua the greater, the leſſer Sumatra, Iapan, Burneo, &c: with a number of other, I refer them ſtill vnto Aſia, as before, ſo as they be without the compaſſe of 90. degrées eaſtward from the line of longitude, & not aboue 180. as I do the Ile of S. Laurence, and a number of other vnto Africa within the ſaid proportion, wiſhing ſo little alteration as I may: and yet not yéelding vnto any confuſion, whereby the truth of the diuiſion ſhould hereafter be impeached.

And whereas by Virgil (ſpeaking of our Iland) ſaith;

Et penitus toto diuiſos orbe Britannos,

And ſome other authors not vnworthie to be read and peruſed, it is not certeine vnto which portion of the earth our Ilands, and Thule, with ſundrie the like ſcattered in the north ſeas ſhould be aſcribed, becauſe they excluded them (as you ſée) from the reſt of the whole earth: I haue thought good, for facilitie ſake of diuiſion, to refer them all which lie within the firſt minute of longitude, ſet downe by Ptolome, to Europa, and that as reaſon requireth: ſo that the aforeſaid line ſhall henceforth be their Meta & partition from ſuch as are to be aſcribed to America; albeit they come verie nære vnto the aforeſaid portion, & may otherwiſe (without preiudice) be numbred with the ſame. It may be that ſome will thinke this my dealing either to be ſuperfluous, or to proceed from (I wot not what) foliſh curioſitie: for the world is now growne to be very apt and readie to iudge the hardeſt of euerie attempt. But forſomuch as my purpoſe is to leaue a plaine report of ſuch matter as I do write of, and deliuer ſuch things as I intreat of in diſtinct and vpright order; though method now and then do faile, I will go forward with my indeuour, referring the examination of my doings to the indifferent and learned eare, without regard what the other do conceiue and imagine of me. In the meane ſeaſon therefore it ſhall ſuffice to ſay at this time, that Albion as the mother, and the reſt of the Ilands as hir daughters, lieng eaſt of the line of longitude, be ſtill aſcribed vnto Europa: whereunto ſome good authours heretofore in their writings, & their owne proper or naturall ſituations alſo haue not amiſſe referred them.

Unto what portion Britaine is referred.

Of the poſition, circuit, forme and quantitie of the Ile of Britaine. Cap. 2.

How Britaine lieth from the maine.

BRitannia or Britain, as we now terme it in our Engliſh tong, or Brutania as ſome pronounce it (by reaſon of the letter y in the firſt ſyllable of the word, as antiquitie did ſometime deliuer it) is an Ile lieng in the Ocean ſea, directlie ouer againſt that part of France which conteineth Picardie, Normandie, and thereto the greateſt part of little Britaine, which later region was called in time paſt Armorica, of the ſituation thereof vpon the ſea coaſt, vntill ſuch time as a companie of Britons (either led ouer by ſome of the Romane Emperours, or flieng thither from the tyrannie of ſuch as oppreſſed them here in this Iland) did ſette themſelues there, and called it Britaine, after the name of their owne countrie, from whence they aduentured thither. It hath Ireland vpon the weſt ſide, on the north the maine ſea, euen to Thule and the Hyperboreans; and on the eaſt ſide alſo the Germane Ocean, by which we paſſe dailie through the trade of merchandize, not onlie into the low countries of Belgie, now miſerablie afflicted betwéene the Spaniſh power and popiſh inquiſition (as ſpice betwéene the morter and the peſtell) but alſo into Germanie, Friezeland, Denmarke, and Norwaie, carrieng from hence thither, and bringing from thence hither, all ſuch neceſſarie commodities as the ſeuerall countries do yéeld: through which meanes, and beſides common amitie conſerued, traffike is mainteined, and the neceſſitie of each partie abundantlie releéued.

It conteineth in longitude taken by the middeſt of the region 19. degrees exactlie: and in latitude 53. degrées, and thirtie min. after the opinions of thoſe that haue diligentlie obſerued the ſame in our daies, and the faithfull report of ſuch writers as haue left notice thereof vnto vs, in their learned treatiſes to be perpetuallie remembred. Howbeit, whereas ſome in ſetting downe of theſe two lines, haue ſéemed to varie about the placing of the ſame, each of them diuerſlie remembring the names of ſundrie cities and townes, whereby they affirme them to haue their ſeuerall courſes: for my part I haue thought good to proceed ſomewhat after another ſort; that is, by diuiding the lateſt and beſt chards each way into two equall parts (ſo nære as I can poſſiblie bring the ſame to paſſe) whereby for the middle of latitude, I product Caerlile and Newcaſtell vpon Tine, (whoſe longeſt day conſiſteth of ſixtéene houres, 48. minuts) and for the longitude, Newberie, Warwike, Shefield, Skipton, &c: which dealing, in mine opinion, is moſt eaſie and indifferent, and likelieſt meane to come by the certeine ſituating and ſituation of our Iland.

The longitude and latitude of this Ile.

Longeſt day.

Touching the length and breadth of the ſame, I find ſome variance amongſt writers: for after ſome, there are from the Piere or point of Douer, vnto the fartheſt part of Cornewall weſtwards 320. miles: from thence againe to the point of Cathneſſe by the Iriſh ſea 800. Wherby Polydore and other do gather, that the circuit of the whole Iland of Britaine is 1720. miles, which is full 280. leſſe than Cæſar doth ſet downe, except there be ſome difference betwéene the Romane and Britiſh miles, as there is indéed; whereof hereafter I may make ſome farther conference.

The compaſſe of Britaine.

Martianus writing of the breadth of Britaine, hath onlie 300. miles; but Oroſius hath 1200. in the whole compaſſe. Edicus alſo agreeing with Plinie, Martianus, and Solinus, hath 800. miles of length, but in the breadth he commeth ſhort of their account by 120. miles. In like maner Dion *in* Seuero maketh the one of 891. miles: but the other; to wit, where it is broadeſt, of 289. and where it is naroweſt, of 37. Finally, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth the ſouth coaſt to conteine 7000 furlongs, the ſecond; to wit, *à Carione ad Promontorium* 15000. the third 20000. and the whole circuit to conſiſt of 42000. But in our time we reckon the breadth from Douer to Cornewall, not to be aboue 300. miles, and the length from Douer to Cathneſſe, no more than 500. which neuertheleſſe muſt be meaſured by a right line, for otherwiſe I ſée not how the ſaid diuiſion can hold.

The forme and faſhion of this Ile is thrée cornered, as ſome haue deuiſed, like vnto a triangle, baſtard ſword, wedge, or parteſant, being broadeſt in the ſouth

The forme.

part,

part, and gathering ſtill narrower and narrower, till it come to the farthest point of Cathneſſe northward, where it is narrowest of all, & there endeth in maner of a promontorie called Caledonium & Orchas in Britiſh Morwerydh, which is not aboue 30. miles ouer, as daily experience by actuall trauell doth confirme.

Promontories of Britaine.

The old writers giue vnto the three principall corners, crags, points, and promontories of this Iland, three ſeuerall names. As vnto that of Kent, Cantium, that of Cornewall, Hellenes, and of Scotland, Caledonium, and Orchas; and theſe are called principall, in reſpect of the other, which are Taruiſium, Nouantum, Epidium, Gangacum, Octapites, Herculeum, Antiueſteum, Ocrinum, Berubium, Taizalum, Acantium, &c: of which I thought good alſo to leaue this notice, to the end that ſuch as ſhall come after, may thereby take occaſion to ſeeke out their true places, whereof as yet I am in maner ignorant, I meane for the moſt part, becauſe I haue no ſound author that doth leade me to their knowledge.

The diſtãce from the maine.

Furthermore, the ſhorteſt and moſt vſuall cut that we haue out of our Iland to the maine, is from Douer (the farthest part of Kent eaſtward) vnto Calice a towne in Picardie 1300 miles from Rome, in old time called Petreſſa and Scalas, though ſome like better of blacknes where the breadth of the ſea is not aboue thirtie miles. Which courſe, as it is now frequented and vſed for the moſt common and ſafe paſſage of ſuch as come into our countrie out of France and diuers other realms, ſo it hath not beene vnknowne of old time vnto the Romans, who for the moſt part vſed theſe two hauens for their paſſage and repaſſage to and fro; although we finde, that now and then diuerſe of them came alſo from Bullen, and landed at Sandwich, or ſome other places of the coaſt more toward the weſt, or betweene Hide and Lid; to wit, Romneie marſh, which in old time was called Romania or Romanorum inſula) as to auoid the force of the wind & weather, that often moleſteth ſeafaringmen in theſe narrowe ſeas, beſt liked them for their ſafegards. Betweene the part of Holland alſo, which lieth neere the mouth of the Rhene and this our Iland, are 900. furlongs, as Soſimus ſaith; and beſides him, diuers other writers, which being conuerted into Engliſh miles, do yeeld 112. and foure od furlongs, whereby the iuſt diſtance of the neereſt part of Britaine, from that part of the maine alſo, doth certeinlie appeere to be much leſſe than the common maps of our countrie haue hitherto ſet downe.

Of the ancient names or denominations of this Iland. Cap. 3.

Dis, Samothes.

IN the diligent peruſall of their treatiſes, who haue written of the ſtate of this our Iland, I find that at the firſt it ſeemed to be a parcell of the Celtike kingdome, whereof Dis otherwiſe called Samothes, one of the ſonnes of Japhet was the Saturne or originall beginner, and of him thenceforth for a long while called Samothea. Afterward in proceſſe of time, when deſire of rule began to take hold in the minds of men, and ech prince endeuoured to enlarge his owne dominions: Albion the ſonne of Neptune,

Neptunus Marioticus.

Amphitrite ſurnamed Marioticus (becauſe his dominions laie among the Ilands of the Mediterran ſea, as thoſe of Pluto did on the lower grounds neere vnto ſhore, as contrariwiſe his father Iupiter dwelled on the high hils neerer to heauen) hearing of the commodities of the countrie, and plentifulneſſe of ſoile here, made a voiage ouer, and finding the thing not onelie correſpondent vnto, but alſo farre ſurmounting the report that went of this Iland, it was not long after yer he inuaded the ſame by force of armes, brought it to his ſubiection, in the 29. yeare after his grandfathers deceaſe, and finallie changed the name thereof into Albion, whereby the former denomination after Samothes did grow out of mind, and fall into vtter forgetfulneſſe. And thus was this Iland bereft at on time both of hir ancient name, and alſo of hir lawfull ſucceſſion of princes deſcended of the line of Japhet, vnder whom it had continued by the ſpace of 341. yeres and nine princes, as by the Chronologie following ſhall eaſilie appeere.

Britaine vnder the Celts 341. yeares.

Goropius our neighbor being verie nice in the denomination of our Iland, as in moſt other points of his huge volume of the originall of Antwarpe lib. 6. (whom Buchanan alſo followeth in part) is brought into great doubt, whether Britaine was called Albion of the word Alb, white; or Alp an hill; as Bodinus is no leſſe troubled with fetching the ſame *ab olbys*, or as he wreſteth it, *ab Albys gallis*. But here his inconſtancie appeareth, in that in his Gotthadamca liber. 7. he taketh no leſſe paines to bring the Britaines out of Denmarke, whereby the name of the Iland ſhould be called Vridania; Freedania, Brithania, or Bridania, *tanquam libera Dania*, as another alſo doth to fetch the originall out of Spaine, where Breta ſignifieth ſoile or earth. But as ſuch as walke in darkeneſſe do often ſtraie, becauſe they wot not whither they go: euen ſo do theſe men, whileſt they ſeeke to extenuate the certeintie of our hiſtories, and bring vs altogither to vncerteinties & their coniectures. They in like maner, which will haue the Welſhmen come from the French with this one queſtion, *vnde Walli niſi a Gallis*, or from ſome Spaniſh colonie, do greatlie bewraie their ouerſights; but moſt of all they erre that endeuour to fetch it from Albine the imagined daughter of a forged Diocleſian, wherewith our ignorant writers haue of late not a little ſtained our hiſtorie, and brought the ſound part thereof into ſome diſcredit and miſtruſt: but more of this hereafter.

Now to ſpeake ſomewhat alſo of Neptune as by the waie (ſith I haue made mention of him in this place) it ſhall not be altogither impertinent. Wherfore you ſhall vnderſtand, that for his excellent knowledge in the art of nauigation (as nauigation then went) he was reputed the moſt skilfull prince that liued in his time. And therfore, and likewiſe for his courage & boldneſſe in aduenturing to and fro, he was after his deceaſe honoured as a god, and the protection of ſuch as trauelled by ſea committed to his charge. So rude alſo was the making of ſhips wherewith to ſaile in his time (which were for the moſt part flat bottomed and broad) that for lacke of better experience to calke and trim the ſame after they were builded, they vſed to naile them ouer with rawe hides of bulles, buffles, and ſuch like, and with ſuch a kind of naule (as they ſay) firſt Samothes, & then Albion arriued in this Iland, which vnto me doth not ſeeme a thing impoſſible. The northerlie or artike regions, do not naile their ſhips with iron, which they vtterly want, but with wooden pins, or els they bind the planks together verie artificiallie with ſalt ropes, oſiers, rinds of trees, or twigs of popler, the ſubſtance of thoſe veſſels being either of fir or pine, ſith oke is verie deintie & hard to be had amongſt them. Of their wooden anchors I ſpeake not (which neuertheleſſe are common to them, and to the Gothlanders) more than of ſhips wrought of wickers, ſometime vſed in our Britaine, and couered with leather euen in the time of Plinie, *lib. 7. cap. 56.* as alſo bótes made of ruſhes and reeds, &c. Neither haue I iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of ſhips made of canes, of which ſort Staurobates, king of India fighting againſt Semiramis, brought 4000. with him and fought with hir the firſt battell on the water that euer I read of, and vpon the riuer Indus, but to his loſſe, for he was ouercome by hir power, & his naule either drowned or burned by the furie of hir ſouldiers.

Neptune God of the ſea.

The maner of dreſſing of ſhips in old time.

The firſt conqueſt of Britaine.

But to proceed, when the ſaid Albion had gouerned here in this countrie by the ſpace of ſeuen yeares, it came to paſſe that both he and his brother Bergion were killed by Hercules at the mouth of Rhodanus, as the ſaid Hercules paſſed out of Spaine by the Celtes to go ouer into Italie, and vpon this occaſion (as I gather among the writers) not vnworthie to be remembred. It happened in time of Lucus king of the Celts, that Leſtrigo and his iſſue (whom Dyzis his grandfather had placed ouer the Ianigenes) did exerciſe great tyrannie, not onelie ouer his owne kingdome, but alſo in moleſtation of ſuch princes as inhabited round about him in moſt intollerable maner. Moreouer he was not a little incouraged in theſe his doings by Neptune his father, who thirſted greatly to leaue his xxiij. ſonnes ſettled in the mightieſt kingdoms of the world, as men of whom he had alreadie conceiued this opinion, that if they had once gotten foot into any region whatſoeuer, it would not be long yer they did by ſome meanes or other, not onelie eſtabliſh their ſeats, but alſo increaſe their limits to the better maintenance of themſelues and their poſteritie for euermore. To be ſhort therefore, after the giants, and great princes, or mightie men of the world had conſpired and ſlaine the aforeſaid Dyzis, onelie for that he was an obſtacle vnto them in their tyrannous dealing; Hercules his ſonne, ſurnamed Labin, Lubim, or Libius, in the reuenge of his fathers death, proclaimed open warres againſt them all, and going from place to place, he ceaſed not to ſpoile their kingdomes, and therewithall to kill them with great courage that fell into his hands. Finallie, hauing among ſundrie other ouercome the Lomnimi or Geriones in Spaine, and vnderſtanding that Leſtrigo and his ſonnes did yet remaine in Italie, he directed his viage into thoſe parts, and taking the kingdome of the Celts in his waie, he remained for a ſeaſon with Lucus the king of that countrie, where he alſo maried his daughter Galathea, and begat a ſonne by hir, calling him after his mothers name Galates, of whom in my ſaid Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large.

Leſtrigo.

Ianigenes were the poſteritie of Noah in Italie.

Neptune had xxiij. ſonnes.

Lomnimi. Geriones.

Galathea.

Galates or Kelts.

In the meane time Albion vnderſtanding how Hercules intended to make warres againſt his brother Leſtrigo, he thought good if it were poſſible to ſtop him that tide, and therefore ſending for his brother Bergion out of the Orchades (where he alſo reigned as ſupreame lord and gouernour) they ioined their powers, and ſailed ouer into France. Being arriued there, it was not long yer they met with Hercules and his armie, neare vnto the mouth of the riuer called Roen (or the Rhodanus) where happened a cruell conflict betweene them, in which Hercules and his men were like to haue loſt the day, for that they were in maner wearied with long warres, and their munition ſore waſted in the laſt viage that he had made for Spaine. Herevpon Hercules perceiuing the courages of his ſouldiours ſomewhat to abate, and ſeeing the want of artillerie like to be the cauſe of his fatall daie and preſent ouerthrowe at hand, it came ſuddenlie into his mind to will each of them to defend himſelfe by throwing ſtones at his enimie, whereof there laie great ſtore then ſcattered in the place. The policie was no ſooner publiſhed than hearkened vnto and put in execution, whereby they ſo preuailed in the end, that Hercules wan the field, their enimies were put to flight, and Albion and his brother both ſlaine, and buried in that plot. Thus was Britaine rid of a tyrant, Lucus king of the Celts deliuered from an vſurper (that daſtie incroched vpon him, building ſundrie cities and holds, of which ſome were placed among the Alps & called after his owne name, and other alſo euen in his owne kingdome on that ſide) and Leſtrigo greatlie weakened by the ſlaughter of his brethren. Of this inuention of Hercules in like ſort it commeth, that Iupiter father vnto Hercules (who indeed was none other but Dyzis) is feigned to throw downe ſtones from heauen vpon Albion and Bergion, in the defenſe of his ſonne: which came ſo thicke vpon them, as if great drops of raine or haile ſhould haue deſcended from aboue, no man well knowing which waie to turne him from their force, they came ſo faſt and with ſo great a violence.

Pomponius Mela cap. de Gallia.

Strabo lib. 4.

But to go forward, albeit that Albion and his power were thus diſcomfited and ſlaine, yet the name that he gaue vnto this Iland died not, but ſtill remained vnto the time of Brute, who arriuing heere in the 1116. before Chriſt, and 2850. after the creation of the world, not onelie changed it into Britaine (after it had beene called Albion, by the ſpace of about 600. yeares) but to declare his ſouereigntie ouer the reſt of the Ilands alſo that lie ſcattered round about it, he called them all after the ſame maner, ſo that Albion was ſaid in time to be *Britanniarum inſula maxima*, that is, The greateſt of thoſe Iles that beare the name of Britaine, which Plinie alſo confirmeth, and Strabo in his firſt and ſecond bookes denieth not. There are ſome, which vtterlie denieng that this Iland tooke hir name of Brute, doo affirme it rather to be ſo called of the rich mettals ſometime carried from the mines there into all the world as growing in the ſame. Vibius Sequeſter alſo ſaith that Calabria was ſometime called Britannia, *ob immenſam affluentiam totius delitiæ atque vbertatis*, that was to be found heerein. Other contend that it ſhould be written with P (Pritannia.) All which opinions as I abſolutelie denie not, ſo I willinglie leane vnto none of them in peremptorie maner, ſith the antiquitie of our hiſtorie carrieth me withall vnto the former iudgements. And for the ſame cauſe I reiect them alſo, which deriue the aforeſaid denomination from Britona the nymph, in following Dexter (or Prutus or Prytus the ſonne of Araxa) which Britona was borne in Creta daughter to Mars, and fled by ſea from thence onelie to eſcape the villanie of Minos, who attempted to rauiſh and make hir one of his paramours: but if I ſhould forſake the authoritie of Galfride, I would rather leane to the report of Parthenius, whereof elſewhere I haue made a more large rehearſall.

It is altogither impertinent, to diſcuſſe whether Hercules came into this Iland after the death of Albion, or not, although that by an ancient monument ſeene of late, as I heare, and the cape of Hartland or Harcland in the Weſt countrie (called *Promontorium Herculis* in old time) diuers of our Britiſh antiquaries doo gather great likelihood that he ſhould alſo be here. But ſith his preſence or abſence maketh nothing with the alteration of the name of this our region and countrie, and to ſearch out whether the ſaid monument was but ſome token erected in his honour of later times (as ſome haue beene elſewhere, among the Celts framed, & thoſe like an old cripple with a bow bent in one hand & a club in the other, a rough ſkin on his backe, the haire of his head all to be matted like that of the Iriſhmens, and drawing manie men captiue after him in chaines) is but ſmallie auailable, and therefore I paſſe it ouer as not incident to my purpoſe. Neither will I ſpend any time in the determination, whether Britaine had beene ſometime a parcell of the maine, although it ſhould well ſeeme ſo to haue beene, becauſe that before the generall floud of Noah, we doo not read of Ilands, more than of hils and vallies. Wherefore as Wilden Arguis alſo noteth in his philoſophie and tractation of meteors, it is verie likelie that they were onelie cauſed by the violent motion and working of the ſea, in the time of the floud, which if S. Auguſtine had well conſidered, he would neuer haue aſked how ſuch creatures as liued in Ilands far diſtant from the maine could come into the arke, *De ciuit. lib. 16. cap. 7.* howbeit in the end he concludeth with another matter more profitable than his demand.

As for the ſpædie and timelie inhabitation thereof, this is mine opinion, to wit, that it was inhabited

bited ſhortlie after the diuiſion of the earth. For I read that when each capteine and his companie had their portions aſſigned vnto them by Noah in the partition that he made of the whole among his poſſeritie, they neuer ceaſed to trauell and ſearch out the vttermoſt parts of the ſame, vntill they found out their bounds allotted, and had ſeene and vewed their limits, euen vnto the verie poles. It ſhall ſuffice therefore onelie to haue touched theſe things in this manner a farre off, and in returning to our purpoſe, to proceed with the reſt concerning the denomination of our Iland, which was knowne vnto moſt of the Greekes for a long time, by none other name than Albion, and to ſaie the truth, euen vnto Alexanders daies, as appeareth by the words of Ariſtotle in his *De mundo*, and to the time of Ptolomie: notwithſtanding that Brute, as I haue ſaid, had changed the ſame into Britaine, manie hundred yeares before.

Yet Timeus, Ephorus, and ſome of the Grecians, know the name Britannia, as appeareth alſo by Diodorus, &c, before the comming of Cæſar.

After Brutus I doo not find that anie men attempted to change it againe, vntill the time that Theodoſius, in the daies of Valentinianus and Valens endeuoured, in the remembrance of the two aforeſaid Emperours, to call it Valentia, as Marcellinus ſaith. But as this deuiſe toke no hold among the common ſort, ſo it retained ſtill the name of Britaine, vntill the reigne of Ecbert, who about the 800. yeare of Grace, and firſt of his reigne, gaue forth an eſpeciall edict, dated at Wincheſter, that it ſhould be called Angles land, or Angellandt, for which in our time we doo pronounce it England. And this is all (right honorable) that I haue to ſay, touching the ſeuerall names of this Iland, vtterlie miſliking in the meane ſeaſon their deuiſes, which make Hengiſt the onlie parent of the later denomination, whereas Ecbert, bicauſe his anceſtours deſcended from the Angles one of the fiue nations that came with the Saxons into Britaine (for they were not all of one, but of diuers countries, as Angles, Saxons, Germans, Switzers, Norwegiens, Jutes otherwiſe called Jutons, Vites, Gothes or Getes, and Vandals, and all comprehended vnder the name of Saxons, bicauſe of Hengiſt the Saxon and his companie that firſt arriued here before anie of the other) and therto hauing now the monarchie and preheminence in maner of this whole Iland, called the ſame after the name of the countrie from whence he deriued his originall, neither Hengiſt, neither anie Queene named Angla, neither whatſoeuer derivation *ab Angulo*, as from a corner of the world bearing ſwaie, or hauing ought to doo at all in that behalfe.

Of this opinion is Bellforeſt, lib. 3. cap. 44.

What ſundrie nations haue dwelled in Albion. Cap. 4.

AS few or no nations can iuſtlie boaſt themſelues to haue continued ſithence their countrie was firſt repleniſhed, without any mixture, more or leſſe, of forreine inhabitants; no more can this our Iland, whoſe manifold commodities haue oft allured ſundrie princes and famous capteines of the world to conquer and ſubdue the ſame vnto their owne ſubiection. Manie ſorts of people therfore haue come in hither and ſettled themſelues here in this Ile, and firſt of all other, a parcell of the linage and poſſeritie of Japhet, brought in by Samothes in the 1910. after the creation of Adam. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, and after they had indifferentlie repleniſhed and furniſhed this Iland with people (which was done in the ſpace of 335. yeares) Albion the giant afore mentioned, repaired hither with a companie of his owne race proceeding from Cham, and not onelie annexed the ſame to his owne dominion, but brought all ſuch in like ſort as he found here of the line of Japhet, into miſerable ſeruitude and moſt extreame thraldome. After him alſo, and within leſſe than fiue hundred and two yeares, came Brute the ſonne of Syluius with a great traine of the poſſeritie of the diſperſed Troians in 324. ſhips: who rendering the like courteſie vnto the Chemminits as they had done before vnto the ſeed of Japhet, brought them alſo wholie vnder his rule and gouernance, and diſpoſſeſſing the peeres & inferiors owners of their lands and poſſeſſions, he diuided the countrie among ſuch princes and capteines as he in his arriuall here had led out of Grecia with him.

Samotheans.

Britains.

Chemminits.

From henceforth I doo not find any ſound report of other nation whatſoeuer, that ſhould aduenture hither to dwell, and alter the ſtate of the land, vntill the Romane emperours ſubdued it to their dominion, ſauing of a few Galles, (and thoſe peraduenture of Belgie) who firſt comming ouer to rob and pilfer vpon the coaſts, did afterward plant themſelues for altogither neere vnto the ſhore, and there builded ſundrie cities and townes which they named after thoſe of the maine, from whence they came vnto vs. And this is not onelie to be gathered out of Cæſar where he writeth of Britaine of ſet purpoſe, but alſo elſe-where, as in his ſecond booke a litle after the beginning: for ſpeaking of Deuiaticus king of the Swetſions liuing in his time, he affirmeth him not onelie to be the mightieſt prince of all the Galles, but alſo to hold vnder his ſubiection the Ile of Britaine, of which his ſonne Galba was afterward diſpoſſeſſed. But after the comming of the Romans, it is hard to ſay with how manie ſorts of people we were dailie peſtered, almoſt in euerie ſtead. For as they planted their forworne legions in the moſt fertile places of the realme, and where they might beſt lie for the ſafegard of their conqueſts: ſo their armies did commonlie conſiſt of manie ſorts of people, and were (as I may call them) a confuſed mixture of all other countries and nations then liuing in the world. Howbeit, I thinke it beſt, bicauſe they did all beare the title of Romans, to reteine onelie that name for them all, albeit they were wofull gheſts to this our Iland: ſith that with them came all maner of vice and vicious liuing, all riot and exceſſe of behauiour into our countrie, which their legions brought hither from each corner of their dominions: for there was no prouince vnder them from whence they had not ſeruitours.

Romans.

How and when the Scots, a people mixed of the Scithian and Spaniſh blood, ſhould arriue here out of Ireland, & when the Picts ſhould come vnto vs out of Sarmatia, or from further toward the north & the Scithian Hyperboreans, as yet it is vncerteine. For though the Scotiſh hiſtories doo carrie great countenance of their antiquitie in this Iland: yet (to ſaie freelie what I thinke) I iudge them rather to haue ſtolne in hither within the ſpace of 100. yeares before Chriſt, than to haue continued here ſo long as they themſelues pretend, if my coniecture be any thing. Yet I denie not, but that as the Picts were long planted in this Iland before the Scots aduentured to ſettle themſelues alſo in Britaine; ſo the Scots did often aduenture hither to rob and ſteale out of Ireland, and were finallie called in by the Peats or Picts (as the Romans named them, bicauſe they painted their bodies) to helpe them againſt the Britains, after the which they ſo planted themſelues in theſe parts, that vnto our time that portion of the land cannot be cleanſed of them. I find alſo that as theſe Scots were reputed for the moſt Scithian-like and barbarous nation, and longeſt without letters; ſo they vſed commonlie to ſteale ouer into Britaine in leather ſkewes, and began to helpe the Picts about or not long before the beginning of Cæſars time. For both

Scots. Picts.

Diodorus *lib. 6.* and Strabo *lib. 4.* doo ſeeme to ſpeake of a parcell of the Iriſh nation that ſhould inhabit Britaine in their time, which were giuen to the eating of mans fleſh, and therefore called Anthropophagi. Mamertinus in like ſort doth note the Redſhanks and the Iriſh (which are properlie the Scots) to be the onelie enimies of our nation, before the comming of Cæſar, as appeareth in his panegyricall oration, ſo that hereby it is found that they are no new gheſtes in Britaine. Wherefore all the controuerſie doth reſt in the time of their firſt attempt to inhabit in this Iland. Certeinlie I maruell much while they trauell not to come in with Cantaber and Partholonus: but I ſee perfectlie that this ſhift ſhould be too groſſe for the maintenance of their deſired antiquitie. Now, as concerning their name, the Saxons tranſlated the word Scotus for Iriſh: whereby it appeareth that thoſe Iriſh, of whom Strabo and Diodorus doo ſpeake, are none other than thoſe Scots, of whom Ierome ſpeaketh *Aduerſus Iouinianum, lib. 2.* who vſed to feed on the buttocks of boies and womens paps, as delicate diſhes. Aethicus writing of the Ile of Man, affirmeth it to be inhabited with Scots ſo well as Ireland euen in his time. Which is another proofe that the Scots and Iriſh are all one people. They were alſo called Scoti by the Romans, becauſe their Iland & originall inhabitation thereof were vnknowne, and they themſelues an obſcure nation in the ſight of all the world. Now as concerning the Picts, whatſoeuer Ranulphus Hygden imagineth to the contrarie of their latter enterance, it is eaſie to find by Herodian and Mamertinus (of which the one calleth them Meates, the other Redſhankes and Pictones) that they were ſetled in this Ile long before the time of Seuerus, yea of Cæſar, and comming of the Scots. Which is proofe ſufficient, if no further authoritie remained extant for the ſame. So that the controuerſie lieth not in their comming alſo, but in the true time of their repaire and aduenture into this Iland out of the Orchades (out of which they gat ouer into the North parts of our countrie, as the writers doo report) and from whence they came at the firſt into the aforeſaid Ilands. For my part I ſuppoſe with other, that they came hither out of Sarmatia or Scythia: for that nation hauing had alwaies an eie vnto the commodities of our countrie, hath ſent out manie companies to inuade and ſpoile the ſame. It may be that ſome will gather, thoſe to be the Picts, of whom Cæſar ſaith that they ſtained their faces with wad and madder, to the end they might appeare terrible and fearefull to their enimies; and ſo inferre that the Picts were naturall Britans. But it is one thing to ſtaine the face onelie as the Britans did, of whom Propertius ſaith,

Nunc etiam infectos demum nutare Britannos,

And to paint the images and portraitures of beaſts, fiſh and foules ouer the whole bodie, as the Picts did, of whom Martial ſaith,

Barbara depictis veni Baſcauda Britannis.

Certes the times of Samothes and Albion, haue ſome likelie limitation: and ſo we may gather of the comming in of Brute, of Cæſar, the Saxons, the Danes, the Normans, and finallie of the Flemmings, (who had the Roſſe in Wales aſſigned vnto them 1066. after the drowning of their countrie.) But when firſt the Picts, & then the Scots ſhould come ouer into our Iland, as they were obſcure people, ſo the time of their arriuall is as far to me vnknowne. Wherefore the reſolution of this point muſt ſtill remaine In tenebris. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that Maximus firſt Legate of Britaine, and afterward emperour, draue the Scots out of Britaine, and compelled them to get habitation in Ireland, the out Iles, and the North part of the maine, and finallie diuided their region betweene the Britaines and the Picts. He denounced warre alſo againſt the Iriſhmen, for receiuing them into their land: but they crauing the peace, yeelded to ſubſcribe, that from thence-forth they would not receiue any Scot into their dominions; and ſo much the more, for that they were pronounced enimies to the Romans, and diſturbers of the common peace and quietneſſe of their prouinces here in England.

Of the Picts.

The Saxons became firſt acquainted with this Ile, by meanes of the piracie which they dailie practiſed vpon our coaſtes (after they had once begun to aduenture themſelues alſo vpon the ſeas, thereby to ſeeke out more wealth than was now to be gotten in the Weſt parts of the maine, which they and their neighbours had alreadie ſpoiled in moſt lamentable and barbarous maner) howbeit they neuer durſt preſume to inhabit in this Iland, vntill they were ſent for by Vortiger to ſerue him in his warres againſt the Picts and Scots, after that the Romans had giuen vs ouer, and left vs wholie to our owne defenſe and regiment. Being therefore come vnder Hengiſt in three bottoms or keeles, and in ſhort time eſpieng the idle and negligent behauiour of the Britaines, and fertilitie of our ſoile, they were not a little inflamed to make a full conqueſt of ſuch as at the firſt they came to aid and ſuccour. Hereupon alſo they fell by little and little to the winding in of greater numbers of their countrimen and neighbours, with their wiues and children into this region, ſo that within a while theſe new comlings began to moleſt the homelings, and ceaſed not from time to time to continue their purpoſe, vntill they had gotten poſſeſſion of the whole, or at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of our countrie; the Britons in the meane ſeaſon being driuen either into Wales and Cornewall, or altogither out of the Iland to ſeeke new habitations.

The hurt by forren aid.

In like maner the Danes (the next nation that ſucceeded) came at the firſt onelie to pilfer and robbe vpon the frontiers of our Iland, till that in the end, being let in by the Welſhmen or Britons through an earneſt deſire to be reuenged vpon the Saxons, they no leſſe plagued the one than the other, their friends than their aduerſaries, ſeeking by all meanes poſſible to eſtabliſh themſelues alſo in the ſure poſſeſſion of Britaine. But ſuch was their ſucceſſe, that they proſpered not long in their deuiſe: for ſo great was their lordlineſſe, crueltie, and inſatiable deſire of riches, beſide their deteſtable abuſing of chaſt matrons, and yong virgins (whoſe huſbands and parents were dailie inforced to become their drudges and ſlaues, whileſt they ſat at home and fed like drone bees of the ſweet of their trauell and labours) that God I ſay would not ſuffer them to continue any while ouer vs, but when he ſaw his time he remoued their yoke, and gaue vs libertie as it were to breath vs, thereby to ſee whether this his ſharpe ſcourge could haue moued vs to repentance and amendment of our lewd and ſinfull liues, or not. But when no ſigne thereof appeared in our hearts, he called in an other nation to ſcour vs, I meane the Normans, a people mixed with Danes, and of whom it is worthilie doubted, whether they were more hard and cruell to our countrimen than the Danes, or more heauie and intollerable to our Iland than the Saxons or the Romans. This nation came out of Newſtria, the people thereof were called Normans by the French, becauſe the Danes which ſubdued that region, came out of the North parts of the world: neuertheleſſe, I ſuppoſe that the ancient word Newſtria, is corrupted from Weſt-rike, becauſe that if you marke the ſituation, it lieth oppoſite from Auſtria or Oſt-rike, which is called the Eaſt region, as Newſtria is the Weſt: for Rike in the old Scithian tong doth ſignifie a region or kingdome, as in Franc-rike, or Franc-reich, Weſtſaxon-reich, Oſtſaxon-reich, Su-rike, Angel-rike, &c. is elſe to be ſeene. But howſoeuer this falleth out, theſe Normans

Danes.

The Normans.

or Danish French, were bedlie aduersaries to the English Saxons, first by meane of a quarell that grew betweene them in the daies of Edward the Confessour, at such time as the Earle of Bullen, and William Duke of Normandie, arriued in this land to visit him, & their frends; such Normans (I meane) as came ouer with him and Emma his mother before him, in the time of Canutus and Ethelred. For the first footing that euer the French did set in this Iland, sithence the time of Ethelbert & Sigebert, was with Emma, which Ladie brought ouer a traine of French Gentlemen and Ladies with hir into England.

The cause of the conquest by the Normans.

After hir also no small numbers of attendants came in with Edward the Confessour, whome he preferred to the greatest offices in the realme, in so much that one Robert a Norman, became Archbishop of Canturburie, whose preferment so much enhanced the minds of the French, on the one side, as their lordlie and outragious demeanour kindled the stomachs of the English nobilitie against them on the other: insomuch that not long before the death of Emma the kings mother, and vpon occasion of the brall hapning at Douer (whereof I haue made sufficient mention in my Chronologie, not regarding the report of the French authors in this behalfe, who write altogither in the fauour of their Archbishop Robert, but following the authoritie of an English prest then liuing in the court) the English Peeres began to shew their disliking in manifest maner. Neuertheles, the Normans so bewitched the king with their lieng and bosting, Robert the Archbishop being the chéefe instrument of their practise, that he beléeued them, and therevpon vexed sundrie of the nobilitie, amongst whom Earle Godwijn of Kent was the chéefe, a noble Gentleman and father in law to king Edward by the mariage of his daughter. The matter also came to such issue against him, that he was exiled, and fiue of his sonnes with him, whereupon he goeth ouer the sea, and sone after returning with his said sonnes, they inuaded the land in sundrie places, the father himselfe comming to London, where when the kings power was readie to ioine with him in battell, it vtterlie refused so to doo: affirming plainelie, that it should be méere follie for one Englishman to fight against another, in the reuenge of Frenchmens quarels: which answer entred so déeplie into the kings mind, that he was contented to haue the matter heard, and appointing commissioners for that purpose; they concluded at the vpshot, that all the French should depart out of England by a day, few excepted, whom the king should apoint and nominate.

Archbishop of Can. exiled, and the rest of the French.

By this means therfore Robert the Archbishop, & of secret counsell with the king, was first exiled as principall abuser & seducer of the king, who goeth to Rome, & there complaineth to the Pope of his iniurie receiued by the English. Howbeit as he returned home againe with no small hope of the readeption of his See, he died in Normandie, whereby he saued a killing. Certes he was the first that euer tendered complaint out of England vnto Rome, & with him went William Bishop of London (afterward reuoked) and Vlfo of Lincolne, who hardlie escaped the furie of the English nobilitie. Some also went into Scotland, and there held themselues, expecting a better time. And this is the true historie of the originall cause of the conquest of England by the French: for after they were well beaten at Douer, bicause of their insolent demeanour there shewed, their harts neuer ceased to boile with a desire of reuenge that brake out into a flame, so sone as their Robert possessed the primacie, which being once obteined, and to set his mischéefe intended abroch withall, a contention was quicklie procured about certeine Kentish lands, and controuersie kindled, whether he or the Earle should haue most right vnto them. The king held with the priest as with the church, the nobilitie with the Earle. In processe also of this businesse, the Archbishop accused the Earle of high treason, burdening him with the slaughter of Alfred the kings brother, which was altogither false: as appeareth by a treatise yet extant of that matter, written by a chaplaine to king Edward the Confessour, in the hands of John Stow my verie frend, wherein he saith thus, *Alfredus incautè agens in aduentu suo in Angliam a Danis circumuentus occiditur.* He addeth moreouer, that going out as he came through the countrie accompanied with his few proud Normans, how his meaning was to recouer his right vnto the kingdome, and supposing that all men would haue yéelded vnto him, he fell into their hands, whome Harald then king did send to apprehend him, vpon the same onelie of this report brought vnto his eares. So that (to be short) after the king had made his pacification with the Earle, the French (I say) were exiled, the Quéene restored to his fauour (whom he at the beginning of this broile had imprisoned at Wilton, allowing hir but one onlie maid to wait vpon hir) and the land reduced to hir former quietnesse, which continued vntill the death of the king. After which the Normans not forgetting their old grudge, remembred still their quarell, that in the end turned to their conquest of this Iland. After which obteined, they were so cruellie bent to our vtter subuersion and ouerthrow, that in the beginning it was lesse reproch to be accounted a slaue than an Englishman, or a drudge in anie filthie businesse than a Britaine: insomuch that euerie French page was superiour to the greatest Peere; and the losse of an Englishmans life but a passime to such of them as contended in their brauerie, who should giue the greatest strokes or wounds vnto their bodies, when their toiling and drudgerie could not please them, or satisfie their grédie humors. Yet such was our lot in those daies by the diuine appointed order, that we must néeds obey such as the Lord did set ouer vs, and so much the rather, for that all power to resist was vtterlie taken from vs, and our armes made so weake and feeble that they were not now able to remoue the importable load of the enimie from our surburdened shoulders.

Crte Goodwine slandered by the French writers.

The miserie of the English vnder the French.

The cause of our miserie.

And this onelie I saie againe, bicause we refused grace offered in time, and would not heare when God by his Preachers did call vs so fauourablie vnto him. Oh how miserable was the estate of our countrie vnder the French and Normans, wherein the Brittish and English that remained, could not be called to any function in the commonwealth, no not so much as to be constables and headburowes in small villages, except they could bring 2. or 3. Normans for suerties to the Lords of the soile for their good behauiour in their offices! Oh what numbers of all degrées of English and Brittish were made slaues and bondmen, and bought and sold as oxen in open market! In so much that at the first comming, the French bond were set free; and those that afterward became bond, were of our owne countrie and nation, so that few or rather none of vs remained free without some note of bondage and seruitude to the French. Hereby then we perceiue, how from time to time this Iland hath not onelie béene a prey, but as it were a common receptacle for strangers, the naturall homelings or Britons being still cut shorter and shorter, as I said before, till in the end they came not onelie to be driuen into a corner of this region, but in time also verie like vtterlie to haue béene extinguished. For had not king Edward, surnamed the saint, in his time, after greeuous wars made vpon them 1063. (wherein Harald latelie made Earle of Orenford, sonne to Godwin Earle of Kent, and after king of England, was his generall) permitted the remnant of their women to ioine in mariage with the Englishmen (when the most part of their husbands and male children were slaine with the sword) it could not haue béene otherwise chosen, but their whole race must

In this voiage the said Harald builded Portaschith, which Caradoch ap Griffin afterward ouerthrew, and killed the garrison that Harald left therein.

needs haue ſuffered the vttermoſt confuſion, and thereby the memorie of the Britons vtterlie haue periſhed among vs.

Thus we ſee how England hath ſix times bæne ſubiect to the reproch of conqueſt. And whereas the Scots ſéeme to challenge manie famous victories alſo ouer vs, beſide greéuous impoſitions, tributs, & diſhonorable compoſitions: it ſhall ſuffice for anſwer, that they deale in this as in the moſt part of their hiſtorie, which is to ſeeke great honor by lieng, & great renowme by prating and craking. Indeed they haue done great miſchéefe in this Iland, & with extreme crueltie; but as for any conqueſt the firſt is yet to heare of. Diuers other conqueſts alſo haue béene pretended by ſundrie princes ſithence the conqueſt, onelie to the end that all priſtinate lawes and tenures of poſſeſſion might ceaſe, and they make a new diſpoſition of all things at their owne pleaſure. As one by king Edw. the 3. but it toke none effect. Another by Henrie the 4. who neuertheleſſe was at the laſt though hardlie drawne from the challenge by William Thorington, then chéefe Juſtice of England. The third by Henrie the 7. who had ſome better ſhew of right, but yet without effect. And the laſt of all by Q. Marie, as ſome of the papiſts gaue out, and alſo would haue had hir to haue obteined, but God alſo ſtaied their malices, and hir challenge. But beſide the ſix afore mentioned, Huntingdon the old hiſtoriographer ſpeaketh of a ſeuenth, likelie (as he ſaith) to come one daie out of the North, which is a wind that bloweth no man to good, ſith nothing is to be had in thoſe parts, but hunger & much cold. Sée more hereof in the hiſtorie of S. Albons, and aforeſaid author which lieth on the left ſide of the libarie belonging now to Paules: for I regard no propheſies as one that doubteth from what ſpirit they do proceed, or who ſhould be the author of them.

Whether it be likelie that any giants were, and whether they inhabited in this Ile or not. Cap. 5.

BEſides theſe aforeſaid nations, which haue crept (as you haue heard) into our Iland, we read of ſundrie giants that ſhould inhabit here. Which report as it is not altogither incredible, ſith the poſſeſſions of diuers princes were called by the name: ſo vnto ſome mens eares it ſéemeth ſo ſtrange a reherſall, that for the ſame onelie cauſe they ſuſpect the credit of our whole hiſtorie, & reiect it as a fable, vnworthie to be read. They alſo condemne the like in all other hiſtories, eſpeciallie of the North, where men are naturallie of greateſt ſtature, imagining all to be but fables that is written of Starcater, Hartben, Angrine, Aruerode, &c: of whom Saxo, Iohannes Magnus and Olaus do make mention, & whoſe bones do yet remaine to be ſéene as rare miracles in nature. Of theſe alſo ſome in their life time were able to lift vp (as they write) a veſſell of liquor of 1000. weight, or an horſſe, or an ore, & call it on their ſhoulders (wherein their verie women haue bæne likewiſe knowne to come néere vnto them) and of the race of thoſe men, ſome were ſéene of no leſſe ſtrength in the 1500. of Grace, wherein Olaus liued, and wrote the ſame of his owne experience and knowledge. Of the giant of Spaine that died of late yeares by a fall vpon the Alpes, as he either went or came fro Rome, about the purchaſe of a diſpenſation to marrie with his kinſwoman (a woman alſo of much more than common ſtature) there be men yet liuing, and may liue long for age, that can ſaie verie much euen by their owne knowledge. Wherfore it appeareth by preſent experience, that all is not abſolutelie vntrue which is remembred of men of ſuch giants. For this cauſe therfore I haue now taken vpon me to make this bréefe diſcourſe inſuing, as indeuouring therby to prooue, that the opinion of giants is not altogither grounded vpon vaine and fabulous narrations, inuented onelie to delight the eares of the hearers with the report of marſuellous things: but that there haue bæne ſuch men in déed, as for their hugeneſſe of perſon haue reſembled rather * high towers than mortall men, although their poſſerities are now conſumed, and their monſtruous races vtterlie worne out of knowledge. *Eſay. 30. verſ. 25.

I do not meane herein to diſpute, whether this name Gigas or Nephilim was giuen vnto them, rather for their tyrannie and oppreſſion of the people, than for their greatneſſe of bodie, or large ſteps, as Goropius would haue it (for he denieth that euer men were greater than at this preſent) or bicauſe their parents were not knowne, for ſuch in old time were called *Terræ filij*; or whether the word Gigas doth onlie ſignifie *Indigenas*, or homelings, borne in the land or not; neither whether all men were of like quantitie in ſtature, and farre more greater in old time, than now they be: and yet abſolutelie I denie neither of theſe, ſith verie probable reaſons may be brought for ech of them, but eſpeciallie the laſt rehearſed, whoſe confirmation dependeth vpon the authorities of ſundrie ancient writers, who make diuers of noble race, equall to the giants in ſtrength and manhood, and yet do not giue the ſame name vnto them, bicauſe their quarels were iuſt, and commonlie taken in hand for defenſe of the oppreſſed. Examples hereof we may take of Hercules and Antheus, whoſe wreſtling declareth that they were equall in ſtature & ſtomach. Such alſo was the courage of Antheus, that being often ouercome, and as it were vtterlie vanquiſhed by the ſaid Hercules, yet if he did eſtſoones returne againe into his kingdome, he forthwith recouered his force, returned and held Hercules tacke, till he gat at the laſt betwéene him and home, ſo cutting off the farther hope of the reſtitution of his armie, and killing finallie his aduerſarie in the field, of which victorie Polician writeth thus: Antheus. Lucane lib. 4. in fine.

Incaluere animis dura certare palæſtra,
Neptuni quondàm filius atque Iouis:
Non certamen erant operoſo ex ære lebetes,
Sed qui vel vitam vel ferat interitum:
Occidit Anteus Ioue natum viuere fas eſt,
Eſtq; magiſtra Pales Græcia, non Lybia.

The like do our hiſtories report of Corineus and Gomagot, peraduenture king of this Ile, who fought a combat hand to hand, till one of them was ſlaine, and yet for all this no man reputeth Hercules or Corineus for giants, albeit that Hanuile in his Architrenion make the later to be 12. cubits in height, which is full 18. foot, if poeticall licence do not take place in his report and aſſertion. But ſith (I ſay againe) it is not my purpoſe to ſtand vpon theſe points, I paſſe ouer to ſpeake any more of them. And whereas alſo I might haue proceeded in ſuch order, that I ſhould firſt ſet downe by manie circumſtances, whether any giants were, then whether they were of ſuch huge and incredible ſtature as the authours do remember, and finallie whether any of them haue bæne in this our Iland or not, I proteſt plainlie, that my mind is not here bent to deale in any ſuch maner, but rather generallie to confirme and by ſufficient authoritie, that there haue bæne ſuch mightie men of ſtature, and ſome of them alſo in Britaine, which I will ſet downe onelie by ſundrie examples, whereby it ſhall fall out, that neither our Iland, nor any part of the maine, haue at one time or other bæn altogither without them. Firſt of all therfore, & to begin with the ſcriptures, the moſt ſure & certeine ground of all knowledge: you ſhall haue out of them Corineus, Gomagot.

ſuch

ſuch notable examples ſet downe, as I haue obſerued in reading the ſame, which vnto the godlie may ſuffice for ſufficient proofe of my poſition. Neuertheleſſe, after the ſcriptures I will reſort to the writtings of our learned Diuines, and finallie of the infidell and pagane authors, whereby nothing ſhall ſeeme to want that may confute Goropius, and all his cauillations.

Cap. 6. verſ. 5. Moſes the prophet of the Lord, writing of the eſtate of things before the floud, hath theſe words in his booke of generations. In theſe daies ſaith he, there were giants vpon the earth. Beroſus alſo the Chalde writeth, Anti. li. 1. that nere vnto Libanus there was a citie called Oenon (which I take to be Hanoch, builded ſometime by Cham) wherein giants did inhabit, who truſting to the ſtrength and hugeneſſe of their bodies, did verie great oppreſſion and miſcheefe in the world. The Hebrues called them generallie Enach, of Hanach the Chebronite, father to Achimam, Scheſchai and Talma, although their firſt originall was deriued from Henoch the ſonne of Caine, of whome that peſtilent race deſcended, as I read. The Moabits named them Emims, and the Ammonites Zamſummims, and it ſhould ſeeme by the ſecond of Deut. cap. 19, 20. that Ammon and Moab were greatlie repleniſhed with ſuch men, when Moſes wrote that treatiſe. For of theſe monſters ſome families remained of greater ſtature than other vnto Nu. cap. 13. verſe. 33, & 34. his daies, in compariſon of whome the children of Iſraell confeſſed themſelues to be but graſhoppers. Which is one noble teſtimonie that the word Gigas or Enach is ſo well taken for a man of huge ſtature, as for an homeborne child, wicked tyrant, or oppreſſour of the people.

Deut. 3. verſ. 11. Og of Baſan. Furthermore, there is mention made alſo in the ſcriptures of Og, ſometime king of Baſan, who was the laſt of the race of the giants, that was left in the land of promiſe to be ouercome by the Iſraelits, & whoſe iron bed was afterward ſhewed for a wonder at Rabbath (a citie of the Ammonites) conteining 9. cubits in length, and 4. in breadth, which cubits I take not to be geometricall, (that is, each one ſo great as ſix of the ſmaller, as thoſe were wherof the Arke was made, as our Diuines affirme, eſpeciallie Auguſtine: whereas Origen, *hom. 2. in Gen.* out of whom he ſeemeth to borrow it, appeareth to haue no ſuch meaning directlie) but rather of the arme of a meane man, which oftentimes doth varie & differ from the ſtandard. Oh how Goropius dalieth about the hiſtorie of this Og, of the breaking of his pate againſt the beds head, & of hurting his ribs againſt the ſides, and all to proue, that Og was not bigger than other men, and ſo he leaueth the matter as ſufficientlie anſwered with a French countenance of truth. But ſee Auguſt. *de ciuit. lib. 15. cap. 25. & ad Fauſtum Manich. lib.* 12. Ambroſ. *&c.* and Iohannes Buteo that excellent geometrician, who hath written of purpoſe of the capacitie of the Arke.

Cap 17. ver. 4, 5, 6. Goliah. In the firſt of Samuel you ſhall read of Goliah a Philiſtine, the weight of whoſe brigandine or ſhirt of maile was of 5000. ſicles, or 1250. ounces of braſſe, which amounteth to 104. pound of Troie weight after 4. common ſicles to the ounce. The head of his ſpeare came vnto ten pound Engliſh or 600. ſicles of that metall. His height alſo was meaſured at ſix cubits and an hand breadth. All which do import that he was a notable giant, and a man of great ſtature & ſtrength to weare ſuch an armour, and beweld ſo heauie a lance. But Goropius thinking himſelfe ſtill to haue Og in hand, and indeuouring to extenuate the fulneſſe of the letter to his vttermoſt power, doth neuertheleſſe earneſtlie affirme, that he was not aboue three foot more than the common ſort of men, or two foot higher than Saule: and ſo he leaueth it as determined.

Cap. 21. ver. 16, 17, &c. In the ſecond of Samuel, I find report of foure giants borne in Geth; of which Iſhbenob the firſt, that would haue killed Dauid, had a ſpeare, whoſe head weighed the iuſt halfe of that of Goliah: the ſecond called Siphai, Sippai or Saph, 1. *Par.* 20. was nothing inferiour to the firſt: the third hight alſo Goliah, the ſtaffe of whoſe ſpeare was like vnto the beame of a weauers lome, neuertheleſſe he was ſlaine in the ſecond battell in Gob by Elhanan, as the firſt was by Abiſai Ioabs brother, and the ſecond by Elhanan. The fourth brother (for they were all brethren) was ſlaine at Gath by Ionathan nephew to Dauid, and he was not onlie huge of perſonage, but alſo of diſfigured forme, for he had 24. fingers and toes. Wherby it is euident, that the generation of giants was not extinguiſhed in Paleſtine, vntill the time of Dauid, which was 2890. after the floud, nor vtterlie conſumed in Og, as ſome of our expoſitors would haue it.

Now to come vnto our chriſtian writers. For though the authorities alreadie alleged out of the word, are ſufficient to confirme my purpoſe at the full; yet will I not let to ſet downe ſuch other notes as experience hath reuealed, onelie to the end that the reader ſhall not thinke the name of giants, with their quantities, and other circumſtances, mentioned in the ſcriptures, rather to haue ſome myſticall interpretation depending vpon them, than that the ſenſe of the text in this behalfe is to be taken ſimplie as it ſpeaketh. And firſt of all to omit that which Tertullian *Lib. 2. de reſurrect.* ſaith; S. Auguſtine noteth, how he with other ſaw the tooth of a man, wherof he tooke good aduiſement, and pronounced in the end that it would haue made 100. of his owne, or anie other mans that liued in his time. The like hereof alſo doth Iohn Boccace ſet downe, in the 68. chapter of his 4. booke, ſaieng that in the caue of a mountaine, not far from Drepanum (a towne of Sicilia called Eryx as he geſſeth) the bodie of an exceeding high giant was diſcouered, three of whoſe teeth did weigh 100. ounces, which being conuerted into Engliſh poiſe, doth yeeld eight pound and foure ounces, after twelue ounces to the pound, that is 33. ounces euerie tooth.

De ciuitate Dei lib. 15. cap 9.

Iohannes Boccacius.

He addeth farther, that the forepart of his ſcull was able to conteine manie buſhels of wheat, and by the proportion of the bone of his thigh, the Symmetricians iudged his bodie to be aboue 200. cubits. Whoſe teeth, ſcull, and bones, were (and as I thinke yet are, for ought I know to the contrarie) to be ſeene in the church of Drepanum in perpetuall memorie of his greatneſſe, whoſe bodie was found vpon this occaſion. As ſome digged in the earth to laie the foundation of an houſe, the miners happened vpon a great vault, not farre from Drepanum: whereinto when they were entred, they ſaw the huge bodie of a man ſitting in the caue, of whoſe greatneſſe they were ſo afraid, that they ranne awaie, and made an outcrie in the citie, how there ſat a man in ſuch a place, ſo great as an hill: the people hearing the newes, ran out with clubs and weapons, as if they ſhould haue gone vnto a foughten field, and 300. of them entring into the caue, they forthwith ſaw that he was dead, and yet ſat as if he had bin aliue, hauing a ſtaffe in his hand, compared by mine author vnto the maſt of a tall ſhip, which being touched fell by and by to duſt, ſauing the nether end betweene his hand and the ground, whoſe hollowneſſe was filled with 1500. pound weight of lead, to beare vp his arme that it ſhould not fall in peeces: neuertheleſſe, his bodie alſo being touched fell likewiſe into duſt, ſauing three of his aforeſaid teeth, the forepart of his ſcull, and one of his thigh bones, which are reſerued to be ſeene of ſuch as will hardlie beleeue theſe reports.

A carcaſe diſcouered of 200. cubits.

In the hiſtories of Brabant I read of a giant found, whoſe bones were 17. or 18. cubits in length, but Goropius, as his maner is, denieth them to be the bones of a man, affirming rather that they were the bones of an elephant, becauſe they ſomwhat reſembled thoſe of two ſuch beaſts which were found at the making of the famous ditch betweene Brurels and Machlin. As though there

there were anie preciſe reſemblance betweene the bones of a man and of an elephant, or that there had euer beene any elephant of 27. foot in length. But ſee his demeanour. In the end he granteth that another bodie was found vpon the ſhore of Rhodanus, of thirtie foot in length. Which ſomewhat ſtaieth his iudgement, but not altogither remoueth his error.

Mat. Weſtmon. The bodie of Pallas was found in Italie, in the yeare of Grace 1038. and being meaſured it conteined twentie foot in length, this Pallas was companion with Æneas.

Iohannes Leland. Maſeus, lib. 14. Triuet. Mat. Weſt. There was a carcaſe alſo laid bare 1170. in England vpon the ſhore (where the beating of the ſea had waſhed awaie the earth from the ſtone wherein it laie) and when it was taken vp, it conteined 50. foot in meaſure, as our hiſtories do report. The like was ſeene before in Wales, in the yeare 1087. of another of 14. foot.

In Perth moreouer a village in Scotland another was taken vp, which to this daie they ſhew in a church, vnder the name of little Iohn (*per Antiphraſin*) being alſo 14. foot in length, as diuerſe do affirme which haue beholden the ſame, and whereof Hector Boetius doth ſaie, that he did put his whole arme into one of the hanch bones: which is worthie to be remembred.

Hector Boet.

In the yeare of Grace 1475. the bodie of Tulliola the daughter of Cicero was taken vp, & found higher by not a few foot than the common ſort of women liuing in thoſe daies.

Gerualius Tilberienſis. Geruaſius Tilberienſis, head Marſhall to the king of Arles writeth in his Cronicle dedicated to Otho 4. how that at Iſoretum, in the ſuburbes of Paris, he ſaw the bodie of a man that was twentie foot long, beſide the head and the necke, which was miſſing & not found, the owner hauing peraduenture beene beheaded for ſome notable treſpaſſe committed in times paſt, or (as he ſaith) killed by S. William.

The Greeke writers make mention of Andronicus their emperour, who liued 1183. of Grace, and was ten foot in height, that is, three foot higher than the Dutch man that ſhewed himſelfe in manie places of England, 1582. this man maried Anna daughter to Lewis of France (before aſſured to Alerius, whome he ſtrangled, diſmembred and drowned in the ſea) the ladie not being aboue eleuen yeares of age, whereas he was an old dotard, and beſide hir he kept Marpaca a fine harlot, who ruled him as ſhe liſted.

Zonaras ſpeaketh of a woman that liued in the daies of Iuſtine, who being borne in Cilicia, and of verie comelie perſonage, was neuertheleſſe almoſt two foot taller than the talleſt woman of hir time.

Sir Thomas Eliot. A carcaſe was taken vp at Iuie church neare Saliſburie but of late yeares to ſpeake of, almoſt fourteene foot long. *in Dictionario Eliotæ.*

Leland in Cumbrit. In Gilleland in Come Whitton paroche not far from the chappell of the Howe, ſir miles by eaſt from Carleill, a coffin of ſtone was found, and therein the bones of a man, of more than incredible greatnes. In like ſort Leland ſpeaketh of another found in the Ile called Alderney, whereof you ſhall read more in the chapiter of our Ilands.

Richard Graſton. Richard Graſton in his Manuell telleth of one whoſe ſhinbone conteined ſix foot, and thereto his ſcull ſo great that it was able to receiue fiue pecks of wheat. Wherefore by coniecturall ſymmetrie of theſe parts, his bodie muſt needs be of 24. foot, or rather more, if it were diligentlie meaſured. For the proportion of a comelie and well featured bodie, anſwereth 9. times to the length of the face, taken at large from the pitch of the crowne to the chin, as the whole length is from the ſame place vnto the ſole of the foot, meaſured by an imagined line, and ſeuered into ſo manie parts by like ouerthwart draughts, as Drurerus in his lineall deſcription of mans bodie doth deliuer. Neuertheles, this ſymmetrie is not taken by other than the well proportioned face, for *Recta, orbiculata* (or *fornicata*) *prona, reſupinata,* and *lacunata* (or *repanda*) do ſo far degenerate from the true proportion as from the forme and beautie of the comelie. Hereby alſo they make the face taken in ſtrict maner, to be the tenth part of the whole bodie, that is, frō the higheſt part of the forehead to the pitch of the chin, ſo that in the vſe of the word face there is a difference, wherby the 9. part is taken (I ſay) from the crowne (called *Vertex*, becauſe the haire there turneth into a circle) ſo that if the ſpace by a rule were truelie taken, I meane from the crowne or higheſt part of the head to the pitch of the nether chap, and multiplied by nine, the length of the whole bodie would eaſilie appeare, & ſhew it ſelfe at the full. In like maner I find, that from the elbow to the top of the midle finger is the 4. part of the whole length, called a cubit: from the wriſt to the top of the ſame finger, a tenth part: the length of the ſhinbone to the ancle a fourth part (and all one with the cubit:) from the top of the finger to the third ioint, two third parts of the face from the top of the forehead. Which obſeruations I willinglie remember in this place, to the end that if anie ſuch carcaſes happen to be found hereafter, it ſhall not be hard by ſome of theſe bones here mentioned, to come by the ſtature of the whole bodie, in certeine & exact maner. As for the reſt of the bones, ioints, parts, &c: you may reſort to Drurerus, Cardan, and other writers, ſith the farther deliuerie of them concerneth not my purpoſe. To proceed therefore with other examples, I read that the bodie of king Arthur being found in the peare 1189. was two foot higher than anie man that came to behold the ſame. Finallie the carcaſe of William conqueror was ſeene not manie yeares ſince (to wit, 1542.) in the citie of Cane, twelue inches longer, by the iudgment of ſuch as ſaw it, than anie man which dwelled in the countrie. All which teſtimonies I note togither, becauſe they proceed from chriſtian writers, from whome nothing ſhould be farther or more diſtant, than of ſet purpoſe to lie, and feed the world with fables.

Sylueſter Gyraldus. Conſtans fama Gallorum.

In our times alſo, and whileſt Francis the firſt reigned ouer France, there was a man ſeene in Aquiteine, whome the king being in thoſe parties made of his gard, whoſe height was ſuch, that a man of common heigth might eaſilie go vnder his twiſt without ſtoping, a ſtature incredible. Moreouer Caſanion, a writer of our time, telleth of the bones of Briar a giant found of late in Delphinois, of 15. cubits, the diameter of whoſe ſcull was two cubits, and the breadth of his ſhoulders foure, as he himſelfe beheld in the late ſecond wars of France, & whereunto the report of Ioan Marius made in his bookes *De Galliarum illuſtrationibus*, where he writeth of the carcaſe of the ſame giant found not farre from the Rhodanus, which was 22. foot long, from the ſcull to the ſole of the feet, doth yeeld ſufficient teſtimonie. Alſo Calameus in his commentaries *De Biturigibus*, confirmeth no leſſe, adding that he was found 1556. & ſo doth Baptiſta Fulgoſius, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* ſaieng farther, that his graue was ſeene not farre from Valentia, and diſcouered by the violence and current of the Rhodanus. The ſaid Caſanion in like ſort ſpeaketh of the bones of a man which he beheld, one of whoſe teeth was a foot long, and eight pound in weight. Alſo of the ſepulchre of another neere vnto Charmes caſtell, which was nine paces in length, things incredible to vs, if eieſight did not confirme it in our owne times, and theſe carcaſes were not reſerued by the verie prouidence of God, to the end we might behold his works, and by theſe relikes vnderſtand, that ſuch men were in old time in deed, of whoſe ſtatures we now begin to doubt. Now to ſaie ſomwhat alſo of mine owne knowledge, there is the thighbone of a man to be ſeene in the church of S. Laurence neere Guildhall in London, which in time paſt was 26. inches in length, but now it beginneth to decaie, ſo that it is ſhorter by foure inches than it was in the time of king Edward. Another alſo

The Symmetrie or proportion of the bodie of a comelie man.

is to be ſeene in Aldermarie burie, of ſome called Aldermanburie, of 32. inches and rather more, whereof the ſymmetrie hath beene taken by ſome ſkilfull in that practiſe, and an image made according to that proportiõ, which is ſixed in the eaſt end of the cloiſter of the ſame church, not farre from the ſaid bone, and sheweth the perſon of a man full ten or eleuen foot high, which as ſome ſay was found in the cloiſter of Poules, that was neere to the libzarie, at ſuch time as the Duke of Somerſet did pull it downe to the verie foundation, and carried the ſtones thereof to the Strand, where he did build his houſe. Theſe two bones haue I ſeene, beſide other, whereof at the beholding I toke no great heed, becauſe I minded not as then to haue had any ſuch vſe of their proportions, and therefore I will ſpeake no more of them: this is ſufficient for my purpoſe that is deliuered out of the chriſtian authors.

Now it reſteth furthermore that I ſet downe, what I haue read therof in Pagane writers, who had alwaies great regard of their credit, and ſo ought all men that dedicate any thing vnto poſteritie, leaſt in going about otherwiſe to reape renowme and praiſe, they do procure vnto themſelues in the end nothing elſe but meere contempt and infamie. For my part I will touch rare things, and ſuch as to my ſelfe do ſeeme almoſt incredible: howbeit as I find them, ſo I note them, requiring your Honour in reading hereof, to let euerie Author beare his owne burden, and euerie ore his bundle.

In vita Sertorij de Antheo. Plutarch telleth how Sertorius being in Lybia, neere to the ſtreicts of Maroco, to wit, at Tingi (or Tanger in Mauritania, as it is now called) cauſed the ſepulchre of Antheus, afore remembred to be opened: for hearing by common report that the ſaid giant laie buried there, whoſe corps was fiftie cubits long at the leaſt, he was ſo far off from crediting the ſame, that he would not beleeue it, vntill he ſaw the coffin open wherein the bones of the aforeſaid prince did reſt. To be ſhort therefore, he cauſed his ſouldiers to caſt downe the hill made ſometime ouer the tombe, and finding the bodie in the bottome coffined in ſtone, after the meaſure therof taken, he ſaw it manifeſtlie to be 60. cubits in length, which were ten more than the people made accompt of, which Strabo alſo confirmeth.

Pauſanias reporteth out of one Miſo, that when the bodie of Aiax was found, the whirlebone of his knee was adiudged ſo broad as a platie diſh: alſo that the bodie of Aſterius ſometime king of Creta was ten cubits long, and that of Hyllus or Gerion no leſſe marueilous than the reſt, all which Goropius ſtill condemneth to be the bones of monſters of the ſea (notwithſtanding the manifeſt formes of their bones, epitaphes, and inſcriptions found ingrauen in braſſe and lead with them in their ſepulchres) ſo far is he from being perſuaded and led from his opinion.

Philoſtrate. Philoſtrate *in Heroicis* ſaith, how he ſaw the bodie of a giant thirtie cubits in length, alſo the carcaſe of another of two and twentie, and the third of twelue.

Liuie in the ſeauenth of his firſt decade, ſpeaketh of an huge perſon which made a challenge as he ſtood at the end of the Anien bridge, againſt any Romane that would come out and fight with him, whoſe ſtature was not much inferiour to that of Goliah, of Artaches (of whome Herodot ſpeaketh in the hiſtorie of Xerxes) who was ſixe common cubits of ſtature, which make but fiue of the kings ſtandard, becauſe this is longer by three fingers than the other. Of Puſio, Secundilla, & Cabaras, of which the firſt two liuing vnder Auguſtus were aboue ten foot, and the later vnder Claudius of full nine, and all remembred by Plinie; of Eleazar a Iew, of whome Joſephus ſaith, that he was ſent to Tiberius, and a perſon of height fiue cubits, of another of whom Nicephorus maketh mention *lib.* 12. *cap.* 13. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* of fiue cubits and an handfull, I ſay nothing, becauſe Caſanion of Mutterell hath alredie ſufficientlie diſcourſed vpon theſe examples in his *De gigantibus*, which as I geſſe he hath written of ſet purpoſe againſt Goropius, who in his *Gigantomachia*, ſuppoſeth himſelfe to haue killed all the giants in the world, and like a new Iupiter *Alterum carcaſſe Herculem*, as the ſaid Caſanion doth merrilie charge and vpbraid him.

Plinie telleth of an earthquake at Creta, which diſcouered the bodie of a giant, that was 46. cubits in length after the Romane ſtandard, and by diuerſe ſuppoſed to be the bodie of Orion or Ætion. Neuertheleſſe I read, that Lucius Flaccus and Metellus did ſweare *Per ſua capita*, that it was either the carcaſe of ſome monſter of the ſea, or a forged deuiſe to bleare the peoples eies withall, wherein it is wonderfull to ſee, how they pleaſe Goropius as one that firſt deriued his fantaſticall imagination from their aſſeueration & oth. The ſaid Plinie alſo addeth that the bodie of Oreſtes was ſeuen cubits in length, one Gabbara of Arabia nine foot nine inches, and two reſerued *In conditorio Salluſtianorum* halfe a foot longer than Gabbara was, for which I neuer read that anie man was driuen to ſweare. Lib. 7.

Trallianus writeth how the Athenienſes digging on a time in the ground, to laie the foundation of a new wall to be made in a certeine Iland in the daies of an emperour, did find the bones of Macroſyris in a coffin of hard ſtone, of 100. cubits in length after the accompt of the Romane cubit, which was then either a foot and a halfe, or not much in difference from halfe a yard of our meaſure now in England. Theſe verſes alſo, as they are now tranſlated out of Greeke were found withall, Trallianus.

Sepultus ego Macroſyris in longa inſula
Vitæ peractis annis mille quinquies: which amounteth to 81. yeares foure moneths, after the Aegyptian reckoning.

In the time of Hadrian the emperour, the bodie of the giant Ida was taken vp at Meſſana, conteining 20. foot in length, and hauing a double row of teeth, yet ſtanding whole in his chaps. Eumachus alſo in *Periegeſi*, telleth that when the Carthaginenſes went about to dich in their prouince, they found two bodies in ſeuerall coffins of ſtone, the one was 23. the other 24. cubits in length, ſuch another was found in Boſphoro Cymmerio after an earthquake, but the inhabitants did caſt thoſe bones into the Meotidan marris. In Dalmatia, manie graues were ſhaken open with an earthquake, in diuerſe of which certein carcaſes were found, whoſe ribs conteined 16. els, after the Romane meaſure, whereby the whole bodies were iudged to be 64. ſith the longeſt rib is commonlie about the fourth part of a man, as ſome roving ſymmetricians affirme.

Arrhianus, ſaith that in the time of Alexander the bodies of the Aſians were generallie of huge ſtature, and commonlie of fiue cubits, and ſuch was the height of Porus of Inde, whom the ſaid Alexander vanquiſhed and ouerthrew in battell.

Suidas ſpeaketh of Ganges, killed alſo by the ſaid prince, who farre exceeded Perus; for he was ten cubits long. What ſhould I ſpeake of Artaceas a capitaine in the hoſt of Xerxes afore remembred, whoſe height was within 4. fingers breadth of fiue cubits, & the talleſt man in the armie except the king himſelfe. Herod. *lib.* 7. Of Athanatus whom Plinie remembreth I ſais nothing. But of all theſe, this one example ſhall paſſe, which I do read of in Trallianus, and he ſetteth downe in forme and manner following.

In the daies of Tiberius th'emperor ſaith he, a corps was left bare or laid open after an earthquake, of which each tooth (taken one with another) conteined 12. inches ouer at the leaſt. Now forſomuch as in ſuch as be full mouthed, each chap hath commonlie 16. teeth at the leaſt, which amount vnto 32. in the whole, needs muſt the wideneſſe of this mans chaps be welneere of 16. foot, and the opening of his lips fiue at the leaſt. A large A mouth of fifteene foot wide.

mouth

mouth in mine opinion, and not to eat peaſon with Ladies of my time, beſides that if occaſion ſerued, it was able to receiue the whole bodies of mo than one of the greateſt men, I meane of ſuch as we be in our daies. When this carcaſe was thus found, euerie man marueiled at it, & god cauſe why. A meſſenger was ſent to Tiberius the emperour alſo to know his pleaſure, whether he would haue the ſame brought ouer vnto Rome or not, but he forbad them, willing his Legate not to remoue the dead out of his reſting place, but rather somewhat to ſatiſſie his phantaſie to ſend him a toth out of his head, which being done, he gaue it to a cunning workeman, commanding him to ſhape a carcaſe of light matter, after the proportion of the toth, that at the leaſt by ſuch means he might ſatiſſie his curious mind, and the fantaſies of ſuch as are delited with nouelties. To be ſhort, when the image was once made and ſet vp on end, it appeered rather an huge coloſſie than the true carcaſe of a man, and when it had ſtood in Rome vntill the people were wearie & throughlie ſatiſfied with the ſight thereof, he cauſed it to be broken all to peeces, and the toth ſent againe to the carcaſe frō whence it came, willing them moreouer to couer it diligentlie, and in anie wiſe not to diſmember the corps, nor from thenceforth to be ſo hardie as to open the ſepulchre anie more. Pauſan. *lib.* 8. telleth in like maner of Hiplodanus & his fellowes, who liued when Rhea was with child of Oſyris by Cham, and were called to hir aid at ſuch time as ſhe feared to be moleſted by Hammon hir firſt huſband, whileſt ſhe remained vpon the Thoumaſian hill, *In ipſō loco*, ſaith he, *ſpectantur oſſa maiora multo quàm vt humana exiſtimari poſſint, &c.* Of Protophanes who had but one great and broad bone in ſtead of all his ribs on ech ſide I ſaie nothing, ſith it concerneth not his ſtature.

A counterfect made of a monſtrous carcaſe by one tooth taken out of the head.

This man was more honorable to this monſter than our papiſts were to the bodies of the dead who tare them in peeces to make money of them.

Grandiáque effoſſis mirabitur oſſa ſepulchris.

I could rehearſe manie mo examples of the bodies of ſuch men, out of Solinus, Sabellicus, D. Cooper, and others. As of Oetas and Ephialtes, who were ſaid to be nine yardes or paces in heigth, and foure in breadth, which are taken for ſo many cubits, becauſe there is ſmall difference betweene a mans ordinarie pace and his cubit, and finallie of our Richard the firſt, who is noted to beare an axe in the wars, the iron of whoſe head onelie weighed twentie pound after our greateſt weight, and whereof an old writer that I haue ſeene, ſaith thus:

This king Richard I vnderſtand,
Yer he went out of England,
Let make an axe for the nones,
Therewith to cleaue the Saracens bones,
The head in ſooth was wrought full weele,
Thereon were twentie pound of ſteele,
And when he came in Cyprus land,
That ilkon axe he tooke in hand, &c.

I could ſpeake alſo of Gerards ſtaffe or lance, yet to be ſeene in Gerards hall at London in Baſing lane, which is ſo great and long that no man can beweld it, neither go to the top thereof without a ladder, which of ſet purpoſe and for greater countenance of the wonder is fixed by the ſame. I haue ſeene a man my ſelfe of ſeuen foot in heigth, but lame of his legs. The chronicles alſo of Cogſhall ſpeake of one in Wales, who was halfe a foot higher, but through infirmitie and wounds not able to beweld himſelfe. I might (if I thought good) ſpeake alſo of another of no leſſe heigth than either of theſe and liuing of late yeares, but theſe here remembred ſhall ſuffice to proue my purpoſe withall. I might tell you in like ſort of the marble ſtone which Turnus threw at Æneas, and was ſuch as that twelue choſen and picked men (ſaith Virgil,

(*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus*)

Vis vnita fortior eſt ea-dem diſperſa.

were not able to ſtur and remoue out of the place: but I paſſe it ouer, and diuerſe of the like, concluding that theſe huge blocks were ordeined and created by God: firſt for a teſtimonie vnto vs of his power and might; and ſecondlie for a confirmation, that hugenes of bodie is not to be accompted of as a part of our felicitie, ſith they which poſſeſſed the ſame, were not onelie tyrants, doltiſh, & euill men, but alſo oftentimes ouercome euen by the weake & feeble. Finallie they were ſuch indeed as in whom the Lord delited not, according to the ſaieng of the prophet Baruch; *Ibi fuerunt gigantes nominati, illi qui ab initio fuerunt ſtatura magna, ſcientes bellum, hos non elegit Dominus, neque illis viam diſciplinæ dedit, propterea perierunt, & quoniam non habuerunt ſapientiam, interierunt propter ſuam inſipientiam, &c.* that is, There were the giants famous from the beginning, that were of great ſtature and expert in warre, thoſe did not the Lord chooſe, neither gaue he the waie of knowledge vnto them, but they were deſtroied, becauſe they had no wiſedome, and periſhed through their owne follyſhneſſe. What the bodies of men alſo do dailie decaie in ſtature, beſide Plinie *lib.* 7. Eſdras likewiſe confeſſeth *lib.* 4. *cap.* 5. whoſe authoritie is ſo good herein as that of Homer or Plinie, who do affirme ſo much, whereas Goropius ſtill continuing his wonted pertinacitie alſo in this behalfe, maketh his proportion firſt by the old Romane foot, and then by his owne, & thereupon concludeth that men in theſe daies be fullie ſo great as euer they were, whereby as in the former dealing he thinketh it nothing to conclude againſt the ſcriptures, choſen writers and teſtimonies of the oldeſt pagans. But ſee how he would ſalue all at laſt in the end of his Gigantomachia, where he ſaith, I denie not but that od huge perſonages haue bene ſeene, as a woman of ten, and a man of nine foot long, which I my ſelfe alſo haue beholden, but as now ſo in old time the common ſort did ſo much wonder at the like as we do at theſe, becauſe they were ſeldome ſeene, and not commonlie to be heard of.

Cap. 3. 36.

4. Eſd. cap 5.

Of the languages ſpoken in this Iland. Cap. 6.

Brittiſh.

WHat language came firſt with Samothes and afterward with Albion, and the giants of his companie, it is hard for me to determine, ſith nothing of ſound credit remaineth in writing, which may reſolue vs in the truth hereof. Yet of ſo much are we certeine, that the ſpeach of the ancient Britons, and of the Celts, had great affinitie one with another, ſo that they were either all one, or at leaſtwiſe ſuch as either nation with ſmall helpe of interpretors might vnderſtand other, and readilie diſcerne what the ſpeaker meant. Some are of the opinion that the Celts ſpake Greeke, and how the Britiſh tong reſembled the ſame, which was ſpoken in Grecia before Homer did reforme it: but I ſee that theſe men do ſpeake without authoritie and therefore I reiect them, for if the Celts which were properlie called Galles did ſpeake Greeke, why did Ceſar in his letters ſent to Rome vſe that language, becauſe that if they ſhould be intercepted they might not vnderſtand them, or why did he not vnderſtand the Galles, he being ſo skilfull in the language without an interpretor? Yet I denie not but that the Celtiſh and Britiſh ſpeaches might haue great affinitie one with another, and the Britiſh aboue all other with the Greeke, for both do appeere by certeine words, as firſt in trifor three, march for an horſſe, & trimarchia, whereof Pauſanias ſpeaketh, for both. Atheneus alſo writeth of Bathanaſius a capitaine of the Galles, whoſe name is meere Britiſh, compounded of Bath & Ynad, & ſignifieth a noble or comelie iudge. And whereas he ſaith that the reliques of the Galles tooke vp their firſt dwelling about Iſther, and afterward diuided themſelues in ſuch wiſe, that they which went and dwelled in Hungarie were called Sordſai, and the other that inha-

Small difference betweene the Britiſh and Celtike languages.

inhabited within the dominion of Tyrroll) Bzenni, whoſe ſeate was on the mount Bzenhere parcell of the Alpes, what elſe ſignifieth the word Iſcaredich in Bzitiſh, from whence the word Scordiſci commeth, but to be diuided? Hereby then, and ſundzie other the like teſtimonies, I gather that the Bzitiſh and the Celtiſh ſpeaches had great affinitie one with another, as I ſaid, which Ceſar (ſpeaking of the ſimilitude or likeneſſe of religion in both nations) doth alſo auerre, & Tacitus *in vita* Agricolæ, in like ſort plainlie affirmeth, or elſe it muſt needs be that the Galles which inuaded Italie and Gzæce were mere Bzitons, of whoſe likenes of ſpeech with the Gzæke tong I need not make anie triall, ſith no man (I hope) will readilie denie it. Appianus talking of the Bzenni calleth them Cymbzes, and by this I gather alſo that the Celts and the Bzitons were indifferentlie called Cymbri in their owne language, or elſe that the Bzitons were the right Cymbri, who vnto this daie do not refuſe to be called by that name. Bodinus writing of the means by which the originall of euerie kingdome and nation is to be had and diſcerned, ſetteth downe three waies whereby the knowledge thereof is to be found, one is (ſaith he) the infallible teſtimonie of the ſound writers, the other the deſcription and ſite of the region, the third the reliks of the ancient ſpeech remaining in the ſame. Which later if it be of any force, then I muſt conclude, that the ſpeech of the Bzitons and Celts was ſometime either all one or verie like one to another, or elſe it muſt follow that the Bzitons ouerflowed the continent vnder the name of Cymbzes, being peraduenture aſſociat in this voiage, or mixed by inuaſion with the Danes, and Norwegiens, who are called Cymbri and Cymmerij, as moſt writers do remember. This alſo is euident (as Plutarch likewiſe confeſſeth *In vita Mary*) that no man knew from whence the Cymbzes came in his daies, and therfore I leaue that they came out of Bzitaine, for all the maine was well knowne vnto them, I meane euen to the vttermoſt part of the north, as may appeare furthermore by the ſlaues which were dailie brought from thence vnto them, whom of their countries they called Dani for Daci, Getæ for Gothes, &c: for of their conqueſts I need not make rehearſall, ſith they are commonlie knowne and remembred by the writers, both of the Gzækes and Latines.

Bzitiſh corrupted by the Latine and Saxon ſpeeches.

The Bzitiſh tong called Camberaec doth yet remaine in that part of the Iland, which is now called Wales, whither the Bzitons were driuen after the Saxons had made a full conqueſt of the other, which we now call England, although the priſtinate integritie thereof be not a little diminiſhed by mixture of the Latine and Saxon ſpeaches withall. Howbeit, manie poeſies and writings (in making whereof that nation hath euermore delited) are yet extant in my time, whereby ſome difference betweene the ancient and preſent language may eaſilie be diſcerned, notwithſtanding that among all theſe there is nothing to be found, which can ſet downe anie ſound and full teſtimonie of their owne originall, in remembrance whereof, their Bards and cunning men haue beene moſt slacke and negligent. Giraldus in praiſing the Bzitons affirmeth that there is not one word in all their language, that is not either Gzæke or Latine. Which being rightly vnderſtanded and conferred with the likeneſſe that was in old time betweene the Celts & the Bzitiſh tongs, will not a little helpe thoſe that thinke the old Celtiſh to haue ſome ſauour of the Gzæke. But how ſoeuer that matter ſtandeth, after the Bzitiſh ſpeach came once ouer into this Iland, ſure it is, that it could neuer be extinguiſhed for all the attempts that the Romans, Saxons, Normans, and Engliſhmen could make againſt that nation, in anie maner of wiſe.

The Bzitons diligent in petigrees.

Petigrees and genealogies alſo the Welſh Bzitons haue plentie in their owne tong, inſomuch that manie of them can readilie deriue the ſame, either from Bzute or ſome of his band, euen vnto Æneas and other of the Troians, and ſo forth vnto Noah without anie maner of ſtop. But as I know not what credit is to be giuen vnto them in this behalfe, although I muſt needs confeſſe that their ancient Bards were verie diligent in there collection, and had alſo publike allowance or ſalarie for the ſame; ſo I dare not abſolutelie impugne their aſſertions, ſith that in times paſt all nations (learning it no doubt of the Hebzues) did verie ſolemnelie preſerue the catalogs of their deſcents, thereby either to ſhew themſelues of ancient and noble race, or elſe to be deſcended from ſome one of the gods. But

Stemmata quid faciunt? quid prodeſt Pontice longo
Sanguine cenſeri? aut quid auorum ducere tiirmas? &c.

Latine.

Next vnto the Bzitiſh ſpeach, the Latine tong was brought in by the Romans, and in maner generallie planted through the whole region, as the French was after by the Normans. Of this tong I will not ſay much, bicauſe there are few which be not skilfull in the ſame. Howbeit, as the ſpeach it ſelfe is eaſie and delectable, ſo hath it peruerted the names of the ancient riuers, regions, & cities of Bzitaine in ſuch wiſe, that in theſe our daies their old Bzitiſh denominations are quite growne out of memorie, and yet thoſe of the new Latine left as moſt vncertaine. This remaineth alſo vnto my time, borowed from the Romans, that all our deeds, euidences, charters, & writings of record, are ſet downe in the Latine tong, though now verie barbarous, and therevnto the copies and court-rolles, and proceſſes of courts and leets regiſtred in the ſame.

The Saxon toong.

The third language apparantlie knowne is the Scithian or high Dutch, induced at the firſt by the Saxons (which the Bzitons call Sayſonaec, as they do the ſpeakers Sayſon) an hard and rough kind of ſpeach, God wot, when our nation was brought firſt into acquaintance withall, but now changed with vs into a farre more fine and eaſie kind of vtterance, and ſo poliſhed and helped with new and milder words, that it is to be auouched how there is no one ſpeach vnder the ſunne ſpoken in our time, that hath or can haue more varietie of words, copie of phraſes, or figures and floures of eloquence, than hath our Engliſh tong, although ſome haue affirmed vs rather to barke as dogs, than talke like men, bicauſe the moſt of our words (as they do indeed) incline vnto one ſyllable. This alſo is to be noted as a teſtimonie remaining ſtill of our language, deriued from the Saxons, that the generall name for the moſt part of euerie ſkilfull artificer in his trade endeth in Here with vs, albeit the H be left out, and er onlie inſerted, as Scriuenhere, writehere, ſhiphere, &c: for ſcriuener, writer, and ſhipper, &c: beſide manie other reliks of that ſpeach, neuer to be aboliſhed.

The French toong.

After the Saxon tong, came the Norman or French language ouer into our countrie, and therein were our lawes written for a long time. Our children alſo were by an eſpeciall decree taught firſt to ſpeake the ſame, and therevnto inforced to learne their conſtructions in the French, whenſoeuer they were ſet to the Grammar ſchoole. In like ſort few biſhops, abbats, or other clergie men, were admitted vnto anie eccleſiaſticall function here among vs, but ſuch as came out of religious houſes from beyond the ſeas, to the end they ſhould not vſe the Engliſh tong in their ſermons to the people. In the court alſo it grew into ſuch contempt, that moſt men thought it no ſmall diſhonor to ſpeake any Engliſh there. Which brauerie toke his hold at the laſt likewiſe in the countrie with euerie plowman, that euen the verie carters began to wax wearie of there mother tong, & laboured to ſpeake French, which as then was counted no ſmall token of gentilitie. And no maruell, for euerie French raſcall, when he came once hither, was taken for a gentleman, onelie bicauſe he was proud, and could vſe his owne language, and all this (I ſay) to

exile

erile the Engliſh and Britiſh ſpeaches quite out of the countrie. But in vaine, for in the time of king Edward the firſt, to wit, toward the latter end of his reigne, the French it ſelfe ceaſed to be ſpoken generallie, but moſt of all and by law in the midſt of Edward the third, and then began the Engliſh to recouer and grow in more eſtimation than before; notwithſtanding that among our artificers, the moſt part of their implements, toles and words of art reteine ſtill their French denominations euen to theſe our daies, as the language it ſelfe is vſed likewiſe in ſundrie courts, bookes of record, and matters of law; whereof here is no place to make any particular rehearſall. Afterward alſo, by diligent trauell of Geffray Chaucer, and Iohn Gowre, in the time of Richard the ſecond, and after them of Iohn Scogan, and Iohn Lydgate monke of Berrie, our ſaid tong was brought to an excellent paſſe, notwithſtanding that it neuer came vnto the type of perfection, vntill the time of Quéene Elizabeth, wherein Iohn Iewell B. of Sarum, Iohn Fox, and ſundrie learned & excellent writers haue fullie accompliſhed the ornature of the ſame, to their great praiſe and immortall commendation; although not a few other do greatlie ſéeke to ſtaine the ſame, by fond affectation of forren and ſtrange words, preſuming that to be the beſt Engliſh, which is moſt corrupted with externall termes of eloquence, and ſound of manie ſyllables. But as this excellencie of the Engliſh tong is found in one, and the ſouth part of this Iland; ſo in Wales the greateſt number (as I ſaid) retaine ſtill their owne ancient language, that of the north part of the ſaid countrie being leſſe corrupted than the other, and therefore reputed for the better in their owne eſtimation and iudgement. This alſo is proper to vs Engliſhmen, that ſith ours is a meane language, and neither too rough nor too ſmooth in vtterance, we may with much facilitie learne any other language, beſide Hebrue, Gréeke & Latine, and ſpeake it naturallie, as if we were home-borne in thoſe countries; & yet on the other ſide it falleth out, I wot not by what other meanes, that few forren nations can rightlie pronounce ours, without ſome and that great note of imperfection, eſpeciallie the French men, who alſo ſeldome write any thing that ſauoreth of Engliſh trulie. It is a paſtime to read how Natalis Comes in like maner, ſpeaking of our affaires, doth clip the names of our Engliſh lords. But this of all the reſt doth breed moſt admiration with me, that if any ſtranger do hit vpon ſome likelie pronuntiation of our tong, yet in age he ſwarueth ſo much from the ſame, that he is worſe therein than euer he was, and thereto peraduenture halteth not a little alſo in his owne, as I haue ſéene by experience in Reginald Wolfe, and other, whereof I haue inſtlie maruelled.

The helpers of our Engliſh toong.

Engliſhmen apt to learne any forren toong.

The Cornish toong. The Cornish and Deuonſhire men, whoſe countrie the Britons call Cerniw, haue a ſpeach in like ſort of their owne, and ſuch as hath in déed more affinitie with the Armoricane tong than I can well diſcuſſe of. Yet in mine opinion, they are both but a corrupted kind of Britiſh, albeit ſo far degenerating in theſe daies from the old, that if either of them do méete with a Welſhman, they are not able at the firſt to vnderſtand one another, except here and there in ſome od words, without the helpe of interpretors. And no maruell in mine opinion that the Britiſh of Cornewall is thus corrupted, ſith the Welſh tong that is ſpoken in the north & ſouth part of Wales, doth differ ſo much in it ſelfe, as the Engliſh vſed in Scotland doth from that which is ſpoken among vs here in this ſide of the Iland, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

Scottiſh engliſh. The Scottiſh engliſh hath bene much broader and leſſe pleaſant in vtterance than ours, becauſe that nation hath not till of late indeuored to bring the ſame to any perfect order, and yet it was ſuch in maner, as Engliſhmen themſelues did ſpeake for the moſt part beyond the Trent, whither any great amendement of our language had not as then extended it ſelfe. Howbeit in our time the Scottiſh language endeuoreth to come nere, if not altogither to match our tong in fineneſſe of phraſe, and copie of words, and this may in part appeare by an hiſtorie of the Apocripha tranſlated into Scottiſh verſe by Hudſon, dedicated to the king of that countrie, and conteining fiue bookes, except my memorie do faile me.

Thus we ſée how that vnder the dominion of the king of England, and in the ſouth parts of the realme, we haue three ſeuerall tongs, that is to ſaie, Engliſh, Britiſh, and Corniſh, and euen ſo manie are in Scotland, if you accompt the Engliſh ſpeach for one: notwithſtanding that for breadth and quantitie of the region, I meane onelie of the ſoile of the maine Iland, it be ſomewhat leſſe to ſée to than the other. For in the north part of the region, where the wild Scots, otherwiſe called the Redſhanks, or rough ſoted Scots (becauſe they go bare ſoted and clad in mantels ouer their ſaffron ſhirts after the Iriſh maner) do inhabit, they ſpeake good Iriſh which they call Gachtlet, as they ſaie of one Gathelus, whereby they ſhew their originall to haue in times paſt béene fetched out of Ireland: as I noted alſo in the chapiter precedent, and whereunto *Vincentius cap. de inſulis Oceani* doth yéeld his aſſent, ſaieng that Ireland was in time paſt called Scotia; *Scotia eadem* (ſaith he) *& Hibernia, proxima Britanniæ inſula, ſpatio terrarum anguſtior, ſed ſitu fœcundior; Scotia autem à Scotorum gentibus traditur appellata, &c.* Out of the 14. booke of Iſidorus intituled *Originum*, where he alſo addeth that it is called Hybernia, becauſe it bendeth toward Iberia. But I find elſewhere that it is ſo called by certeine Spaniards which came to ſéeke and plant their inhabitation in the ſame, whereof in my Chronologie I haue ſpoken more at large.

The wild Scots. Redſhanks. Rough ſoted Scots. Iriſh ſcots. Iriſh ſpeech.

In the Iles of the Orchades, or Orkeney, as we now call them, & ſuch coaſts of Britaine as do abbut vpon the ſame, the Gottiſh or Daniſh ſpeach is altogither in vſe, and alſo in Shetland, by reaſon (as I take it) that the princes of Norwaie held thoſe Ilands ſo long vnder their ſubiection, albeit they were otherwiſe reputed as rather to belong to Ireland, bicauſe that the verie ſoile of them is enimie to poiſon, as ſome write, although for my part I had neuer any ſound experience of the truth hereof. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of our old ſpeaches, and thoſe fiue languages now vſuallie ſpoken within the limits of our Iland.

Into how manie kingdoms this Iland hath beene diuided. Cap. 7.

IT is not to be doubted, but that at the firſt, the whole Iland was ruled by one onelie prince, and ſo continued from time to time, vntill ciuill diſcord, grounded vpo ambitious deſire to reigne, cauſed the ſame to be gouerned by diuerſe. And this I meane ſo well of the time before the comming of Brute, as after the extinction of his whole race & poſteritie. Howbeit, as it is vncerteine into how manie regions it was ſeuered, after the firſt partition; ſo it is moſt ſure that this latter diſturbed eſtate of regiment, continued in the ſame, not onelie vntill the time of Cæſar, but alſo in maner vnto the daies of Lucius, with whome the whole race of the Britons had an end, and the Romans full poſſeſſion of this Iland, who gouerned it by Legats after the maner of a prouince. It ſhould ſéeme alſo that within a while after the time of Dunwallon (who rather brought thoſe foure princes that vſurped in his time to obedience, than extinguiſhed their titles, & ſuch partition as they had made of the Iland among themſelues

Britaine at the firſt one entire kingdome.

ſelues) each great citie had hir freedome and ſeuerall kind of regiment, proper vnto hir ſelfe, beſide a large circuit of the countrie appertinent vnto the ſame, wherein were ſundrie other cities alſo of leſſe name, which owght homage and all ſubiection vnto the greater ſort. And to ſaie truth, hereof it came to paſſe, that each of theſe regions, whereinto this Iland was then diuided, toke his name of ſome one of theſe cities; although *Ciuitas* after Cæſar doth ſometime ſignifie an whole continent or kingdome, whereby there were in old time *Tot ciuitates quot regna*, and contrariwiſe as may appeare by that of the Trinobantes, which was ſo called of Trinobantum the chiefe citie of that portion, whoſe territories conteined all Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Hertfordſhire, euen as the iuriſdiction of the biſhop of London is now extended, for the ouerſight of ſuch things as belong vnto the church. Ech of the gouernors alſo of theſe regions, called themſelues kings, and therevnto either of them dailie made warre vpon other, for the inlarging of their limits. But for ſomuch as I am not able to ſaie how manie did challenge this authoritie at once, and how long they reigned ouer their ſeuerall portions, I will paſſe ouer theſe ancient times, and come nérer vnto our owne, I meane the 600. yére of Chriſt, whereof we haue more certeine notice, & at which ſeaſon there is euident proofe, that there were twelue or thirtéene kings reigning in this Iland.

Wales diuided into three kingdomes.

We find therefore for the firſt, how that Wales had hir three ſeuerall kingdomes, which being accompted togither conteined (as Giraldus ſaith) 49. cantreds or cantons (whereof three were in his time poſſeſſed by the French and Engliſh) although that whole portion of the Iland extended in thoſe daies no farder than about 200. miles in length, and one hundred in breadth, and was cut from Lhoegres by the riuers Sauerne and Dée, of which two ſtreames this doth fall into the Iriſh ſea at Weſtchester, the other into the maine Ocean, betwixt Somerſetſhire and Southwales, as their ſeuerall courſes ſhall witneſſe more at large.

Gwinhed.

In the begining it was diuided into two kingdoms onelie, that is to ſaie, Venedotia or Gwynhedh (otherwiſe called Dehenbarth) and Demetia, for which we now vſe moſt cõmonlie the names of South & Northwales. But in a ſhort proceſſe of time a third ſprung vp in the verie middeſt betwéene them both, which from thence-forth was called Powiſy, as ſhalbe ſhewed hereafter. For Roderijc the great, who flouriſhed 850. of Chriſt, and was king of all Wales (which then conteined onlie ſir regions) leauing three ſons behind him, by his laſt will & teſtament diuided the countrie into three portions, according to the number of his children, of which he aſſigned one vnto either of them, whereby Morwing or Morwinner had Gwynhedh or Northwales, Cadelh Demetia or Southwales, and Anarait Powiſy, as Giraldus and other do remember. Howbeit it came to paſſe that after this diuiſion, Cadelh ſuruiued all his brethren, and thereby became lord of both their portions, and his ſucceſſors after him vntill the time of Teuther or Theodor (all is one) after which they were contented to kéepe themſelues within the compaſſe of Demetia, which (as I ſaid) conteined 29. of thoſe 49. cantreds before mentioned, as Powiſy did ſir, and Gwinhedh foureténe, except my memorie do faile me.

Venedotia.

The firſt of theſe three, being called as (I ſaid) Northwales or Venedotia (or as Paulus Iouius ſaith Malfabrene, for he diuideth Wales alſo into three regions, of which he calleth the firſt Dumbera, the ſecond Berſfona, and the third Malfabrene) lieth directlie ouer againſt the Ile of Angleſei, the chiefe citie whereof ſtood in the Ile of Angleſei and was called Aberffraw. It conteineth 4. regions, of which the ſaid Iland is the firſt, and whereof in the chapter inſuing I will intreate more at large.

Angleſei.

Arfon.

The ſecond is called Arfon, and ſituate betwéene two riuers, the Segwy and the Conwy.

Merioneth.

The third is Merioneth, and as it is ſeuered from Arfon by the Conwy, ſo is it ſeparated from Tegenia (otherwiſe called Stradclyd and Igenia the fourth region) by the riuer Cluda. Finallie, the limits of this latter are extended alſo euen vnto the Dée it ſelfe, and of theſe foure regions conſiſteth the kingdome of Venedotia, whereof in times paſt the region of the Canges was not the ſmalleſt portion.

Stradclyd or Tegenia.

Powiſy.

The kingdome of Powiſy, laſt of all erected, as I ſaid, hath on the north ſide Gwinhedh, on the eaſt (from Cheſter to Hereford, or rather to Deane forreſt) England, on the ſouth and weſt the riuer Wy and verie high hilles, whereby it is notablie ſeuered from Southwales, the chiefe citie thereof being at the firſt Salopſburg, in old time Pengwerne, and Pnwithig, but now Shrowesburie, a citie or towne raiſed out of the ruines of Vricouium, which (ſtanding 4. miles from thence, and by the Saxons called Wrekenceſter and Wrokeceſter, before they ouerthrew it) is now inhabited with méere Engliſh, and where in old time the kings of Powiſy did dwell and hold their palaces, till Engliſhmen draue them from thence to Matraual in the ſame prouince, where they from thenceforth abod. Vpon the limits of this kingdome, and not far from Holt caſtell, vpon ech ſide of the riuer, as the chanell now runneth, ſtood ſometime the famous monaſterie of Bangor, whileſt the abated glorie of the Britons yet remained vnextinguiſhed, and herein were 2100. monkes, of which, the learned ſort did preach the Goſpell, and the vnlearned labored with their hands, thereby to mainteine themſelues, and to ſuſtaine their preachers. This region was in like ſort diuided afterward in twaine, of which, the one was called Mailor or Mailroſſe, the other reteined ſtill hir old denomination, and of theſe the firſt laie by ſouth, & the latter by north of the Sauerne.

Bangor.

Mailroſſe.

As touching Mailroſſe, I read moreouer in the geſts of Fowkes de Warren, how that one William ſonne to a certeine ladie ſiſter to Paine Peuerell, the firſt lord of Whittington, after the conqueſt did win a part of the ſame, and the hundred of Elleſmore from the Welſhmen, in which enterpriſe he was ſo deſperatlie wounded, that no man hight him life; yet at the laſt by eating of the chield of a wild bore, he got an apetite and recouered his health. This William had iſſue two daughters, to wit, Helene maried to the heire of the Alans, and Mellent which refuſed mariage with anie man, except he were firſt tried to be a knight of proweſſe. Herevpon hir father made proclamation, that againſt ſuch a daie & at ſuch a place, whatſoeuer Gentleman could ſhew himſelfe moſt valiant in the field, ſhould marrie Mellent his daughter, & haue with hir his caſtell of Whittington with ſufficient liuelihood to mainteine their eſtates for euer. This report being ſpred, Fowkes de Warren came thither all in red, with a ſhield of ſiluer and pecocke for his creſt, whereof he was called the red knight, and there ouercomming the kings ſonne of Scotland, and a Baron of Burgundie, he maried the maid, and by hir had iſſue as in the treatiſe appeareth. There is yet great mention of the red knight in the countrie there about; and much like vnto this Mellent was the daughter ſometime of one of the lord Rolles, called Kudall, who bare ſuch good will to Fitz-Henrie clarke of hir fathers kitchen, that ſhe made him carie hir awaie on horſebacke behind him, onlie for his manhood ſake, which preſentlie was tried. For being purſued & ouer taken, ſhe made him light, & held his cloke whileſt he killed and draue hir fathers men to flight: and then awaie they go, till hir father conceiuing a good opinion of Fitz-Henrie for this act, receiued him to his fauour, whereby that familie came vp. And thus much (by the waie) of Mailroſſe, whereof this may ſuffice, ſith mine intent is not as now to make anie preciſe deſcription of the particulars of Wales; but onelie to ſhew how thoſe regions laie,

Fowkes de Warren.

Helene. Mellent.

The originall of Fitz-Henries.

which ſometime were knowne to be gouerned in that countrie. The third kingdome is Demetia, or Southwales, ſometime knowne for the region of the Sylures, whereunto I alſo am perſuaded, that the Ordolukes laie in the eaſt part thereof, and extended their region euen vnto the Sauerne: but howſoeuer that matter falleth out, Demetia hath the Sauerne on hir ſouth, the Iriſh ſea on hir weſt parts, on the eaſt the Sauerne onelie, and by north the land of Powiſy, whereof I ſpake of late.

Demetia.

Of this region alſo Caermarden, which the old writers call Maridunum, was the cheefe citie and palace belonging to the kings of Southwales, vntill at the laſt through forren and ciuill inuaſions of enimies, the princes thereof were conſtrained to remoue their courts to Dinefar (which is in Cantermawr, and ſituate neuertheleſſe vpon the ſame riuer Tewy, whereon Caermarden ſtandeth) in which place it is far better defended with high hils, thicke woods, craggie rocks, and deepe mariſes. In this region alſo lieth Pembroke *alias* Penmoroc ſhire, whoſe ſawcons haue béene in old time very much regarded, and there in likewiſe is Milford hauen, whereof the Welſh wiſards do yet dreame ſtrange toies, which they beléeue ſhall one daie come to paſſe. For they are a nation much giuen to fortelling of things to come, but more to beléeue ſuch blind propheſies as haue béene made of old time, and no man is accompted for learned in Wales that is not ſuppoſed to haue the ſpirit of prophecie.

Cair Maridunum.

That Scotland had in thoſe daies two kingdoms, (beſides that of the Orchades) whereof the one conſiſted of the Picts, and was called Pightland or Pictland, the other of the Iriſh race, and named Scotland: I hope no wiſe man will readilie denie. The whole region or portion of the Ile beyond the Scotiſh ſea alſo was ſo diuided, that the Picts laie on the eaſt ſide, and the Scots on the weſt, ech of them being ſeuered from other, either by huge hils or great lakes and riuers, that ran out of the ſouth into the north betwéene them. It ſéemeth alſo that at the firſt theſe two kingdoms were diuided from the reſt of thoſe of the Britons by the riuers Cluda and Forth, till both of them deſirous to inlarge their dominions, draue the Britons ouer the Solue and the Twede, which then became march betweene both the nations. Wherefore the caſe being ſo plaine, I will ſaie no more of theſe two, but proceed in order with the reherſall of the reſt of the particular kingdoms of this our ſouth part of the Ile, limiting out the ſame by ſhires as they now lie, ſo néere as I can, for otherwiſe it ſhall be vnpoſſible for me to leaue certaine notice of the likelieſt quantities of theſe their ſeuerall portions.

Pictland. Scotland. Picts. Scots.

The firſt of theſe kingdoms therefore was begunne in Kent by Henghiſt in the 456. of Chriſt, and thereof called the kingdome of Kent or Cantwarland, and as the limits thereof extended it ſelfe no farther than the ſaid countie (the cheefe citie whereof was Dorobernia or Cantwarbyrig now Canturburie) ſo it indured well néere by the ſpace of 400. yeares, before it was made an earledome or Heretochie, and vnited by Inas vnto that of the Weſt Saxons, Athelſtane his ſonne, being the firſt Earle or Heretoch of the ſame. Maiſter Lambert in his hiſtorie of Kent doth gather, by verie probable coniectures, that this part of the Iland was firſt inhabited by Samothes, and afterward by Albion. But howſoeuer that caſe ſtandeth, ſure it is that it hath bén the onelie dore, whereby the Romans and Saxons made their entrie vnto the conqueſt of the region, but firſt of all Cæſar, who entred into this Iland vpon the eightéenth Cal. or 14. of September, which was foure daies before the full of the mone, as he himſelfe confeſſeth, and then fell out about the 17. or 18. of that moneth, twelue daies before the equinoctiall (apparant) ſo that he did not tarrie at that time aboue eight or ten daies in Britaine. And as this platforme cannot be denied for his entrance, ſo the ſaid region and eaſt part of Kent, was the onelie place by which the knowledge of Chriſt was firſt brought ouer vnto vs, whereby we became partakers of ſaluation, and from the darkeneſſe of miſtie errour, true conuerts vnto the light and bright beames of the ſhining truth, to our eternall benefit and euerlaſting comforts.

Kent Henghiſt.

The ſecond kingdome conteined onelie Suſſex, and a part of (or as ſome ſaie all) Surrie, which Ella the Saxon firſt held: who alſo erected his cheefe palace at Chicheſter, when he had deſtroied Andredſwald in the 492. of Chriſt. And after it had continued by the ſpace of 232. yeares, it ceaſed, being the verie leaſt kingdome of all the reſt, which were founded in this Ile after the comming of the Saxons (for to ſaie truth, it conteined little aboue 7000. families) & within a while after the erection of the kingdome of the Gewiſſes or Weſt ſaxons, notwithſtanding that before the kings of Suſſex pretended and made claime to all that which laie weſt of Kent, and ſouth of the Thames, vnto the point of Cornwall, as I haue often read.

Southſax. Ella.

The third regiment was of the Eaſt Saxons, or Trinobantes. This kingdome began vnder Erkenwijn, whoſe cheefe ſeat was in London (or rather Colcheſter) and conteined whole Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herfordſhire. It indured alſo much about the pricke of 303. yeares, and was diuided from that of the Eaſt Angles onlie by the riuer Stoure, as Houeden and others do report, & ſo it continueth ſeparated from Suffolke euen vnto our times, although the ſaid riuer be now growne verie ſmall, and not of ſuch greatneſſe as it hath béene in times paſt, by reaſon that our countriemen make ſmall accompt of riuers, thinking carriage made by horſſe and cart to be the leſſe chargeable waie. But herin how far they are deceiued, I will elſe-where make manifeſt declaration.

Eaſtſax. Erkenwijn.

The fourth kingdome was of the Weſt Saxons, and ſo called, bicauſe it laie in the weſt part of the realme, as that of Eſſex did in the eaſt, and of Suſſex in the ſouth. It began in the yeare of Grace 519. vnder Cerdyc, and indured vntill the comming of the Normans, including at the laſt all Wiltſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſet, Southampton, Somerſethire, Glocеſterſhire, ſome part of Deuonſhire (which the Britons occupied not) Cornewall, and the reſt of Surrie, as the beſt authors do ſet downe. At the firſt it conteined onelie Wiltſhire, Dorcetſhire, and Barkeſhire, but yer long the princes thereof conquered whatſoeuer the kings of Suſſex and the Britons held vnto the point of Cornewall, and then became firſt Dorcheſter (vntill the time of Kinigils) then Wincheſter the cheefe citie of that kingdome. For when Birinus the monke came into England, the ſaid Kinigils gaue him Dorcheſter, and all the land within ſeauen miles about, toward the maintenance of his cathedrall ſea, by meanes whereof he himſelfe remoued his palace to Wincheſter.

Weſtſax. Cerdiic.

The fift kingdome began vnder Ida, in the 548. of Chriſt, and was called Northumberland, bicauſe it laie by north of the riuer Humber. And from the comming of Henghiſt to this Ida, it was onlie gouerned by earls or Heretoches as an Heretochy, till the ſaid Ida conuerted it into a kingdome. It conteined all that region which (as it ſhould ſéeme) was in time paſt either wholie apperteining to the Brigants, or whereof the ſaid Brigants did poſſeſſe the greater part. The cheefe citie of the ſame in like maner was Yorke, as Beda, Capgraue, Leyland, and others do ſet downe, who ad thereto that it extended from the Humber vnto the Scotiſh ſea, vntill the ſlaughter of Egfride of the Northumbers, after which time the Picts gat hold of all betweene the Forth and the Twede, which afterward deſcending to the Scots by meanes of the vtter deſtruction of the Picts, hath not béene ſithens vnited to the crowne

Bernicia, *alias* Northumberland. Ida.

of

of England, nor in poſſeſſion of the mære Engliſh, as before time it had bæne. Such was the crueltie of theſe Picts alſo in their recouerie of the ſame, that at a certeine houre they made a Sicilien euenſong, and ſlew euerie Engliſh man, woman and child, that they could laie hold vpon within the aforeſaid region, but ſome eſcaped narrowlie, and ſaued themſelues by flight.

Deira. Ella. Afterward in the yeare of Grace 560. it was parted in twaine, vnder Adda, that yælded vp all his portion, which lay betwæne Humber and the Tine vnto his brother Ella (according to their fathers appointment) who called it Deira, or Southumberland, but reteining the reſt ſtill vnto his owne vſe, he diminiſhed not his title, but wrote himſelfe as before king of all Northumberland. Howbeit after 91. yeares, it was reunited againe, and ſo continued vntill Alfred annexed the whole to his kingdome, in the 331. after Ida, or 878. of the birth of Jeſus Chriſt our Sauiour.

Eaſtangles Offa, à quo Offlingæ. The ſeauenth kingdome, called of the Eaſt-angles, began at Norwich in the 561. after Chriſt, vnder Offa, of whom the people of that region were long time called Offlings. This included all Norfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and Elie, and continuing 228. yeares, it flouriſhed onelie 35. yeares in perfect eſtate of liberte, the reſt being conſumed vnder the tribut and vaſſallage of the Mercians, who had the ſouereigntie thereof, and held it with great honour, till the Danes gat hold of it, who ſpoiled it verie ſore, ſo that it became more miſerable than any of the other, and ſo remained till the kings of the Weſt-ſaxons vnited it to their crownes. Some ſaie that Grantceſter, but now Cambridge (a towne erected out of hir ruines) was the chæfe citie of this kingdome, and not Norwich. Wherein I may well ſhew the diſcord of writers, but I cannot reſolue the ſcruple. Some take this region alſo to be all one with that of the Icenes, but as yet for my part I cannot yæld to their aſſertions, I meane it of Leland himſelfe, whoſe helpe I vſe chæfelie in theſe collections, albeit in this behalfe I am not reſolued that he doth iudge aright.

Mertia. Creodda. The 8. & laſt was that of Mertia, which indured 291. yeares, and for greatneſſe exceeded all the reſt. It toke the name either of Mearc the Saxon word, bicauſe it was march to the reſt (and trulie, the limits of moſt of the other kingdomes abutted vpon the ſame) or elſe for that the lawes of Martia the Queene were firſt vſed in that part of the Iland. But as this later is but a mære coniecture of ſome, ſo the ſaid kingdome began vnder Creodda, in the 585. of Chriſt, & indured well nære 300. yeares before it was vnited to that of the Weſt-ſaxons by Alfred, then reigning in this Ile. Before him the Danes had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Ceolulph an idiot in the ſame; but as he was ſone reiected for his follie, ſo it was not long after yer the ſaid Alfred (I ſaie) annexed it to his kingdome by his manhood. The limits of the Mertian dominions included Lincolne, Northampton, Cheſter, Darbie, Nottingham, Stafford, Huntington, Rutland, Oxford, Buckingham, Worceſter, Bedford ſhires, and the greateſt part of Shropſhire (which the Welſh occupied not) Lancaſter, Gloceſter, Hereford (*aliàs* Hurchford) Warwiſe and Hertford ſhires: the reſt of whoſe territories were holden by ſuch princes of other kingdomes through force as bordered vpon the ſame. Moreouer, this kingdome was at one time diuided into ſouth and north Mertia, whereof this laie beyond and the other on this ſide of the Trent, which later alſo Oſwald of Northumberland did giue to Weleda the ſonne of Penda for kindred ſake, though he not long inioied it. This alſo is worthie to be noted, that in theſe eight kingdomes of the Saxons, there were twelue princes reputed in the popiſh Catalog for ſaints or martyrs, of which Alcimund, Edwine, Oſwald, Oſwijn and Aldwold reigned in Northumberland; Sigebert, Ethelbert, Edmond, and another Sigebert among the Eſtangels; Kenelme and Wiſtan in Mertia; and Saint Edward the confeſſor, ouer all; but how worthilie, I referre me to the iudgement of the learned. Thus much haue I thought good to leaue in memorie of the aforeſaid kingdomes: and now will I ſpeake ſomewhat of the diuiſion of this Iland alſo into prouinces, as the Romanes ſeuered it whiles they remained in theſe parts. Which being done, I hope that I haue diſcharged whatſoeuer is promiſed in the title of this chapter.

Limits of Mertia.

The Romans therefore hauing obteined the poſſeſſion of this Iland, diuided the ſame at the laſt into fiue prouinces, as Vibius Sequeſter ſaith. The firſt whereof was named Britannia prima, and conteined the eaſt part of England (as ſome do gather) from the Trent vnto the Twede. The ſecond was called Valentia or Valentiana, and included the weſt ſide, as they note it, from Lirpole vnto Cokermouth. The third hight Britannia ſecunda, and was that portion of the Ile which laie ſouthwards, betwéene the Trent and the Thames. The fourth was ſurnamed Flauia Cæſarienſis, and conteined all the countrie which remained betweene Douer and the Sauerne, I meane ſouth of the Thames, and whereunto (in like ſort) Cornewall and Wales were orderlie aſſigned. The fift and laſt part was then named Maxima Cæſarienſis, now Scotland, the moſt barren of all the reſt, and yet not vnſought out of the greédie Romanes, bicauſe of the great plentie of fiſh and foule, fine alabaſter and hard marble that are ingendred and to be had in the ſame, for furniture of houſhold and curious building, wherein they much delited. More hereof in Sextus Rufus, who liued in the daies of Valentine, and wrote *Notitiam prouinciarum* now extant to be read.

Britannia prima.

Valentia.

Britannia ſecunda.

Flauia Cæſarienſis.

Maxima Cæſarienſis

A Catalog of the kings and princes of this Iland, firſt from Samothes vnto the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt, or rather the comming of the Romans: ſecondlie of their Legates: thirdlie of the Saxon princes according to their ſeuerall kingdomes: fourthlie of the Danes, and laſtlie of the Normans and Engliſh princes, according to the truth conteined in our Hiſtories.

Of the kings of Britaine, from Samothes *to Brute.*

Samothes.
Magus.
Sarronius.
Druiyus.
Bardus.
Longho.
Bardus Iunior.
Lucus.
Celtes.
Albion.
Celtes after Albion ſlaine.
Galates.
Harbon.
Lugdus.
Beligius.
Iaſius.
Allobrox.
Romus.
Paris.
Lemanus.
Olbius.
Galates. 2.
Nannes.
Remis.
Francus.
Pictus.
After whom Brute entreth into the Iland, either neglected by the Celts, or otherwiſe by conqueſt, and reigned therein with his poſteritie by the ſpace of 536. yeares, in ſuch order as followeth.
Brute.
Locrinus.
Gwendolena his widow.
Madan.
Mempricius.
Ebracus.
Brutus Iunior.
Leil.
Rudibras.
Bladunus
Leir.
Cordeil his daughter.
Cunedach and Morgan.
Riuallon.
Gurguſtius.
Sifillus.
Iago.
Kimmachus.
Gorbodug.
Ferres and Porrex.
These 2. being ſlaine, the princes of the land ſtraue for the ſuperiozitie and regiment of the ſame, by the ſpace of 50. yeares (after the race of Brute was deaied) vntill Dunwallon king of Cornwall ſubdued them all, & brought the whole to his ſubiection, notwithſtanding

ding that the aforeſaid number of kings remained ſtill, which were but as vaſſals & inferiours to him, he being their chiefe and oneiue ſouereigne.

Dunwallon reigneth.
Belinus his ſonne, in whoſe time Brennus vſurpeth.
Gurgwinbatrus.
Guittellinus.
Seiſill.
Kymarus.
Owan *aliàs* Ellan.
Morwich *aliàs* Morindus.
Grandobodian *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Arcigallon.
Elidurus *aliàs* Heſidor.
Arcigallon againe.
Elidurus againe.
Vigen *aliàs* Higanius, & Petitur *aliàs* Peridurus.
Elidurus the third time.
Gorbodia *aliàs* Gorbonian.
Morgan.
Meriones *aliàs* Eighuans.
Idouallon.
Rhimo Rohugo.
Geruntius Voghen.
Catellus.
Coellus.
Pyrrho *aliàs* Porrex.
Cherinus.
Fulganius *aliàs* Sulgenis.
Eldadus.
Androgius.
Vrian.
Hellindus.
Dedantius Eldagan.
Clotenis Claten.
Gurguintus.
Merian.
Bledunus Bledagh.
Cophenis.
Owinus *aliàs* Oghwen.
Siſillus or Sitſilcus.
Blegabridus.
Arcmalus Archiuall.
Eldadus.
Ruthenis three monethes.
Rodingarus *aliàs* Rodericus.
Samulius Penyſell.
Pyrrho 2.
Carporis *aliàs* Capporis.
Dynellus *aliàs* Dygnellus.
Hellindus a few monethes.
Lhoid.
Caſibellane.
Theomantius.
Cynobellinus.
Aruiragus.
Marius.
Coellus.
Lucius.

Hitherto I haue ſet forth the catalog of the kings of Britaine, in ſuch ſort as it is to be collected out of the moſt ancient hiſtories, monuments and records of the land. Now I will ſet forth the order and ſucceſſion of the Romane legates or deputies, as I haue borowed them firſt out of Tacitus, then Dion, and others: howbeit I cannot warrant the iuſt courſe of them from Iulius Agricola forward, becauſe there is no man that reherſeth them orderlie. yet by this my doing herein, I hope ſome better table may be framed hereafter by other, whereof I would be glad to vnderſtand when ſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe God that it may come to paſſe.

Aulus Plautius.
Oſtorius Scapula.
Didius Gallus.
Auitus.
Veranius a few moneths.
Petronius Turpilianus.
Trebellius Maximus.
Vectius Volanus.
Petilius Cerealis.
Iulius Frontinus.
Iulius Agricola.

Hitherto Cornelius Tacitus reherſeth theſe vicegerents or deputies in order.

Saluſtius Lucullus.
Cneius Trebellius.
Suetonius Paulinus.
Calphurnius Agricola.
Publius Trebellius.
Pertinax Helrius.
Vlpius Marcellus.
Clodius Albinas.
Heraclius.
Carus Tyrannus.
Iunius Seuerus, *alias* Iulius Seuerus.
Liuius Gallus.
Lollius Vrbicus.
Maximus.
Octauius.
Traherus.
Maximinianus.
Gratianus.
Aetius.

Other Legates whoſe names are taken out of the Scotiſh hiſtorie but in incertein order.

Fronto ſub Antonino.
Publius Trebellius.
Aulus Victorinus.
Lucius Antinoris.
Quintus Baſſianus.

Wales.

1.

¶ The Romans not regarding the gouernance of this Iland, the Britons ordeine a king in the 447. after the incarnation of Chriſt.

VOrtiger.
Vortimer.
Aurelius Ambroſius.
Vther.
Arthur.
Conſtantine.
Aurelius Conanus.
Vortiporius.
Maglocunus.
Caretius.
Cadwan.
Cadwallon.
Cadwallader.

¶ The kingdome of Wales ceaſeth, and the gouernance of the countrie is tranſlated to the Weſtſaxons by Inas, whoſe ſecond wife was Denwalline the daughter of Cadwallader: & with hir he not onlie obteined the principalitie of Wales but alſo of Cornwall & Armorica now called little Britaine, which then was a colonie of the Britons, and vnder the kingdome of Wales.

Kent.

2.

¶ Hengiſt in the 9. of the recouerie of Britaine proclaimeth himſelfe king of Kent, which is the 456. of the birth of our Lord & ſauior Ieſus Chriſt.

HEngiſt.
Oſrijc *aliàs* Oſca.
Oſca his brother.
Ermenricus.
Athelbert.
Eadbaldus.
Ercombert.
Ecbert.
Lother.
Edrijc.

The ſeat void.

Withredus.
Adelbert Iunior.
Eadbert.
Alrijc.
Eadbert.
Guthred.
Alred.

¶ As the kingdome of Wales was vnited vnto that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, ſo is the kingdom of Kent, at this preſent by Ecbert in the 827. of Chriſt, who putteth out Aldred and maketh Adelſtane his owne baſe ſonne Hertoch of the ſame, ſo that whereas it was before a kingdome, now it becometh an Hertochie or Dukedome, and ſo continueth for a long time after.

Southſex.

3.

¶ Ella in the 46. after Britaine giuen ouer by the Romanes erecteth a kingdom in Southſex, to wit, in the 492. of Chriſt whoſe race ſucceedeth in this order.

ELla.
Cyſſa.
Ceaulijn.
Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Kinwalch.
Ethelwold.
Berthun.
Aldwijn.

¶ This kingdome endured not verie long as ye may ſee, for it was vnited to that of the weſtſaxons by Inas, in the 4689. of the world, which was the 723. of Chriſt, according to the vſuall ſupputation of the church, and 232. after Ella had erected the ſame, as is aforeſaid.

Eſtſex.

4.

¶ Erkenwijn in the 527. after our ſauiour Chriſt beginneth to reigne ouer Eſtſex, and in the 81. after the returne of Britaine from the Romane obedience.

ERkenwijn.
Sledda.
Sebertus.
Sepredus and Sywardus.
Sigebert ſil. Syward.
Sigebert.
Swithelijn.
Sijgar and Sebba.
Sebba alone.
Sijgard.
Offa.
Selredus.
Ethelwold.
Albert.
Humbeanna.
Sinthredus.

¶ In the 303. after Erkenwijn, Ecbert of the weſtſaxons vnited the kingdome of Eſtſex vnto his owne, which was in the 828. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt. I cannot as yet find the exact yeares of the later princes of this realme, and therefore I am conſtrained to omit them altogither, as I haue done before in the kings of the Britons, vntill ſuch time as I may come by ſuch monuments as may reſtore the defect.

Weſtſex.

5.

¶ Cerdijc entreth the kingdome of the weſtſaxons, in the 519. of the birth of Chriſt, & 73. of the abiection of the Romaine ſeruitude.

CErdijc *aliàs* Cercit.
Cenrijc.
Ceaulijn.
Kilriic *aliàs* Celrijc.
Kilwulf.
Kinigils.
Ceuwalch.
Sexburgh.

The ſeat void.

Centwinus.
Cadwallader.
Inas.
Ethelard.
Cuthredus.
Sigebert.
Kinwulf.
Brithrijc.
Ecbert.
Ethelwulf.
Ethebald.
Ethelbert.
Ethelfrid.
Alfrid.
Edward. 1.
Adelſtane.
Edmund.
Eadred.
Edwijn.
Edgar.
Edward 2.
Eldred.
Edmund 2.
Canutus.
Harald.
Canutus 2.
Edward 3.
Harald 2.

¶ The ſaxons hauing reigned hitherto in this land, and brought the ſame into a perfect monarchie, are now diſpoſſeſſed by the Normans, & put out of their hold.

Bernicia.

6.

¶ Ida erecteth a kingdome in the North, which he extended from the Humber mouth to S. Johns towne in Scotland, & called it of the Northumbers. This was in the 547. after the birth of our ſauiour Chriſt.

IDa.
Adda.
Glappa.
Tidwaldus.
Fretwulfus.
Tidrijc.
Athelfrid.
Edwijn.
Kinfrid.
Oſwald.
Oſwy.
Egfrid.
Alfrid.
Oſred.
Kinred.
Oſrijc.
Kilwulf.
Edbert.
Offulfe.
Ethelwold.
Elred.
Ethelred.
Alfwold.
Oſred.

Ethelred.

Ethelred.
Oſbald.
Eardulf.
Aldeſwold.
Eandred.
Edelred.
Redwulf.
Edelred againe.
Oſbright.
Ecbert.
Riciſiuus a Dane.
Ecbert againe.
¶ Alfride king of the weſtſaxons ſubdueth this kingdome in the 878. after our ſauiour Chriſt, and 33. after Ida.

Deira.
7.

¶ Ella brother to Adda is ouer the ſouth Humbers, whoſe kingdome reched from Humber to the Theſe, in the 590. after the incarnation of Ieſus Chriſt our ſauiour.

Ella.
Edwijn.
Athelbright.
Edwijn againe,
Oſrijc.
Oſwald.
Oſwijn.
¶ Of all the kingdomes of the Saxons, this of Deira which grew by the diuiſion of the kingdome of the Northumbers betweene the ſons of Ida was of the ſmalleſt continuance, & it was united to the Northumbers (wherof it had bene I ſaie in time paſt a member) by Oſwijn in the 91. after Ella, when he had moſt traitorouſlie ſlaine his brother Oſwijn in the yer of the world, 4618. (or 651. after the comming of Chriſt) and conteined that countrie which we now call the biſhoprike.

Eſtanglia.
8.

¶ Offa or Vffa erecteth a kingdome ouer the Eſtangles or Oſtlings in the 561. after the natiuitie of Chriſt, and 114. after the deliuerie of Britaine.

Offa.
Titellius.
Redwaldus.
Corpenwaldus.
The ſeat void.
Sigebert.
Egricus.
Anna.
Adeler.
Ethelwold.
Adwulf.
Beorne.
Ethelred.
Ethelbert.
¶ Offa of Mercia killeth Ethelbert, and uniteth Eſtanglia vnto his owne kingdome, in the 793. of Chriſt, after it had continued in the poſteritie of Offa, by the ſpace of 228. yeers and yet of that ſhort ſpace, it enioyed onelie 35. in libertie, the reſt being vnder the tribute of the king of Mercia aforeſaid.

Mercia.
9.

¶ Creodda beginneth his kingdome of Mercia, in the 585. of our ſauiour Chriſt, and 138. after the captiuitie of Britaine ended.

Creodda.
Wibba.
Cherlus.
Penda.
Oſwy.
Weada.
Wulfcrus.
Ethelred.
Kinred or Kindred.
The ſeat void.
Kilred.
Ethebald.
Beorred.
Offa.
Egferth.
Kinwulf.
Kenelme.
Kilwulf.
Bernulf.
Ludicane.
Willaf.
Ecbert.
Willaf againe.
Bertulf.
Butred.
Kilwulf.
¶ Alfride uniteth the kingdome of Mercia, to that of the weſtſaxons, in the 291. after Creodda, before Alfred the Dane had gotten hold thereof, and placed one Cleolulphus therein, but he was ſone expelled, and the kingdome ioyned to the other afore rehearſed.

❧ The ſucceſſion of the kings of England from William baſtard, vnto the firſt of Queene ELIZABETH.

William the firſt.
William his ſonne.
Henrie 1.
Stephen.
Henrie 2.
Richard 1.
Iohn.
Henrie 3.
Edward 1. *alias* 4.
Edward 2.
Edward 3.
Richard 2.
Henrie 4.
Henrie 5.
Henrie 6.
Edward 4. *alias* 7.
Edward 5.
Richard 3.
Henrie 7.
Henrie 8.
Edward 6.
Marie his ſiſter.
Elizabeth.
¶ Thus haue I brought the Catalog of the Princes of Britaine vnto an end, & that in more plaine and certeine order than hath beene done hertofore by anie. For though in their regions ſince the conqueſt few men haue erred that haue vſed any diligence, yet in the times before the ſame, fewer haue gone any thing neere the truth, through great ouerſight & negligence. Their ſeuerall yeres alſo do appeere in my Chronologie inſuing.

Of the ancient religion vſed in Albion.
Cap. 9.

Samothes.

IT is not to be doubted, but at the firſt, and ſo long as the poſteritie of Japhet onelie reigned in this Iland, that the true knowledge and forme of religion brought in by Samothes, and publiſhed with his lawes in the ſecond of his arriuall, was exerciſed among the Britans. And although peraduenture in proces of time, either through curioſitie, or negligence (the onelie corruptors of true pietie and godlineſſe) it might a little decaie, yet when it was at the worſt, it farre exceded the beſt of that which afterward came in with Albion and his Chemminites, as may be gathered by view of the ſuperſtitious rites, which Cham and his ſucceſſours did plant in other countries, yet to be found in authors.

What other learning Magus the ſonne of Samothes taught after his fathers death, when he alſo came to the kingdome, beſide this which concerned the true honoring of God, I cannot eaſilie ſay, but that it ſhould be naturall philoſophie, and aſtrologie (whereby his diſciples gathered a kind of foreknowledge of things to come) the verie vſe of the word Magus (or Maguſæus) among the Perſians doth yeeld no vncerteine teſtimonie.

Sarron.

In like maner, it ſhould ſeeme that Sarron ſonne vnto the ſaid Magus, diligentlie followed the ſteps of his father, and thereto beſide his owne practiſe of teaching, opened ſcholes of learning in ſundrie places, both among the Celts and Britans, whereby ſuch as were his auditors, grew to be called Sarronides, notwithſtanding, that as well the Sarronides as the Magi, and Druiydes, were generallie called Samothei, or Semnothei, of Samothes ſtill among the Grecians, as Ariſtotle in his *De magia* doth confeſſe; and furthermore calling them Galles, he addeth thereunto, that they firſt brought the knowledge of letters and good learning vnto the Greekes. Samothei. Semnothei.

Druiyus the ſon of Sarron (as a ſcholer of his fathers owne teaching) ſeemed to be exquiſit in all things, that perteined vnto the diuine and humane knowledge: and therefore I may ſafelie pronounce, that he excelled not onlie in the ſkill of philoſophie and the quadriuials, but alſo in the true Theologie, whereby the right ſeruice of God was kept and preſerued in puritie. He wrote moreouer ſundrie precepts and rules of religious doctrine, which among the Celts were reſerued verie religiouſlie, and had in great eſtimation of ſuch as ſought vnto them. Druiyus.

How and in what order this prince left the ſtate of religion, I meane touching publike orders in adminiſtration of particular rites and ceremonies, as yet I do not read: howbeit this is moſt certeine, that after he died, the puritie of his doctrine began ſomewhat to decaie. For ſuch is mans nature, that it will not ſuffer any good thing long to remaine as it is left, but (either by addition or ſubtraction of this or that, to or from the ſame) ſo to chop and change withall from time to time, that in the end there is nothing of more difficultie, for ſuch as do come after them, than to find out the puritie of the originall, and reſtore the ſame againe vnto the former perfection. Corruptors of religion.

In the beginning this Druiyus did preach vnto his hearers, that the ſoule of man is immortall, that God is omnipotent, mercifull as a father in ſhewing fauor vnto the godlie, and iuſt as an vpright iudge in puniſhing the wicked: that the ſecrets of mans hart are not vnknowne, and onelie knowne to him; and that as Cæſar.

the world and all that is therein had their beginning by him, at his owne will, so shall all things likewise haue an end, when he shall see his time. He taught them also with more facilitie, how to obserue the courses of the heauens and motions of the planets by arithmeticall industrie, to find out the true quantities of the celestiall bodies by geometricall demonstration, and thereto the compasse of the earth, and hidden natures of things contained in the same by philosophicall contemplation. But alas, this integritie continued not long among his successors, for vnto the immortalitie of the soule, they added, that after death it went into another bodie, (of which translation Ouid saith;

Strabo. li. 4. Socion. lib. succeſſ. Cicero di-uinat. 1.

Morte carent animæ, semperque priore relicta
Sede, nouis domibus viuunt habitántque receptæ.)

The second or succedent, being alwaies either more noble, or more vile than the former, as the partie deserued by his merits, whilest he liued here vpon earth. And therefore it is said by Plato and other, that Orpheus after his death had his soule thrust into the bodie of a swanne, that of Agamemnon conueted into an egle, of Aiax into a lion, of Atlas into a certeine wrestler, of Therſites vnto an ape, of Deiphobus into Pythagoras, and Empedocles dieng a child, after sundrie changes into a man, whereof he himselfe saith;

Ipse ego nám fui puer olim, deinde puella,
Arbuſtum & volucris, mutus quóq; in æquore piſcis.

For said they (of whom Pythagoras also had, and taught this errour) if the soule apperteined at the first to a king, and he in this estate did not leade his life worthie his calling, it should after his decease be shut vp in the bodie of a slaue, begger, cocke, owle, dog, ape, horse, asse, worme, or monster, there to remaine as in a place of purgation and punishment, for a certeine period of time. Beside this, it should peraduenture sustaine often translation from one bodie vnto another, according to the quantitie and qualitie of his doings here on earth, till it should finallie be purified, and restored againe to an other humane bodie, wherein if it behaued it selfe more orderlie than at the first: after the next death, it should be preferred, either to the bodie of a king againe, or other great estate. And thus they made a perpetuall circulation or reuolution of our soules, much like vnto the continuall motion of the heauens, which neuer stand still, nor long yeld one representation and figure. For this cause also, as Diodorus saith, they vsed to cast certeine letters into the fire, wherein the dead were burned, to be deliuered vnto their deceased frends, whereby they might vnderstand of the estate of such as trauelled here on earth in their purgations (as the Moscouits do write vnto S. Nicholas to be a speach-man for him that is buried, in whose hand they bind a letter, and send him with a new paire of shoes on his feet into the graue) and to the end that after their next death they should deale with them accordinglie, and as their merits required. They wrought in also the worshipping of manie gods, and their seuerall sacrifices: they honoured likewise the oke, whereon the mistle groweth, and dailie deuised infinit other toies (for errour is neuer assured of hir owne doings) whereof neither Samothes, nor Sarron, Magus, nor Druiyus did leaue them anie prescription.

Plinius. lib. 16. cap. vltimo.

Metempsichôsis.

Oke honored whereon mistle did grow, and so doo our sorcerers euen to this date thinking some spirits to deale about the same, for hidden treasure,

These things are partlie touched by Cicero, Strabo, Plinie, Sotion, Laertius, Theophrast, Aristotle, and partlie also by Cæsar, Mela, Val. Max. *lib.* 2. and other authors of later time, who for the most part do confesse, that the cheefe schoole of the Druiydes was holden here in Britaine, where that religion (saith Plinie) was so hotlie professed and followed, *Vt dedisse Persis videri possit, lib.* 30. *cap.* 1. and whither the Druiydes also themselues, that dwelt among the Galles, would often resort to come by the more skill, and sure vnderstanding of the mysteries of that doctrine. And as the Galles receiued their religion from the Britons, so we likewise had from them some vse of Logike & Rhetorike, such as it was which our lawiers practised in their plees and common causes. For although the Greeks were not vnknowne vnto vs, nor we to them, euen from the verie comming of Brute, yet by reason of distance betweene our countries, we had no great familiaritie and common accesse one vnto another, till the time of Gurguntius, after whose entrance manie of that nation trauelled hither in more securitie, as diuers of our countriemen did vnto them without all danger, to be offered vp in sacrifice to their gods. That we had the maner of our plees also out of France, Iuuenal is a witnesse, who saith;

Logike and Rhetorike out of Gallia.

Gallia causidicos docuit facunda Britannos.

Howbeit as they taught vs Logike and Rhetorike, so we had also some Sophistrie from them; but in the worst sense: for from France is all kind of forgerie, corruption of maners, and craftie behauiour not so sone as often transported into England. And albeit the Druiydes were thus honored and of so great authoritie in Britaine, yet were there great numbers of them also in the Iles of Wight, Anglesey, and the Dechades, in which they held open schooles of their profession, alone as it were from the resort of people, wherein they studied and learned their songs by heart. Howbeit the cheefe college of all I say, remained still in Albion, whither the Druiydes of other nations also (beside the Galles) would of custome repaire, when soeuer any controuersie among them in matters of religion did happen to be moued. At such times also the rest were called out of the former Ilands, whereby it appeareth that in such cases they had their synods and publike meetings, and thereunto it grew finallie into custome, and after that a prouerbe, euen in variances falling out among the princes, great men, and common sorts of people liuing in these weast parts of Europe, to yeld to be tried by Britaine and hir three Ilands, bicause they honoured hir priests (the Druiydes) as the Atheniens did their Areopagites.

Furthermore, in Britaine, and among the Galles, and to say the truth, generallie in all places where the Druiysh religion was frequented, such was the estimation of the priests of this profession, that there was little or nothing done without their skilfull aduise, no not in ciuill causes, perteining to the regiment of the common-wealth and countrie. They had the charge also of all sacrifices, publike and priuate, they interpreted oracles, preached of religion, and were neuer without great numbers of yong men that heard them with diligence, as they taught from time to time.

Estimation of the Druiydes or Druiysh priests.

Touching their persons also, they were exempt from all temporall seruices, impositions, tributes, and exercises of the wars: which immunitie caused the greatest companies of scholers to flocke vnto them from all places, to learne their trades. Of these likewise, some remained with them seuen, eight, ten, or twelue yeares, still learning the secrets of those vnwritten mysteries by heart, which were to be had amongst them, and commonlie pronounced in verse. And this policie, as I take it, they vsed onelie to preserue their religion from contempt, whereinto it might easilie haue fallen, if anie bookes thereof had happened into the hands of the common sort. It helped also not a little in the exercise of their memories, whereunto bookes are vtter enimies, insomuch as he that was skilfull in the Druiysh religion, would not let readilie to rehearse manie hundreds of verses togither, and not to faile in one tittle, in the whole processe of this his laborious repetition. But as they dealt in this order for matters of their religion, so in ciuill affairs, historicall treatises, and setting downe of lawes, they vsed like order and letters almost with the Grecians. Whereby it is easie to be seene, that they reteined this kind of writing from Druiyus (the originall founder of their religion) and that this Iland hath

Immunitie of the clergie greater vnder idolatrie than vnder the gospell.

not

not béene void of letters and learned men, euen ſith it was firſt inhabited. I would adde ſome thing in particular alſo of their apparell, but ſith the dealing withall is nothing profitable to the reader, I paſſe it ouer, ſignifieng neuertheleſſe, that it was diſtinguiſhed by ſundrie deuiſes from that of the common ſort, and of ſuch eſtimation among the people, that whoſoeuer ware the Druiyſh weed, might walke where he would without any harme or annoiance. This honour was giuen alſo vnto the prieſts in Rome, inſomuch that when Voluſius was exiled by the Triumuirate, and ſaw himſelfe in ſuch danger, as that he could not eſcape the hardeſt, he gat the weed of a prieſt vpon his backe, and begged his almes therein, euen in the high waies as he trauelled, and ſo eſcaped the danger and the furie of his aduerſaries: but to proceed with other things.

Bardus.

After the death of Druiyus, Bardus his ſonne, and firſt king of the Celts, ſucceeded not onelie ouer the ſaid kingdome, but alſo in his fathers vertues, whereby it is verie likelie, that the winding and wrapping vp of the ſaid religion, after the afore remembred ſort into verſe, was firſt deuiſed by him, for he was an excellent poet, and no leſſe indued with a ſingular ſkill in the practiſe and ſpeculation of muſicke, of which two many ſuppoſe him to be the verie author and beginner, although vnluſtlie, ſith both poetrie and ſong were in vſe before the flod, as was alſo the harpe and pipe, which Iubal inuented, and could neuer be performed without great ſkill in muſicke. But to proceed, as the cheefe eſtimation of the Druiydes remained in the end among the Britons onelie, for their knowledge in religion, ſo did the fame of the Bardes (which were ſo called of this Bardus for their excellent ſkill in muſicke, poetrie, and the heroicall kind of ſong, which at the firſt conteined onelie the high myſteries and ſecret points of their religion. There was little difference alſo betweene them and the Druiydes, till they ſo farre degenerated from their firſt inſtitution, that they became to be minſtrels at feaſts, drunken meetings, and abhominable ſacrifices of the idols: where they ſang moſt commonlie no diuinitie as before, but the puiſſant acts of valiant princes, and fabulous narrations of the adulteries of the gods. Certes in my time this fond vſage, and thereto the verie name of the Bardes, are not yet extinguiſhed among the Britons of Wales, where they call their poets and muſicians Bardes, as they do alſo in Ireland: which Sulpitius alſo writing to Lucane remembreth, where he ſaith that the word Bardus is meere Celtike, and ſignifieth a ſinger. Howbeit the Romans iudging all nations beſide themſelues to be but rude and barbarous, and thereto miſliking vtterlie the rough muſicke of the Bardes, entred ſo farre into the contemptuous mockage of their melodie, that they aſcribed the word Bardus vnto their fooles and idiots, whereas contrariwiſe the Scythians and ſuch as dwell within the northweſt part of Europe, did vſe the ſame word in verie honourable maner, calling their beſt poets and heroicall ſingers, Singebardos; their couragious ſingers and capteins that delited in muſicke, Albardos, Dagobardos, Rodtbardos, & one lame muſician Lambard aboue all other, of whoſe ſkilfull ditties Germanie is not vnfurniſhed, as I heare vnto this daie. In Quizqueia or new Spaine, an Iland of the Indies, they call ſuch men Boitios, their rimes Arcitos, and in ſtead of harps they ſing vnto timbrels made of ſhels ſuch ſonnets and ditties as either perteine vnto religion, prophane loue, commendation of anceſtrie, and inflammation of the mind vnto Mars, whereby there appeareth to be ſmall difference betweene their Boitios and our Bardes. Finallie of our ſort, Lucane in his firſt booke writeth thus, among other like ſaiengs well toward the latter end;

Gen. 4. 21.

The Bards degenerate.

Lucan. li. 1.

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas, belloq; perempti
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina Bardi,
Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque ſiniſtrum
Sacrorum Druidæ, poſitis recepiſtis ab armis.
Solis noſſe Deos, & cœli numina vobis,
Aut ſolis neſcire datum: nemora alta remotis
Incolitis lucis. Vobis authoribus, umbræ
Non tacitas Erebi ſedes, Ditiſque profundi
Pallida regna petunt, regit idem ſpiritus artus
Orbe alio. Longæ canitis ſi cognita, vitæ
Mors media eſt, certe populi, quos deſpicit arctos,
Fœlices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget leti metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: & ignauum eſt reditura parcere vitæ.

Thus we ſée as in a glaſſe the ſtate of religion, for a time, after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland: but how long it continued in ſuch ſoundneſſe, as the originall authors left it, in good ſooth I cannot ſay, yet this is moſt certeine, that after a time, when Albion arriued here, the religion earſt imbraced fell into great decaie. For whereas Iaphet & Samothes with their children taught nothing elſe than ſuch doctrine as they had learned of Noah: Cham the great grandfather of this our Albion, and his diſciples vtterlie renouncing to follow their ſteps, gaue their minds wholie to ſeduce and lead their hearers headlong vnto all error. Whereby his poſteritie not onelie corrupted this our Iland, with moſt filthie trades and practiſes; but alſo all mankind, generallie where they became, with vicious life, and moſt vngodlie conuerſation. For from Cham and his ſucceſſors proceeded at the firſt all ſorcerie, witchcraft, and the execution of vnlawfull luſt, without reſpect of ſex, age, conſanguinitie, or kind: as branches from an odious and abhominable root, or ſtreames deriued from a moſt filthie and horrible ſtinking puddle. Howbeit, & notwithſtanding all theſe his manifold lewdneſſes, ſuch was the follie of his Ægyptians (where he firſt reigned and taught) that whileſt he liued they alone had him in great eſtimation (whereas other nations contemned and abhorred him for his wickedneſſe, calling him Chemeſenua, that is, the impudent, infamous and wicked Cham) and not onelie builded a citie vnto him which they called Chem Min, but alſo after his death reputed him for a god, calling the higheſt of the ſeuen planets after his name, as they did the nert beneath it after Oſyris his ſonne, whom they likewiſe honored vnder the name of Iupiter.

What doctrine Cham and his diſciples taught.

Chemeſenua. Chem Min. Cham made a god.

Certes it was a cuſtome begonne in Ægypt of old time, and generallie in vſe almoſt in euerie place in proceſſe of time (when any of their famous worthie princes died) to aſcribe ſome ſorme or other of the ſtars vnto his perſon, to the end his name might neuer weare out of memorie. And this they called their tranſlation in heauen, ſo that he which had any ſtarres or ſorme of ſtarres dedicated vnto him, was properlie ſaid to haue a ſeat among the gods. A toie much like to the catalog of Romiſh ſaints, (although the one was written in the celeſtiall or immateriall orbes, the other in ſheps ſkins, and verie brickle paper) but yet ſo eſteemed, that euerie prince would oft hazard and attempt the vttermoſt aduentures, thereby to win ſuch fame in his life, that after his death he might by merit haue ſuch place in heauen, among the ſhining ſtarres. Howbeit, euerie of thoſe that were called gods, could not obteine that benefit, for then ſhould there not haue béene ſtars enow in heauen to haue ſerued all their turnes, wherfore another place was in time imagined, where they reigned that were of a ſecond calling, as the Semones who were gods by grace and fauour of the people. *Semones dici voluerunt* (ſaith Fulgentius *In vocibus antiquis*) *quos cœlo nec dignos aſcriberent, ob meriti paupertatem; ſicut Priapus Hyppo. Vortumnus, &c. nec terrenos eos deputare vellent per gratiæ venerationem*, as alſo a third place that is to ſay an earth, where thoſe gods dwelled which were noble men, officers,

Tranſlation of mortall men into heauen how it began.

Cyril. aduerſus Iul. lib. 6. fol. 8.

officers, good gouernours and lawgiuers to the people, and yet not thought worthie to be of the second or first companie, which was a follie diuision.

Thus we see in generall maner, how idolatrie, honoring of the starres, and brod of inferiour gods were hatched at the first, which follies in processe of time came also into Britaine, as did the names of Saturne & Iupiter, &c: as shall appeare hereafter. And here sith I haue alreadie somewhat digressed from my matter, I will go yet a little farder, and shew forth the originall vse of the word Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, &c: whereby your Honor shall see a little more into the errours of the Gentils, and not onelie that, but one point also of the rot of all the confusion that is to be found among the ancient histories. Certes it was vsed for a few yeeres after the partition of the earth (which was made by Noah, in the 133. yeere after the floud) that the beginners of such kingdoms as were then erected should be called Saturni, whereby it came to passe that Nimbrote was the Saturne of Babylon: Cham of Ægypt: and so forth other of sundrie other countries. Their eldest sonnes also that succeeded them, were called Ioues; and their nephewes or sonnes sonnes, which reigned in the third place Hercules, by which meanes it followed that euerie kingdome had a Saturne, Iupiter and Hercules of hir owne, and not from anie other.

Which were properlie called, Saturni, Ioues, Iunones, and Hercules.

In like sort they had such another order among their daughters, whom they married as yet commonlie vnto their brethren (God himselfe permitting the same vnto them for a time) as before the floud, to the end the earth might be thoroughlie replenished, and the sooner furnished with inhabitants in euerie part thereof. The sister therefore and wife of euerie Saturne was called Rhea, but of Iupiter, Iuno, Isis, or Io. Beyond these also there was no latter Harold that would indeuour to deriue the petigree of any prince, or potentate, but supposed his dutie to be sufficientlie performed, when he had brought it orderlie vnto some Saturne or other, wherat he might cease, and shut vp all his trauell. They had likewise this opinion grounded amongst them, that heauen & earth were onlie parents vnto Saturne and Rhea, not knowing out of doubt, what they themselues did meane, sith these denominations, Heauen, Ogyges, *the Sunne*, Pater Deorum, and such like, were onelie ascribed vnto Noah: as * Terra, (*the Earth*) Vesta, Aretia, *the Moone*, Mater deorum, and other the like were vnto Tydea his wife. So that hereby we see, how Saturne is reputed in euerie nation for their oldest god, or first prince, Iupiter for the next, and Hercules for the third. And therfore sith these names were dispersed in the beginning ouer all, it is no maruell that there is such confusion in ancient histories, and the doings of one of them so mixed with those of another, that it is now impossible to distinguish them in sunder. This haue I spoken, to the end that all men may see what gods the Pagans honored, & thereby what religion the posteritie of Cham did bring ouer into Britaine. For vntill their comming, it is not likelie that anie grosse idolatrie or superstition did enter in among vs, as deifieng of mortall men, honoring of the starres, and erection of huge images, beside sorcerie, witchcraft, and such like, whereof the Chemminites are worthilie called the authors. Neither were these errors anie thing amended, by the comming in of Brute, who no doubt added such deuises vnto the same, as he and his companie had learned before in Græcia, from whence also he brought Helenus the sonne of Priamus, (a man of exceeding age) & made him his priest and bishop thorough out the new conquest, that he had atchieued in Britaine.

Isis, Io, and Iuno all one.

Cœlum or Cœlus. Ogyges. Sol. Pater deorum. * Tydea. Vesta. Terra. Luna. Aretia. Deorum mater.

From whence Brute did learne his religion.

After Brute, idolatrie and superstition still increased more and more among vs, insomuch that beside the Druiysh and Bardike ceremonies, and those also that came in with Albion and Brute himselfe: our countriemen either brought hither from abroad, or dailie inuented at home new religion and rites, whereby it came to passe that in the stead of the onelie and immortall God (of whome Samothes and his posteritie did preach in times past) now they honored the said Samothes himselfe vnder the name of Dis and Saturne: also Iupiter, Mars, Minerua, Mercurie, Apollo, Diana; and finallie Hercules, vnto whome they dedicated the gates and porches of their temples, entrances into their regions, cities, townes and houses, with their limits and bounds (as the papists did the gates of their cities and ports vnto Botulph & Giles) bicause fortitude and wisedome are the cheefe vpholders and bearers vp of common-wealths and kingdoms, both which they ascribed to Hercules (forgetting God) and diuers other idols whose names I now remember not. In lieu more ouer of cheepe and oxen, they offred mankind also vnto some of them, killing their offendors, prisoners, and oft such strangers as came from farre vnto them, by shutting vp great numbers of them togither in huge images made of wicker, reed, haie, or other light matter: and then setting all on fire togither, they not onelie consumed the miserable creatures to ashes (sometimes adding other beasts vnto them) but also reputed it to be the most acceptable sacrifice that could be made vnto their idols. From whence they had this horrible custome, trulie I cannot tell, but that it was common to most nations, not onlie to consume their strangers, captiues, &c; but also their owne children with fire, in such maner of sacrifice: beside the text of the Bible, the prophane histories do generallie leaue it euident, as a thing either of custome or of particular necessitie, of which later Virgil saith;

Dis or Samothes made a god.

Mela. Diodorus. Strab. 4. Plin. Cæsar. 5.

Sanguine placastis ventos & virgine cæsa, &c.

As Silius doth of the first, where he telleth of the vsuall maner of the Carthaginenses, saieng after this maner;

Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus, &c.

But to proceed with our owne gods and idols, more pertinent to my purpose than the rehersall of forreine demeanours: I find that huge temples in like sort were builded vnto them, so that in the time of Lucius, when the light of saluation began stronglie to shine in Britaine, thorough the preaching of the gospell, the christians discouered 25. Flamines or idol-churches, beside three Archflamines, whose preests were then as our Archbishops are now, in that they had superior charge of all the rest, the other being reputed as inferiours, and subiect to their iurisdiction in cases of religion, and superstitious ceremonies.

Pol. Lucensis.

Of the quantities of their idols I speake not, sith it is inough to saie, that they were monstrous, and that each nation contended which should honour the greater blocks, and yet all pretending to haue the iust heigth of the god or goddesse whom they did represent. Apollo Capitolinus that stood at Rome, was thirtie cubits high at the least; Tarentinus Iupiter of 40.; the idoll of the sonne in the Rhodes, of 70. (whose toe few men could fadam;) Tuscanus Apollo that stood in the librarie of the temple of Augustus, of 50. foot; another made vnder Nero of 110. foot; but one in France passed all, which Zenoduris made vnto Mercurie at Aruernum in ten years space, of 400. foot. Wherby it appeareth, that as they were void of moderation in number of gods, so without measure were they also in their proportions, and happie was he which might haue the greatest idoll, and lay most cost thereon.

Monstrous proportions of idols.

Hitherto yee haue heard of the time, wherein idolatrie reigned and blinded the harts of such as dwelled in this Iland. Now let vs see the successe of the gospell, after the death and passion of Iesus Christ our sauiour. And euen here would I begin with an allegation of Theodoret, whereupon some repose great assurance (conceiuing yet more hope therein by the words of Sophronius) that Paule the Apostle should preach the word of saluation here, after his deliuerie out of captiuitie,

Theodoret. Sophronius.

uttie, which fell as I doo read in the 57. of Chriſt. But ſith I cannot verifie the ſame by the woords of Theodoret, to be ſpoken more of Paule than Peter, or the reſt, I will paſſe ouer this coniecture (ſo far as it is grounded vpon Theodoret) and deale with other authorities, whereof we haue more certeintie. Firſt of all therfore let vs ſee what Fortunatus hath written of Pauls coming into Britaine, and afterward what is to be found of other by-writers in other points of more aſſurance. Certes for the preſence of Paule I read thus much:

Quid ſacer ille ſimul Paulus tuba gentibus ampla,
Per mare per terras Chriſti præconia fundens,
Europam & Aſiam, Lybiam, ſale dogmata complens,
Arctos, meridies, hic plenus veſper & ortus,
Tranſit & Oceanum, vel qua facit inſula portum,
Quáſq; Britannus habet terras atque vltima Thule, &c.

That one Ioſephus preached here in England, in the time of the Apoſtles, his ſepulchre yet in Aualon, now called Gleſſenburg or Glaſſenburie, an epitaph affirmed therevnto is preſe ſufficient. Howbeit, ſith theſe things are not of competent force to perſuade all men, I will ad in few, what I haue read elſewhere of his arriuall here. Firſt of all therefore you ſhall note that he came ouer into Britaine, about the 64. after Chriſt, when the perſecution began vnder Nero, at which time Philip and diuers of the godlie being in France (whether he came with other chriſtians, after they had ſowed the word of God in Scythia, by the ſpace of 9. yeares) ſeuered themſelues in ſunder, to make the better ſhift for their owne ſafegard, and yet not otherwiſe than by their flight, the goſpell might haue due furtherance. Hereby then it came to paſſe, that the ſaid Philip vpon good deliberation did ſend Ioſephus ouer, and with him Simon Zelotes to preach vnto the Britons, and miniſter the ſacraments there according to the rites of the churches of Aſia and Greece, from whence they came not long before vnto the countrie of the Galles. Which was ſaith Malmeſburie 103. before Faganus and Dinaw did ſet forth the goſpell amongſt them. Of the cõming of Zelotes you may read more in the ſecond booke of Niceph. Cal. where he writeth thereof in this maner: *Operæpretium etiam fuerit Simonem Cana Galileæ ortum, qui propter flagrantem in magiſtrum ſuum ardorem, ſummámq; euangelicæ rei per omnia curam Zelotes cognominatus eſt hic referre, accepit enim is cœlitùs adueniente ſpiritu ſancto, Aegyptium Cyrenem & Africam, deinde Mauritaniam & Lybiam, omnem euangelium deprædicans percurrit, eandémque doctrinam etiam ad occidentalem Oceanum inſuláſque Britannicas perfert.* And this is the effect in a litle rowne, of that which I haue read at large in ſundrie writers, beſide theſe two here alledged, although it may well be gathered that diuers Britains were conuerted to the faith, before this ſixtie foure of Chriſt. Howbeit, whereas ſome write that they liued, and dwelled in Britaine, it cannot as yet take any abſolute hold in my iudgement, but rather that they were baptiſed and remained, either in Rome, or elſe-where. And of this ſort I ſuppoſe Claudia Rufina the wife of Pudens to be one, who was a Britiſh ladie indeed, and not onelie excellentlie ſéene in the Greéke and Latine tongs, but alſo with hir husband highlie commended by S. Paule, as one hauing had converſation and conference with them at Rome, from whence he did write his ſecond epiſtle vnto Timothie, as I read. Of this ladie more-ouer Martial ſpeaketh, in reioiſing that his poeſies were read alſo in Britaine, and onelie by hir meanes, who vſed to cull out the fineſt & honeſteſt of his epigrams and ſend them to hir freends for tokens, ſaieng after this maner, as himſelfe doth ſet it downe:

Dicitur & noſtros cantare Britannia verſus.

Furthermore making mention of hir and hir iſſue, he addeth theſe woords:

Claudia cæruleis cùm ſit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latiæ pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus formæ? Romanam credere matres
Italides poſſunt, Attthides eſſe ſuam.
Dij bene, quod ſancto peperit fœcunda marito,
Quot ſperat, generos, quótque puella nurus.
Sic placeat ſuperis, vt coniuge gaudeat vno,
Et ſemper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

The names of hir three children were Pudentiana, Praxedes, both virgins, and Nouatus, who after the death of Pudens their father (which befell him in Cappadocia) dwelled with their mother in Vmbria, where they ceaſed not from time to time to miniſter vnto the ſaints. But to leaue this impertinent diſcourſe, and proceed with my purpoſe.

I find in the Chronicles of Burton (vnder the yeare of Grace 141. and time of Hadrian the emperour) that nine ſcholers or clerkes of Grantha or Granta (now Cambridge) were baptiſed in Britaine, and became preachers of the goſpell there, but whether Taurinus biſhop or elder ouer the congregation at Yorke (who as Vincentius ſaith, was executed about this time for his faith) were one of them or not, as yet I do not certeinlie find: but rather the contrarie, which is that he was no Britaine at all, but *Epiſcopus Ebroicenſis*, for which ſuch as perceiue not the eaſie corruption of the word, may ſome write *Eboracenſis*, as certeinlie mine author out of whom I alledge this authoritie hath done before me. For Vincentius ſaith flat otherwiſe, and therefore the Chronologie if it ſpeake of anie Taurinus biſhop of Yorke is to be reformed in that behalfe. Diuers other alſo imbraced the religion of Chriſt verie zealouſlie before theſe men. Howbeit, all this notwithſtanding, the glad tidings of the goſpell had neuer free and open paſſage here, vntill the time of Lucius, in which the verie enimies of the word became the apparent meanes (contrarie to their owne minds) to haue it ſet forth amongſt vs. For when Antoninus the emperour had giuen out a decrée, that the Druiyſh religion ſhould euerie where be aboliſhed, Lucius the king (whoſe ſurname is now periſhed) tooke aduiſe of his councell what was beſt to be done, & wrote in this behalfe. And this did Lucius, bicauſe he knew it * impoſſible for man to liue long without any religion at all: finallie finding his Nobilitie & ſubiects vtter enimies to the Romane deuotiõ (for that they made ſo many gods as they liſted, & ſome to haue the regiment euen of their dirt & dung) and therevnto being pricked forwards by ſuch chriſtians as were conuerſant about him, to chooſe the ſeruice of the true God that liueth for euer, rather than the ſlauiſh ſeruitude of any pagan idoll: he fullie reſolued with himſelfe in the end, to receiue and imbrace the goſpell of Chriſt. He ſent alſo two of his beſt learned and greateſt philoſophers to Rome, vnto Eleutherus then biſhop there in the 177. of Chriſt, not to promiſe any ſubiection to his ſea, which then was not required, but to ſay with ſuch as were pricked in mind, Acts. 2. verſe. 37. *Quid faciemus viri fratres?* I meane that they were ſent to be perfectlie inſtructed, and with farther commiſſion, to make earneſt requeſt vnto him and the congregation there, that a competent number of preachers might be ſent ouer from thence, by whoſe diligent aduiſe and trauell, the foundation of the goſpell might ſurelie be laid ouer all the portion of the Ile, which conteined his kingdome, according to his mind.

When Eleutherus vnderſtood theſe things, he reioiced not a little for the great goodneſſe, which the Lord had ſhewed vpon this our Ile and countrie. Afterwards calling the brethren togither, they agréed to ordeine, euen thoſe two for biſhops, whom Lucius as you haue heard, had directed ouer vnto them. Finallie after they had thoroughlie catechized them, making generall prair vnto God and earneſt ſupplication for the good ſucceſſe of theſe men, they ſent them home againe with no ſmall charge, that they ſhould be diligent in their function, and carefull ouer the flocke committed to their cuſto-

Ioſephus.

Philip. Freculphus To. 2. lib. 2. cap. 4. Nennius. Nicephorus lib. 2. cap. 40.

Iſidorus lib. de vita & obit. diſt. patrum. W. Malmeſ. de antiq. Glaſconici monaſt.

Claudia Rufina a Britiſh ladie.

2. Tim. 4.

Li. 11. Epig. 54.

Lib. 10. cap. 17. Taurinus.

* This is contrarie to the common talke of our Atheiſts who ſay, Let vs liue here in wealth, credit and authoritie vpon earth, and let God take heauen and his religion to himſelfe to doo withall what he liſteth.

Lucius openeth his ears to good counſell, as one deſirous to ſerue God & not preferr the world.

The purpoſe of Lucius opened vnto the congregation at Rome by Eleutherus.

cuſtodie.

The firſt of theſe was called Eluanus Aualonius, a man borne in the Ile of Aualon, and brought vp there vnder thoſe godlie paſtours and their diſciples, whom Philip ſent ouer at the firſt for the conuerſion of the Britons. The other hight Medguinus, and was thereto ſurnamed Belga, becauſe he was of the towne of Welles, which then was called Belga. This man was trained vp alſo in one ſchole with Eluanus, both of them being ornaments to their horie ages, and men of ſuch grauitie and godlineſſe, that Eleutherus ſuppoſed none more worthie to ſupport this charge, than they: after whoſe comming home alſo, it was not long yer Lucius and all his houſhold with diuers of the Nobilitie were baptiſed, beſide infinit numbers of the common people, which dailie reſorted vnto them, and voluntarilie renounced all their idolatrie and paganiſme.

A zealous prince maketh feruent ſubiects.

In the meane time, Eleutherus vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe of theſe learned doctours, and ſuppoſing with himſelfe, that they two onlie could not ſuffice to ſupport ſo great a charge as ſhould concerne the conuerſion of the whole Iland; he directed ouer vnto them in the yeare inſuing Faganus, Dinaw (or Dinauus) Aaron, and diuerſe other godlie preachers, as fellow-labourers to trauell with them in the vineyard of the Lord. Theſe men therefore after their comming hither, conſulted with the other, and forthwith wholie conſented to make a diuiſion of this Iland amongſt themſelues, appointing what parcell each preacher ſhould take, that with the more profit and eaſe of the people, and ſomewhat leſſe trauell alſo for themſelues, the doctrine of the Goſpell might be preached and receiued. In this diſtribution, they ordeined that there ſhould be one congregation at London, where they placed Theonus as cheefe elder and biſhop, for that preſent time, worthilie called Theonus. 1. for there was another of that name who fled into Wales with Thadiocus of Yorke, at the firſt comming of the Saxons; and alſo Guthelmus, who went (as I read) into Armorica, there to craue aid againſt the Scots and Vandals that plagued this Ile, from the Twede vnto the Humber. After this Theonus alſo Eluanus ſucceeded, who conuerted manie of the Druiydes, and builded the firſt libzarie neere vnto the biſhops palace. The ſaid Lucius alſo placed another at Yorke, whither they appointed Theodoſius: and the third at Caerlheon vpon the riuer Uske, builded ſometimes by Belinus, and called Glamorgantia, but now Cheſter (in which three cities there had before time beene three Archflamines erected vnto Apollo, Mars, and Minerua, but now raced to the ground, and three other churches builded in their ſtæds by Lucius) to the end that the countries round about might haue indifferent acceſſe vnto thoſe places, and therewithall vnderſtand for certeintie, whither to reſort for reſolution, if after their conuerſion they ſhould happen to doubt of any thing. In like ſort alſo the reſt of the idoll-temples ſtanding in other places were either ouerthrowne, or conuerted into churches for chriſtian congregations to aſſemble in, as our writers do remember. In the report whereof giue me leaue gentle reader, of London my natiue citie to ſpeake a little: for although it may and doth ſeeme impertinent to my purpoſe, yet it ſhall not be much, and therefore I will ſome make an end. There is a controuerſie moued among our hiſtoriographers, whether the church that Lucius builded at London ſtood at Weſtminſter, or in Cornehill. For there is ſome cauſe, why the metropolitane church ſhould be thought to ſtand where S. Peters now doth, by the ſpace of 400. odd yeeres before it was remoued to Canturburie by Auſtine the monke, if a man ſhould leane to one ſide without anie conference of the aſſeuerations of the other. But herin (as I take it) there lurketh ſome ſcruple, for beſide that S. Peters church ſtood in the eaſt end of the citie, and that of Apollo in the weſt, the word Cornehill (a denomination giuen of late to ſpeake of to one ſtreet) may eaſilie be miſtaken for Thorney. For as the word Thorney procedeth from the Saxons, who called the weſt end of the citie by that name, where Weſtminſter now ſtandeth, becauſe of the wildneſſe and buſhineſſe of the ſoile; ſo I do not read of anie ſtreete in London called Cornehill before the conqueſt of the Normans. Wherfore I hold with them, which make Weſtminſter to be the place where Lucius builded his church vpon the ruines of that Flamine 264. yeares, as Malmesburie ſaith, before the comming of the Saxons, and 411. before the arriuall of Auguſtine. Read alſo his appendix *in lib. 4. Pontif.* where he noteth the time of the Saxons, in the 449. of Grace, and of Auguſtine in the 596. of Chriſt; which is a manifeſt accompt, though ſome copies haue 499. for the one, but not without manifeſt corruption and error.

Faganus. Dinauus. Aaron.

Radulphus de la noir aliàs Niger.

3. Cheefe Biſhops in Britaine.

Theonus. Theodoſius London. Yorke. Caerlheon.

Thus became Britaine the firſt prouince that generallie receiued the faith, and where the goſpell was freelie preached without inhibition of hir prince. Howbeit, although that Lucius and his princes and great numbers of his people imbraced the word with gredineſſe, yet was not the ſucceſſe thereof either ſo vniuerſall, that all men beleeued at the firſt; the ſecuritie ſo great, as that no perſecution was to be feared from the Romane empire after his deceaſe; nor the proceeding of the king ſo ſeuere, as that he inforced any man by publike authoritie to forſake and relinquiſh his paganiſme: but onelie this freedome was enioied, that who ſo would become a chriſtian in his time, might without feare of his lawes profeſſe the Goſpell, in whoſe teſtimonie, if need had beene, I doubt not to affirme, but that he would haue ſhed alſo his bloud, as did his neece Emerita, who being conſtant aboue the common ſort of women, refuſed not after his deceaſe by fire, to yeeld hir ſelfe to death, as a ſweet ſmelling ſacrifice in the noſtrels of the Lord, beyond the ſea in France.

Britaine the firſt prouince that receiued the Goſpell generallie.

Emerita neece vnto Lucius.

The faith of Chriſt being thus planted in this Iland in the 177. after Chriſt, and Faganus and Dinaw with the reſt ſent ouer from Rome, in the 178. as you haue heard: it came to paſſe in the third yeare of the Goſpell receiued, that Lucius did ſend againe to Eleutherus the biſhop, requiring that he might haue ſome breefe epitome of the order of diſcipline then vſed in the church. For he well conſidered, that as it anaileth litle to plant a coſtlie vineyard, except it afterward be cheriſhed, kept in good order, and ſuch things as annoie, dailie remoued from the ſame: ſo after baptiſme and entrance into religion, it profiteth little to beare the name of chriſtians, except we do walke in the ſpirit, and haue ſuch things as offend apparentlie, corrected by ſeuere diſcipline. For otherwiſe it will come to paſſe, that the weedes of vice, and vicious liuing, will ſo quicklie abound in vs, that they will in the end choke vp the good ſeed ſowne in our minds, and either inforce vs to returne vnto our former wickednelle with deeper ſecuritie than before, or elſe to become meere Atheiſts, which is a great deale worſe.

Lucius ſendeth againe to Rome.

Ro. 8. ver. 1

For this cauſe therefore did Lucius ſend to Rome, the ſecond time, for a copie of ſuch politike orders as were then vſed there, in their regiment of the church. But Eleutherus conſidering with himſelfe, how that all nations are not of like condition, and therefore thoſe conſtitutions that are beneficiall to one, may now and then be preiudiciall to another: and ſeeing alſo that beſide the word no rites and orders can long continue, or be ſo perfect in all points, but that as time ſeruеth, they will require alteration: he thought it beſt not to laie any more vpon the necks of the new conuerts of Britaine as yet, than Chriſt and his apoſtles had alreadie ſet downe vnto all men. In returning therefore his meſſengers, he ſent letters by them vnto Lucius and his Nobilitie, dated in the conſulſhips of Commodus

The wiſedome of Eleutherus.

and

and Veſpronius, wherein he told them that Chriſt had left ſufficient order in the ſcriptures for the gouernment of his church alreadie in his word, and not for that onlie, but alſo for the regiment of his whole kingdome, if he would ſubmit himſelfe, to yéeld and follow that rule. The epiſtle it ſelfe is partlie extant, and partlie periſhed, yet ſuch as it is, and as I haue faithfullie tranſlated it out of ſundrie verie ancient copies, I doo deliuer it here, to the end I will not defraud the reader of anie thing that may turne to the glorie of God, and his commoditie, in the hiſtorie of our nation.

Though moſt princes cannot heare of that ſide.

Epiſtle of Eleutherus vnto Lucius.

You require of vs the Romane ordinances, and thereto the ſtatutes of the emperours to be ſent ouer vnto you, and which you deſire to practiſe and put in vre within your realme and kingdome. The Romane lawes and thoſe of emperours we may eſſoones reprooue, but thoſe of God can neuer be found fault with all. You haue receiued of late through Gods mercie in the realme of Britaine the law and faith of Chriſt, you haue with you both volumes of the ſcriptures: out of them therefore by Gods grace, and the councell of your realme take you a law, and by that law through Gods ſufferance rule your kingdome, for you are Gods vicar in your owne realme, as the roiall prophet ſaith; Pſal.24. The earth is the Lords and all that is therein, the compaſſe of the world, and they that dwell therein. Againe, Pſal.45. Thou haſt loued truth and hated iniquitie, wherefore God, euen thy God hath annointed thée with oile of gladneſſe aboue thy fellowes. And againe, according to the ſaieng of the ſame prophet; Pſal.71. Oh God giue thy iudgement vnto the king, & thy iuſtice vnto the kings ſonne. The kings ſons are the chriſtian people & flocke of the realme, which are vnder your gouernance, and liue & continue in peace within your kingdome. * Here wanteth. The goſpell ſaith; As the hen gathereth hir chickens vnder hir wings, ſo doth the king his people. Such as dwell in the kingdome of Britaine are yours, whom if they be diuided, you ought to gather into concord and vnitie, to call them to the faith and law of Chriſt, and to his sacred church: to chearish and mainteine, to rule alſo and gouerne them, defending each of them from ſuch as would doo them wrong, and keeping them from the malice of ſuch as be their enimies. * Woo vnto the nation whoſe king is a child, and whoſe princes riſe vp earlie to banket and feed, which is ſpoken not of a prince that is within age, but of a prince that is become a child, through follie, ſinne & vnſtedfaſtneſſe, of whom the prophet ſaith; The bloudthirſtie and deceitfull men ſhall not Pſal.55. liue forth halfe their daies. * By feeding I vnderſtand gluttonie; by gluttonie, luſt; & by luſt all wickednes & ſinne, according to the ſaieng of Salomon the king; Wiſedome entreth not into a wicked mind, nor dwelleth with a man that is ſubiect vnto ſinne. A king hath his name of ruling, and not of the poſſeſſion of his realme. You ſhalbe a king whileſt you rule well, but if you doo otherwiſe, the name of a king ſhall not remaine with you, but you ſhall vtterlie forgo it, which God forbid. The almightie God grant you ſo to rule the kingdome of Britaine, that you may reigne with him for euer, whoſe vicar (or vicegerent) you are within your aforeſaid kingdome. Who with the Sonne and the Holie-ghoſt, &c.

Hitherto out of the epiſtle that Eleutherus ſent vnto Lucius, wherein manie prettie obſeruations are to be collected, if time and place would ſerue to ſtand vpon them. After theſe daies alſo the number of ſuch as were ordeined to ſaluation, increaſed dailie more and more, whereby (as in other places of the world) the word of God had good ſucceſſe in Britaine, in time of peace; and in heat of perſecution, there were no ſmall number of martyrs that ſuffered for the ſame, of which Albane, Amphibalus, Iulius and Aaron, are reputed to be the chiefe, becauſe of their noble parentage, which is a great matter in the ſight of worldlie men.

Albane. Amphibalus. Iulius. Aaron.

There are which affirme our Lucius to renounce his kingdome, and afterward to become firſt a biſhop, then a preacher of the goſpell, and afterward a pope: but to the end ſuch as hold this opinion may once vnderſtand the botome of their errors, I will ſet downe the matter at large, whereby they ſhall ſée (if they liſt to looke) how far they haue béene deceiued.

Chlorus had three ſons, & a daughter by Helena.

I find that Chlorus had iſſue by his ſecond wife, two ſonnes, Dalmatius (who had a ſonne called alſo Dalmatius and ſlaine by the ſouldiors) Conſtantius father to Gallus, and Iulian the apoſtata; beſides foure other whoſe names as yet I find not. But being at the firſt matched with Helena, and before ſhe was put from him by the roiall power of Dioclesian, he had by hir three ſonnes (beſide one daughter named Emerita) of which the name of the firſt is periſhed, the ſecond was called Lucius, & the third Conſtantine, that afterward was emperour of Rome, by election of the armies in Britaine. Now it happened that Lucius, whome the French call Lucion, by means of a quarell growne betweene him and his elder brother, did kill his ſaid brother, either by a traie or by ſome other meanes, whereupon his father exiled him out of Britaine, and appointed him from thenceforth to remaine in Aquitane in France. This Lucion brought thus into worldlie ſorow, had now good leaſure to meditate vpon heauen, who before in his proſperitie had peraduenture neuer regard of hell. Finallie he fell ſo far into the conſideration of his eſtate, that at the laſt he renounced his paganiſme, and firſt became a chriſtian, then an elder, and laſt of all a biſhop in the church of Chriſt. He erected alſo a place of praier wherein to ſerue the liuing God, which after ſundrie alterations came in proceſſe of time to be an Abbaie, and is ſtill called euen to our time after Lucion or Lucius: the firſt founder thereof, and the originall beginner of anie ſuch houſe in thoſe parts.

Lucion becommeth a chriſtian.

Lucion a biſhop.

In this alſo he and diuers other of his frends continued their times, in great contemplation and praier, and from hence were tranſlated as occaſion ſerued, vnto ſundrie eccleſiaſticall promotions in the time of Conſtant. his brother. So that euen by this ſhort narration it is now eaſie to ſée, that Lucius the king, and Lucius or Lucion the ſonne of Chlorus, were diuerſ perſons. Note vnto Hermannus Schedelius addeth alſo how he went into Rhetia with Emerita his ſiſter, and néere vnto the citie Auguſta conuerted the Curienſes vnto the faith of Chriſt, and there likewiſe (being put to death in Caſtro Martis) lieth buried in the ſame towne, where his feaſt is holden vpon the third daie of December, as may readilie be confirmed, whereas the bones of our Lucius were to be ſéene at Glocester. That Schedelius erreth not herein alſo, the ancient monuments of the ſaid Abbaie, whereof he was the originall beginner, as I ſaid, doo yeeld ſufficient teſtimonie, beſide an hymne made in his commendation, intituled *Gaude Lucionum, &c.* But for more of this you may reſort vnto Boucher in his firſt booke, and ſixt chapter of the Annales of Aquitane, who neuertheles maketh the king of Britaine grandfather to this Lucion. The ſaid Schedelius furthermore ſetteth downe, that his ſiſter was martyred in Trinecaſtell, néere vnto the place where the ſaid Lucion dwelled, whereby it appeareth in like ſort, that ſhe was not ſiſter to Lucius king of Britaine, of which prince Alexander Neccham in his moſt excellent treatiſe *De ſapientia diuina*, ſetteth downe this Diſtichon:

Hermannus Schedelius. Bruſchius cap.3.

Feſtum Lucionis.

John Boucher.

Emerita martyred in Rhetia.

Prima Britannorum fidei lux Lucius eſſe
Fertur, qui rexit mœnia Brute tua.

Neither could Lucion or Lucius be fellow and of kinred vnto Paule the apoſtle, as Auentine inferreth, except he meane it of ſome other Lucius, as of one whome he nameth Cyrinenſis. But then will not the hiſtorie agree with the conuerſion of the Rhetians and

Vinde-

Vindelicians, whereof Schedelius and other do make mention. But as each riuer the farder it runneth from the head, the more it is increaſed by ſmall riuelets, and corrupted with filthie puddels, and ſtinking gutters, that deſcend into the ſame: ſo the puritie of the goſpell, preached here in Britaine, in proceſſe of time became firſt of all to be corrupted with a new order of religion, and moſt execrable hereſie, both of them being brought in at once by Pelagius, of Wales, who hauing trauelled through France, Italie, Aegypt, Syria, & the eaſterlie regions of the world, was there at the laſt made an elder or biſhop, by ſome of the monkes, vnto whoſe profeſſion he had not long before wholie addicted himſelfe. Finallie returning home againe with an augmentation of fame and countenance of greater holineſſe than he bare out of the land with him, he did not onelie erect an houſe of his owne order at Bangor in Wales, vpon the riuer Dee, but alſo ſowed the peſtiferous ſeed of his hereticall prauities ouer all this Iland, whereby he ſeduced great numbers of Britons, teaching them to preferre their owne merits, before the free mercie of God, in Jeſus Chriſt his ſonne. By this means therefore he brought aſſurance of ſaluation into queſtion, and taught all ſuch as had a diligent reſpect vnto their workes to be doubtfull of the ſame, whereas to ſuch as regard this latter, there can be no quietneſſe of mind, but alwaies an vnſtedfaſt opinion of themſelues, whereby they cannot diſcerne, neither by proſperitie nor aduerſitie of this life, whether they be worthie loue or hatred. Neuertheleſs it behoueth the godlie to repoſe their hope in that grace which is freelie granted through Jeſu Chriſt, and to flee vnto the mercies of God which are offered vnto vs in with and by his ſon, to the end that we may at the laſt find the teſtimonie of his ſpirit working with ours, that we are his choſen children, whereby commeth peace of conſcience to ſuch as do beleeue.

Hereſie and monaſticall life brought into Britaine at one time by Pelagius.

Bangor.

Thus we ſee how new deuiſes or orders of religion and hereſie came in together. I could ſhew alſo what Comets, and ſtrange ſignes appeared in Britaine, much about the ſame time, the like of which with diuers other haue beene perceiued alſo from time to time, ſithence the death of Pelagius, at the entrance of anie new kind of religion into this Ile of Britaine. But I paſſe them ouer, onelie for that I would not ſeeme in my tractation of antiquities, to trouble my reader with the rehearſall of anie new inconueniences.

To proceed therefore with my purpoſe, after theſe, there followed in like ſort ſundrie other kinds of monaſticall life, as Anachorites, Heremits, Cyrilline and Benedictine monkes, albeit that the heremeticall profeſſion was onelie allowed of in Britaine, vntill the comming of Auguſtine the monke, who brought in the Benedictine ſect, framed after the order of the houſe which Benedict ſurnamed Nurſinus did firſt erect in *Monte Caſſino*, about the 524. of Chriſt, & was finallie ſo well liked of all men, that we had few or (as I ſuppoſe) no blacke monkes in England that were not of his order. In proceſſe of time how Benedict Biſcop alſo our countrieman reſtored the ſaid Benedictine profeſſion greatlie decaied in England, our hiſtories are verie plentifull, which Biſcop went oft into Italie, and at one time for a ſpeciall confirmation of his two monaſteries which he had builded at other mens coſts vnto Paule and Peter vpon the bankes of the Were, as Beda doth remember. So faſt alſo did theſe and other like humane deuiſes proſper after his time, that at their ſuppreſſion in England and Wales onelie, there were found 440. religious houſes at the leaſt, of which 373. might diſpend 200. li. by the yeere at the leaſt, as appeareth by the record of their ſuppreſſion, which alſo noteth the totall ſumme of their reuenues to amount vnto 32000. pounds, their moueables 100000. li. and the number of religious men conteined in the ſame, to be 10000. which would make a pretie armie, whereunto if you adde thoſe 45. of late ſtanding in Scotland, you ſhall ſone ſee what numbers of theſe dens of ſpirituall robbers were mainteined here in Britaine. What number of ſaints alſo haue beene hatched in them I could eaſilie remember, and beſide thoſe 160. which Capgraue ſetteth down, & other likewiſe remembred in the golden Legend, and Legendarie of Erceſter, I might bring a rable out of Scotland able to furniſh vp a calendar, though the yere were twiſe as long.

Anachorites. Heremites. Cyrillines. Benedictines.

Monkes and heremites onelie allowed of in Britaine.

The number of religious houſes in England at their diſſolution.

As touching Pelagius the firſt heretike that euer was bred in this realme (notablie knowne) and parent of Monachiſme, it is certeine, that before his corruption and fall, he was taken for a man of ſingular learning, deepe iudgement, and ſuch a one, as vpon whome for his great gifts in teaching and ſtrictneſſe of life, no ſmall peece of the hope and expectation of the people did depend. But what is wiſedome of the fleſh, without the feare and true knowledge of God? and what is learning except it be handmaid to veritie and ſound iudgement? Wherefore euen of this man, we may ſee it verified, that one Roger Bakon pronounced long after of the corruption of his time, when all things were meaſured by wit and worldlie policie, rather than by the ſcriptures or guidance of the ſpirit; Better it is ſaith he, to heare a rude and ſimple idiot preach the truth, without apparance of ſkill and learned eloquence, than a profound clearke to ſet forth error, with great ſhew of learning, and boaſt of filed vtterance. Gerſon in like ſort hath ſaid fullie almuch. Theſe follies of Pelagius were blaſed abroad about the 400. of Chriſt, and from thenceforth how his number of monkes increaſed on the one ſide, and his doctrine on the other, there is almoſt no reader that is vnſkilfull and ignorant.

Auguſtin the monk

Roger Bakon his ſaieng of the preachers of his time who were the beſt lawyers and the worſt Diuines.

Auguſt

This alſo is certeine, that within the ſpace of 200. yeares and odde, there were manie more than 2100. monkes gathered togither in his houſe, whoſe trades notwithſtanding the errors of their founder, (who taught ſuch an eſtimation of merits and bodilie exerciſe (as Paule calleth it) that therby he ſought not onlie to impugne, but alſo preuent grace, which was in deed the originall occaſion of the erection of his houſe) were yet farre better and more godlie than all theſe religious orders, that were inuented of later time, wherein the profeſſours liued to themſelues, their wombs and the licentious fruition of thoſe parts, that are beneath the bellie. For theſe laboured continuallie for their owne liuings, at vacant times from praier (as did Serapions monkes, which were 10000. ouer whome he himſelfe was Abbat) and likewiſe for the better maintenance of ſuch learned men as were their appointed preachers. Their liues alſo were correſpondent to their doctrine, ſo that herein onelie they ſeemed intollerable, in that they had confidence in their deeds, and no warrant out of the word for their ſuccor & defenſe, but were ſuch a plant as the heauenlie father had not planted, and therefore no maruell, though afterward they were raiſed by the roots.

More than 2100. monkes in the College or Abbaie of Bangor in whoſe territories the pariſh of Ouerton ſtandeth.

Niceph. lib. 11. cap. 34.

Monk Cantu tie pla

But as Pelagius and his adherents had a time to infect the church of Chriſt in Britaine, ſo the liuing God hath had a ſeaſon alſo to purge and cleanſe the ſame, though not by a full reformation of doctrine, ſith Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius, and ſuch like leaning for the moſt part vnto the monaſticall trades, did not ſo much condemne the generall errors of Pelagius one waie, as mainteine the ſame, or as euill opinions another. For as Patricke ſeemed to like well of the honoring of the dead, ſo Germanus being in Britaine repaired an old chapell to S. Albane, wherein Lupus alſo prated, as Palladius vpheld the ſtrictneſſe of life, in monaſticall profeſſion to the vttermoſt of his power. Wherfore God wrought this purgation of his houſe at the firſt, rather by taking awaie the wicked and pompous ſcholemaiſters of errour out of this life: hoping

Germanus, Lupus, Palladius, Patricius.

Senerus Sulpitius in vita Patricij.

Mea Picte Cale nien

hoping that by ſuch meanes, his people would haue giuen eare to the godlie that remained. But in proceſſe of time, when this his merciſull dealing was forgotten and our countriemen returned to their former diſorders, he brought in the Saxons, who left no idoll vnhonored, no not their filthie Priapus, vnto whom the women builded temples, and made a beaſtlie image (*Cum pene intenſo*, and as if he had bene circumciſed) whome they called Ithypallus, Verpus, and as Goropius Atvatic. pag. 26. addeth, Ters: calling vpon him in manner at euerie word, yea at the verie fall of a knife out of their hands, and not counted anie ſhame vnto the moſt ancient and ſober matrone of them all. Howbeit when this proceeding of the Lord could alſo take no place, and the ſheepe of his paſture would receiue no wholeſome fodder, it pleaſed his maieſtie, to let them run on headlong from one iniquitie to another, in ſo much that after the doctrine of Pelagius, it receiued that of Rome alſo, brought in by Auguſtine and his monkes, whereby it was to be ſeene, how they fell from the truth into hereſie, and from one hereſie ſtill into another, till at the laſt they were drowned altogither in the pits of error digged vp by Antichriſt, wels in deed that hold no water, which notwithſtanding to their followers ſeemed to be moſt ſound doctrine, and ciſterns of liuing water to ſuch as imbraced the ſame.

Auguſtine the monke.

Auguſtine.

This Auguſtine, after his arriuall, conuerted the Saxons in deed from paganiſme, but as the prouerbe ſaith, bringing them out of Gods bleſſing into the warme ſunne, he alſo imbued them with no leſſe hurtfull ſuperſtition, than they did know before: for beſide the onelie name of Chriſt, and externall contempt of their priſtinate idolatrie, he taught them nothing at all, but rather (I ſaie) made an exchange from groſſe to ſubtill treacherie, from open to ſecret idolatrie, & from the name of pagans, to the bare title of chriſtians, thinking this ſufficient for their ſoules health, and the ſtabliſhment of his monachiſme, of which kind of profeſſion, the holie ſcriptures of God can in no wiſe like or allow. But what cared he? ſith he got the great fiſh for which he did caſt his hooke, and ſo great was the fiſh that he caught in deed, that within the ſpace of 1000. yeares, and leſſe, it deuoured the fourth part & more of the beſt ſoile of the Iland, which was wholie beſtowed vpon his monkes, & other religious broodes that were hatched ſince his time, as may hereafter appeare in the booke following, where I intreate of cities, townes, &c.

Monks of Canturburie plagued.

In the meane ſeaſon what ſucceſſe his monkes had at Canturburie, how oft they were ſpoiled by enimies, their houſes burned by caſualtie, and brethren conſumed with peſtilence, I refer me to Gotcellius, Houeden, Geruaſe, and the reſt of their owne hiſtoriographers. And ſo ſore did the peſtilence rage among them in the time of Celnothus (in whoſe daies the præſts, clerks and monkes ſang their ſeruice togither in the quire, that (of I wote not how manie) there remained onelie fiue aliue, which was a notable token of the furie and wrath of God conceiued and executed againſt that malignant generation. It came alſo to paſſe at the laſt, that men vſed to praie for helpe at the ſaid Auguſtines tumbe (although afterward Thomas Becket a newer ſaint did not a little deface his glorie) among which king Athelſtane was one, whome Elnothus the abbat ſtaied ſo long in the place, when he came thither to praie, that his ſoldiours waiting for his comming, and ſuppoſing the monkes to haue murdered him, began to giue an aſſault and ſet fire vpon the houſe.

Meates. Pictes. Caledoniens.

Whileſt theſe things were thus in hand, in the ſouth part of Albion, the Meates, Picts, and Caledoniens, which lie beyond the Scotiſh ſea, receiued alſo the faith, by preaching of ſuch chriſtian elders as aduentured thither dailie, who trauelled not without great ſucceſſe and increaſe of perfect godlines in that part of the Ile. Certes this proſperous attempt paſſed all mens expectation, for that theſe nations were in thoſe daies reputed wild, ſauage, and more vnfaithfull and craftie than well-minded people (as the wild Iriſh are in my time) and ſuch were they (to ſaie the truth) in deed, as neither the ſugred courteſie, nor ſharpe ſwords of the Romans could mollifie or reſtraine from their naturall furie, or bring to anie good order. For this cauſe alſo in the end, the Romane emperours did vtterlie caſt them off as an vnprofitable, brutiſh, & vntameable nation, and by an huge wall hereafter to be deſcribed, ſeparated that rude companie from the more mild and ciuill portion.

Scotland conuerted to the faith of Chriſt.

This conuerſion of the north parts fell out in the firſt yeare before the warres that Seuerus had in thoſe quarters, and 170. after the death of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt. From thenceforth alſo the chriſtian religion continued ſtill among them, by the diligent care of their paſtors and biſhops (after the vſe of the churches of the ſouth part of this Iland) till the Romane ſhepheard ſought them out, and found the meanes to pull them vnto him in like ſort with his long ſtaffe as he had done our countriemen, whereby in the end he aboliſhed the rites of the churches of Aſia there alſo, as Auguſtine had done alreadie in England: and in ſtéed of the ſame did furniſh it vp with thoſe of his pontificall ſee, although there was great contention, and no leſſe bloodſhed made amongſt them, before it could be brought to paſſe, as by the hiſtories of both nations yet extant may be ſeene.

Paladius.

The firſt attempt of the biſhop of Rome to bring Scotland vnder his obedience.

In the time of Cœleſtine biſhop of Rome, who ſate in the 423. of Chriſt, one Paladius a Grecian borne (to whome Cyrill wrote his dialog *De adoratione in ſpiritu*) and ſometime diſciple to Iohn 24. biſhop of Jeruſalem, came ouer from Rome into Britaine, there to ſupplie the Pelagian hereſie, which not a little moleſted the orthodores of that Iland. And hauing done much good in the extinguiſhing of the aforeſaid opinion there, he went at the laſt alſo into Scotland, ſuppoſing no leſſe, but after he had trauelled ſomwhat in confutation of the Pelagians in thoſe parts, he ſhould eaſilie perſuade that crooked nation to admit and receiue the rites of the church of Rome, as he would faine haue done before hand in the ſouth. But as Faſtidius Priſcus archbiſhop of London, and his Suffragans reſiſted him here; ſo did the Scotiſh prelates withſtand him there alſo in this behalfe: howbeit, bicauſe of the authoritie of his commiſſion, grauitie of perſonage, and the great gift which he had in the veine of pleaſant perſuaſion (whereby he drew the people after him, as Orpheus did the ſtones with his harpe, and Hercules ſuch as heard him by his tong) they had him not onelie then in great admiration, but their ſucceſſors alſo from time to time, and euen now are contented (and the rather alſo for that he came from Rome) to take him for their cheefe apoſtle, reckoning from his comming as from the faith receiued, which was in the 431. yeare of Chriſt, as the truth of their hiſtorie doth verie well confirme.

Faſtidius biſhop of London.

Paladius accompted for the apoſtle of the Scots.

Thus we ſee what religion hath from time to time beene receiued in this Iland, & how and when the faith of Chriſt came firſt into our countrie. Howbeit as in proceſſe of time it was ouerſhadowed, and corrupted with the dreames and fantaſticall imaginations of man, ſo it dailie waxed worſe & worſe, till that it pleaſed God to reſtore the preaching of his goſpell in our daies, whereby the man of ſinne is now openlie reuealed, and the puritie of the word once againe brought to light, to the finall ouerthrow of the Romiſh ſathan, and his popiſh adherents that honour him daie and night to the vttermoſt of their power, yeelding vp their harts as temples for him to dwell in, which rather ought to be the temples of God and habitations of the Holy-ghoſt. But ſuch is their peruerſe ignorance (notwithſtanding that Paule hath giuen warning of him alreadie 2. Theſ. 2. calling him (as I ſaid) the man of ſinne, and ſaieng that he ſitteth as God in the temple of God, ſhewing himſelfe

himſelfe in his chalenge of power, as if he were God, vnder pretenſe of zeale vnto true religion) that they will not giue eare vnto the truth, but rather ſhut their eares and their eies from hearing and reading of the ſcriptures, becauſe they will not be drawne out of his ſnares and bondage.

Of the manifold conuerſions and alterations of the eſtate of the common-wealth of Britaine, ſithens the time of Samothes.

THere is a certeine period of kingdomes, of 430. yeares, in which commonlie they ſuffer ſome notable alteration. And as in the aforeſaid ſeaſon there is ſet a time of increaſe and decaie, ſo we find that before the execution of Gods purpoſe doth come to paſſe, in changing the eſtate of things, ſundrie tokens are ſent, whereby warning is giuen, that without repentance he will come and viſit our offenſes. This is partlie verified by Ioachimus Camerarius, who in his firſt booke *De oſtentis* intreating of the ſame argument, telleth of a ſtrange earthquake felt in Delus, which was neuer touched with any ſuch plague before or after the ouerthrow of the Perſians, giuen vnto them by the Grecians; alſo of the beard that ſuddenlie grew out of the face of the Pedacten prophetеſſe, ſo often as the citie was to be touched with any alteration and change. *Nam* (ſaith he) *deſcriptas eſſe diuinitùs ætates quibus idem humanarum rerum ſtatus duraret, quibus finitis, prædici prius quàm exiſteret nouationem in deterius euenturam rerum, quæque indies minùs ac minùs numini cordi eſſent. Emittuntur igitur cometæ diuinitus, & reuocantur dum ſupra nos conſpecti quamdiu placuit Deo inferuntur, &c.* Plato referreth ſuch changes as happen in common-wealths to a certeine diuine force that reſteth hidden in ſundrie od numbers, whereof their periods do conſiſt. True it is that God created all things in number, weight & meaſure, & that after an incomprehenſible maner vnto our fraile & humane capacitie. Neuertheleſſe, he appointed not theſe three to haue the rule of his works, wherefore we muſt not aſcribe theſe changes to the force of number with Plato, much leſſe then vnto deſtinie with the Peripatetiks, but vnto the diuine prouidence and appointment of God, which onelie may be called deſtinie as S. Auguſtine ſaith, for of other deſtinie it is impietie to dreame. Ariſtotle aſcribing all euents vnto manifeſt cauſes precedent, doth ſcoffe at Plato and his numbers in his booke of common-wealths, and bringeth in ſundrie cauſes of the alteration of the ſtate of things, which we may referre vnto principals, as iniurie, oppreſſion, ambition, treaſon, rebellion, contempt of religion and lawes, and therevnto abundance of wealth in few, and great neceſſitie and miſerie in manie. But whatſoeuer Ariſtotle geſſeth at theſe things by humane reaſon as at the firſt cauſes, yet we acknowledge other beyond them, as ſinne, which being ſuffered and come to the full, is cut downe by the iuſtice of the high God, the cheefe cauſe of all, who foreſeeing the wickednеſſe of ſuch as dwell on earth, doth conſtitute ſuch a reuolution of things in their beginnings, as beſt ſtandeth with the execution of his purpoſe, and correction of our errors. The cauſes therefore that Ariſtotle doth deliuer, are nothing elſe but the meanes which God vſeth to bring his purpoſes to paſſe; and yet they deſerue the name of cauſes, in that they preceed thoſe effects which follow them immediatlie. But in truth other than ſecondarie or third cauſes no man can iuſtlie call them. Bodinus in his hiſtoricall method, cap. 6. making a large diſcourſe of the conuerſions of commonwealths, doth ſeeme at the firſt to denie the force of number, but after a while he marueileth that no Grecian or Latine Academike, hath hitherto made any diſcourſe of the excellencie of ſuch numbers as apperteine to the eſtate of empires and kingdomes by exemplification in any one citie or other. Hereby he ſheweth himſelfe vpon the ſudden to alter his iudgement, ſo that he ſetteth downe certeine numbers as fatall; to wit, five vnto women, and ſeauen and nine vnto men, which (ſaith he) haue *Magnam in tota rerum natura poteſtatem*, meaning as well in common-wealths and kingdomes from their firſt erections, as in particular ages of bodies, for ſickeneſſe, health, change of habitation, wealth, and loſſe, &c: and for the confirmation of the ſame, he ſetteth downe ſundrie examples of apparant likelihood, either by multiplication of one by the other, or diuiſion of greater numbers by either of them, or their concurrence one with another, calling the aforeſaid three his criticall or iudiciall numbers, where by he bringeth or rather reſtoreth an old kind of arithmancie (fathered on Pythagoras, yet neuer inuented by him) againe into the world. But we chriſtians, in reſpecting of cauſes, haue to looke vnto the originall and great cauſe of all, and therefore we haue not to leane vnto theſe points in any wiſe as cauſes: for we know and confeſſe that all things depend vpon his prouidence, who humbleth and exalteth whom it pleaſeth him. Neuertheleſſe, I hope we may without offenſe examine how theſe aſſertions hold, ſo long as we vſe them rather as *Indices* than *Cauſas mutationum*. And therefore haue I attempted to practiſe at this preſent the example of Bodinus, firſt in the alterations of our ciuill eſtate paſſed; and ſecondlie, of the like in caſes of religion; from the flood generallie, and then after the firſt comming in of Samothes into our Ile, thereby ſomewhat to ſatiſfie my ſelfe, and recreate the readers; but ſtill proteſting in the meane ſeaſon that I vtterlie denie them to be any cauſes, or of themſelues to worke any effect at all in theſe things, as Bodinus would ſeeme to vphold. As for thoſe of other countries, I referre you to Ariſtotles politikes, and the eight of the common-wealth which Plato hath left vnto vs, therby to be farther reſolued, if you be deſirous to looke on them. In beginning therefore with my purpoſe; Firſt becauſe the flood of Noah was generall, and therefore appertinent vnto all, it ſhall not be amiſſe to begin with that, which was in the yeare 1656. after the creation of Adam, ſo that if you diuide the ſame by nine, you ſhall find the quotient to fall out exactlie with the 184. reuolution of the ſame number. Secondlie, for ſo much as the confuſion of tongs was the originall cauſe of the diſperſion of the people ouer the face of the whole earth, it ſhall not be amiſſe alſo to examine the ſame. Certes it fell out in the 133. after the flood: if we diuide therefore the ſaid 133. by ſeauen, you ſhall find the quotient 19. without any ods remaining. From hence alſo vnto the comming of Samothes into Britaine, or rather his lawes giuen vnto the Celts, and with them vnto the Britons, in the ſecond of his arriuall in this land, we find by exact ſupputation 126. yeares, which being parted by nine or ſeauen ſheweth ſuch a concluſion as maketh much for this purpoſe. Doubtleſſe I am the more willing to touch the time of his lawes than his entrance, ſith alteration of ordinances is the cheefe and principall token of change in ruls and regiment; although at this preſent the circumſtances hold not, ſith he diſpoſſeſſed none, neither incroched vpon any. From Samothes vnto the tyrannie of Albion, are 335. yeares complet, ſo that he arriued here in the 335. or 48. ſeptenarie, which alſo concurreth with the 590. after the flood. In like ſort the regiment of Albion continued but ſeauen yeares, and then was the ſouereingtie of this Ile reſtored againe by Hercules vnto the Celts. The next alteration of our eſtate openlie knowne, happened by Brute, betweene whoſe time and death of Albion there paſſed full 601. yeares (for he ſpent much time after his departure out of Greece, before he came into Albion) ſo that if you accompt him to come hither in the 602. you ſhall haue 86. ſeptenaries exactlie. From Brute to the extinction of his poſteritie in Ferrex and Porrex, and pentarchie of Britaine,

Fatal numbers.

taine,are 630. yeares,or 70. nouenaries,than the which where ſhall a man find a more preciſe period after this method or preſcription,for manie and diuers conſiderations. The time of the pentarchie indured likewiſe 49. yeares, or ſeauen ſeptenaries, which being expired Dunwallo brought all the princes vnder his ſubiection,and ruled ouer them as monarch of this Ile. After the pentarchie ended, we find againe that in the 98. yeare, Brennus rebelled againſt Beline his brother, whereupon inſued cruell bloodſhed betweene them. So that here you haue 14. ſeptenaries, as you haue from thoſe warres ended, which indured a full yeare & more before Brennus was reconciled to his brother, to the comming of Cæſar into this Iland(whereat our ſeruitude and miſerable thraldome to the Romans may worthilie take his entrance)48. or 336. yeares, than the which concurrences I know not how a man ſhould imagine a more exact.

After the comming of Cæſar we haue 54. or fiue nouenaries to Chriſt,whoſe death and paſſion redoundeth generallie to all that by firme and ſure faith take hold of the ſame,and applie it vnto their comfort. From the birth of Chriſt to our countrie deliuered from the Romane yoke, are 446. yeares, at which time the Britains choſe them a king,and betooke themſelues to his obedience. But neither they nor their king being then able to hold out the Scots and Picts,which dailie made hauocke of their countrie; the ſaid Vortiger in the third yeare of his reigne (which was the 63. ſeptenarie after Chriſt)did ſend for the Saxons, who arriued here in the 449. and 450. yeares of Grace, in great companies,for our aid and ſuccour, although that in the end their entrances turned to our vtter decaie and ruine, in that they made a conqueſt of the whole Ile,and draue vs out of our liuings. Hereby we ſée therefore how the preparatiue began in the 449. but how it was finiſhed in the tenth nouenarie, the ſequele is to too plaine. In like ſort in the 43. nouenarie or 387. after the comming of the Saxons,the Danes entred,who miſerablie afflicted this Ile by the ſpace of 182. yeares or 46. ſeptenaries, which being expired, they eſtabliſhed themſelues in the kingdome by Canutus. But their time laſting not long,the Normans followed in the end of the 49. yeare,and thus you ſée how theſe numbers do hold exactlie vnto the conqueſt. The like alſo we find of the continuance of the Normans or ſucceſſion of the Conqueror,which indured but 89. yeares, being extinguiſhed in Stephen, and that of the Saxons reſtored in Henrie the ſecond,although it lacke one whole yeare of ten nouenaries,which is a ſmall thing,ſith vpon diuers occaſions the time of the execution of any accident may be preuented or prorogued, as in direction and progreſſion aſtronomicall is often times perceiued. From hence to the infamous excommunication of England in king Iohns daies, whereupon inſued the reſignation of his crownes and dominions to the pope,are eight ſeptenaries or 56. yeares. Thence againe to the depoſition of Richard. 2. and vſurpation of Henrie 4. are 77. yeares or 11. ſeptenaries. From hence to the conſpiracie made againſt Edward. 2. after which he was depoſed & murdered are 117. yeares,or 13. nouenaries. From hence to the beginning of the quarell betweene the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter (wherein foure ſcore and od perſons of the blood rotall were ſlaine and made awaie firſt and laſt, and which warres begunne in the 1448. and the yeare after the death of the Duke of Glocester, whoſe murther ſeemed to make free paſſage to the ſaid broile)are 72. yeares or eight nouenaries. From hence to the tranſlation of the crowne from the houſe of Lancaſter to that of Yorke, in Edward the 4. are 14. yeares or two ſeptenaries, and laſt of all to the vnion of the ſaid houſes in Henrie the eight, is an exact quadrat of ſeuen multiplied in it ſelfe, or 49. yeares, whereof I hope this may in part ſuffice.

Now as concerning religion, we haue from Chriſt to the faith firſt preached in Britaine(by Ioſephus ab Aramathia, and Simon Zelotes)as ſome write 70. yeares or 10. ſeptenaries. Thence alſo to the baptiſme of Lucius,and his nobilitie in the yeare after their conuerſion, 12. nouenaries or 108. yeares. After theſe the Saxons entred and changed the ſtate of religion for the moſt part into paganiſme, in the yeare 449. 39. nouenarie, and 273. yeare after Lucius had bene baptiſed, which is 39. ſeptenaries, if I be not deceiued. In the 147. or 21. ſeptenarie, Auguſtine came,who brought in poperie,which increaſed and continued till Wicklif with more boldneſſe than anie other began to preach the goſpell, which was Anno. 1361. or 765. yeares after the comming of Auguſtine,and yeld 85. nouenaries exactlie. From hence againe to the expulſion of the pope 175 yeares,or 25. ſeptenaries,thence to the receiuing of the pope and popiſh doctrine 21. yeares or 3. ſeptenaries, whereunto I would ad the time of reſtoring the goſpell by Queene Elizabeth,were it not that it wanteth one full yeare of 7. Whereby we may well gather, that if there be anie hidden myſterie or thing conteined in theſe numbers,yet the ſame extendeth not vnto the diuine diſpoſition of things, touching the gift of grace and free mercie vnto the penitent, vnto which neither number weight nor meaſure ſhall be able to aſpire.

Henrie.8.

Marie.

Of ſuch Ilands as are to be ſeene vpon the coaſts of Britaine. Cap. 10.

THere are nere vnto, or not verie farre from the coaſts of Britaine many faire Ilands,whereof Ireland with hir neighbors (not here handled) ſeeme to be the cheefe. But of the reſt, ſome are much larger or leſſe than other,diuers in like ſort enuironed continuallie with the ſalt ſea (whereof I purpoſe onelie to intreat, although not a few of them be Ilands but at the flood)and other finallie be clipped partlie by the freſh and partlie by the ſalt water, or by the freſh alone, whereof I may ſpeake afterward.

Of theſe ſalt Ilands (for ſo I call them that are enuironed with the Ocean waues) ſome are fruitfull in wood, corne, wild foule, and paſture ground for cattell, albeit that manie of them be accounted barren, becauſe they are onelie repleniſhed with conies, and thoſe of ſundrie colours(cherished of purpoſe by the owners, for their ſkins or carcaſes in their prouiſion of houſehold) without either man or woman otherwiſe inhabiting in them. Furthermore, the greateſt number of theſe Ilands haue townes and pariſh-churches, within their ſeuerall precincts, ſome mo, ſome leſſe: and beſide all this,are ſo inriched with commodities, that they haue pleaſant hauens,freſh ſpringes, great ſtore of fiſh, and plentie of cattell, whereby the inhabitants do reape no ſmall aduantage. How manie they are in number I cannot as yet determine, becauſe mine informations are not ſo fullie ſet downe,as the promiſes of ſome on the one ſide, & mine expectation on the other did extend vnto. Howbeit,firſt of all that there are certeine which lie neere together, as it were by heapes and cluſters, I hope none will readilie denie. Of theſe alſo thoſe called the Neſiadæ, Inſulæ Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ,now the Sorlings,and Iles of Silley, lieing beyond Cornwall are one,and conteineth in number one hundreth fourtie and ſeauen (each of them bearing graſſe) beſides ſhelfes and ſhallowes. In like ſort the companie of the Hebrides in old time ſubiect vnto Ireland are another, which are ſaid to be 45. ſituat vpon the weſt ſide of this Iland, betweene Ireland & Scotland,and of which there are ſome that repute Angleſei, Mona

Neſiadæ, Inſulæ Scylurum, Sileuſtræ, Syllanæ. Sorlingæ. Sylley. Hebrides. Hebudes. Meuaniæ. Orchades.

Mona Cæſaris, and other lieng betweene them to be parcell, in their corrupted iudgement. The third cluſter or bunch conſiſteth of thoſe that are called the Orchades, and theſe lie vpon the northweſt point of Scotland, being 31. *alias* 28. in number, as for the reſt they lie ſcattered here and there, and yet not to be vntouched as their courſes ſhall come about. There are alſo the 18. Shetland Iles, and other yet farther diſtant from them, of which Iohn Frobuſer I doubt not touched vpon ſome in his voiage to *Meta Incognita*: but for ſomuch as I muſt ſpeake of the Shetlands hereafter, I dw not meane to ſpend anie time about them as yet.

There haue bene diuers that haue written of purpoſe, *De inſulis Britanniæ*, as Cæſar doth confeſſe. The like alſo may be ſeene by Plutarch, who nameth one Demetrius a Britaine, that ſhould ſet forth an exact treatiſe of each of them in order, and among other tell of certeine deſert Iles beyond Scotland dedicated to ſundrie gods and goddeſſes, but of one eſpeciallie, where Briareus ſhould hold Saturne and manie other ſpirits faſt bound with the chaines of an heauie ſléepe, as he heard, of which ſome die now and then, by meane whereof the aire becommeth marueilouſlie troubled, &c: as you may ſée in Plutarch *De ceſſatione oraculorum, &c.* But ſith thoſe bookes are now periſhed, and the moſt of the ſaid Ilands remaine vtterlie vnknowen, euen to our owne ſelues (for who is able in our time to ſay where is Glota, Hiuerion, Etta, Iduna, Armia, Æſarea, Barſa, Iſiandium, Icdelis, Xantiſma, Indelis, Siata, Ga. Andros or Edros, Siambis, Xanthos, Ricnea, Menapia, &c? whoſe names onelie are left in memorie by ancient writers, but I ſaie their places not ſo much as heard of in our daies) I meane (God willing) to ſet downe ſo manie of them with their commodities, as I dw either know by Leland, or am otherwiſe inſtructed of by ſuch as are of credit. Herein alſo I will touch at large thoſe that are moſt famous, and breeflie paſſe ouer ſuch as are obſcure and vnknowen, making mine entrance at the Thames mouth, and directing this imagined courſe (for I neuer ſailed it) by the ſouth part of the Iland into the weſt. From thence in like ſort I will proceed into the north, & come about againe by the eaſt ſide into the fall of the aforeſaid ſtreame, where I will ſtrike ſaile, and ſafelie be ſet a ſhore, that haue often in this voiage wanted water, but oftener bene ſet a ground, eſpeciallie on the Scotiſh ſide.

In beginning therefore, with ſuch as lie in the mouth of the aforeſaid riuer, I muſt néeds paſſe by the Howe, which is not an Iland, and therefore not within the compaſſe of my deſcription at this time, but almoſt an Iland, which parcels the Latins call Peninſulas, and I dw engliſh a Byland, vſing the word for ſuch as a man may go into drie-ſoted at the full ſea, or on horſſeback at the low water without anie boat or veſſell: and ſuch a one almoſt is Rochford hundred in Eſſex alſo, yet not at this time to be ſpoken of, becauſe not the ſea onelie but the freſh water alſo doth in maner enuiron it, and is the cheefe occaſion wherefore it is called an Iland. This Howe lieth betweene Cliffe (in old time called Clouesho, to wit, Cliffe in Howe or in the hundred of Howe) & the midwaie that goeth along by Rocheſter, of which hundred there goeth an old prouerbe in rime, after this maner:

Howe.

He that rideth into the hundred of How,
Beſide pilfering ſea-men ſhall find durt ynow.

Greane. Next vnto this we haue the Greane, wherein is a towne of the ſame denomination, an Ile ſuppoſed to be foure miles in length, and two in breadth. Then come we to Shepey, which Ptolomie calleth Counos, conteining ſeauen miles in length, and three in breadth, wherein is a caſtell called Quinborow, and a parke, beſide foure townes, of which one is named Minſter, another Eaſtchurch, the third Warden, and the fourth Leyden: the whole ſoile being thoroughlie fed with cheepe, verie well wooded, and (as I heare) belongeth to the Lord Cheyney, as parcell of his inheritance. It lieth thirteene miles by water from Rocheſter, but the caſtell is fifteene, and by ſouth thereof are two ſmall Ilands, whereof the one is called Elmeſie, and the more eaſterlie Herteſie. In this alſo is a towne called Hertie, or Hartie, and all in the Lath of Scraie, notwithſtanding that Hartie lieth in the hundred of Feuerſham, and Shepey reteineth one eſpeciall Bailie of hir owne.

Shepey. Elmeſie, Herteſie.

From hence we paſſe by the Reculuers (or territorie belonging in time paſt to one Raculphus, who erected an houſe of religion, or ſome ſuch thing there) vnto a little Iland in the Stoure mouth. Here vpon alſo the Thanet abutteth, which Ptolomie calleth Toliapis, other Athanatos, bicauſe ſerpents are ſuppoſed not to liue in the ſame, howbeit ſith it is not enuironed with the ſea, it is not to be dealt withall as an Iland in this place, albeit I will not let to borow of my determination, and deſcribe it as I go, bicauſe it is ſo fruitfull. Beda noteth it in times paſt to haue conteined 600. families, which are all one with Hidelands, *Ploughlands, Carrucates, or Temewares. He addeth alſo that it is diuided from our continent, by the riuer called Wantſume, which is about three furlongs broad, and to be paſſed ouer in two places onelie. But whereas Polydore ſaieth, the Thanet is nine miles in length & not much leſſe in breadth, it is now reckoned that it hath not much aboue ſeauen miles from Nordmuth to Sandwich, and foure in breadth, from the Stoure to Margate, or from the ſouth to the north, the circuit of the whole being 17. or 18. as Leland alſo noteth. This Iland hath no wood growing in it except it be forced, and yet otherwiſe it is verie fruitfull, and beſide that it wanteth few other commodities, the fineſt chalke is ſaid to be found there. Herein alſo did Auguſtine the monke firſt arriue, when he came to conuert the Saxons, and afterward in proceſſe of time, ſundrie religious houſes were erected there, as in a ſoile much bettered (as the ſuperſticious ſuppoſed) by the ſteps of that holy man, & ſuch as came ouer with him. There are at this time 10. pariſh churches at the leaſt in the Ile of Thanet, as S. Nicholas, Birchington, S. Iohns, Wood or Woodchurch, S. Peters, S. Laurence, Mownton or Monkeron, Minſter, S. Gyles, and all Saincts, whereof M. Lambert hath written at large in his deſcription of Kent, and placed the ſame in the Lath of ſainct Auguſtine and hundred of Ringſlow, as may eaſilie be ſéene to him that will peruſe it.

Sruceey. Thanet.

* In Lincolneſhire the word Hide or Hideland, was neuer in vſe in old time as in other places, but for Hide they vſed the word Carucate or cartware, or Teme, and theſe were of no leſſe compaſſe than an Hideland. *Ex Hugone le blanc Monacho Perrisagenſi.*

Sometime Rutupium or (as Beda calleth it) Reptaceſter, ſtood alſo in this Iland, but now thorough alteration of the chanell of the Dour, it is ſhut quite out, and annexed to the maine. It is called in theſe daies Richborow, and as it ſhould ſeeme builded vpon an indifferent ſoile or high ground. The large brickes alſo yet to be ſeene there, in the ruinous walles, declare either the Romane or the old Britiſh workemanſhip. But as time decaieth all things, ſo Rutupium named Ruptimuth is now become deſolate, and out of the duſt thereof Sandwich produced, which ſtandeth a full mile from the place where Reptaceſter ſtood. The old writers affirme, how Arthur & Mordred fought one notable battell here, wherin Gwallon or Gawan was ſlaine; at which time the ſaid rebell came againſt his ſoureigne with 70000. Picts, Scots, Iriſh, Norwegiens, &c. and with Ethelbert the firſt chriſtian king of Kent did hold his palace in this towne, and yet none of his coine hath hitherto béene found there, as is dailie that of the Romanes, whereof manie péces of ſiluer and gold, ſo well as of braſſe, copper, and other mettall haue often béene ſhewed vnto me. It ſhould appéere in like ſort, that of this place, all the whole coaſt of Kent therabout was called Littus Rutupinum, which ſome dw not a little confirme by theſe words of Lucane, to be read in his firſt booke ſome after the beginning:

Rutupium.

Wig
Gui

The la
verſe of
couple a
firſt of a
other.

Seoleſ
Seles
taken.

Thorn

Halin

Port.

Aut vaga cum Tethis, Rutupináq; littora feruent,
Vnda Calidonios fallit turbata Britannos.

The laſt verſe of one couple and firſt of an other.

Or when the wandering ſeas
and Kentiſh coaſts doo worke,
And Calidons of Britiſh bloud,
the troubled waues beguile.

Meaning in like ſort by the latter, the coaſt néere Andredeſwald, which in time paſt was called Littus Calidonium of that wood or forreſt, as Leland alſo confirmeth. But as it is not my mind to deale anie thing curiouſlie in theſe by-matters, ſo in returning againe to my purpoſe, and taking my iourney toward the Wight, I muſt néeds paſſe by Seleſey, which ſometime (as it ſhould ſéeme) hath béene a noble Iland, but now in maner a Byland or Peninſula, wherin the chéefe ſée of the biſhop of Chicheſter was holden by the ſpace of three hundred twentie nine yeares, and vnder twentie biſhops.

Seoleley of Seles there taken.

Next vnto this, we come vnto thoſe that lie betweene the Wight and the maine land, of which the moſt eaſterlie is called Thorne, and to ſaie truth, the verie leaſt of all that are to be found in that knot. Being paſt the Thorne, we touched vpon the Haling, which is bigger than the Thorne, and wherein one towne is ſituat of the ſame denomination beſide another, whoſe name I remember not. By weſt alſo of the Haling lieth the Port (the greateſt of the three alreadie mentioned) and in this ſtandeth Portſmouth and Ringſtéed, whereof alſo our Leland, ſaieth thus: Port Ile is cut from the ſhore by an arme of the maine hauen, which breaketh out about three miles aboue Portſmouth, and goeth vp two miles or more by moriſh ground to a place called Portbridge, which is two miles from Portſmouth. Then breaketh there out another créeke from the maine ſea, about Auant hauen, which gulleth vp almoſt to Portbridge, and thence is the ground diſſeuered, ſo that Portſmouth ſtandeth in a corner of this Ile, which Iland is in length ſix miles, and three miles in breadth, verie good for graſſe and corne, not without ſome wood, and here and there incloſure. Beſide this, there is alſo another Iland north northweſt of Port Ile, which is now ſo worne and waſhed awaie with the working of the ſea, that at the ſpring tides it is wholie couered with water, and thereby made vnprofitable. Finallie being paſt all theſe, and in compaſſing this gulfe, we come by an other, which lieth north of Hirſt caſtell, & ſouth-eaſt of Bate hauen, whereof I find nothing worthie to be noted, ſauing that it wanteth wood, as Ptolomie affirmeth in his Geographicall tables of all thoſe Ilands which enuiron our Albion.

Thorne.

Haling.

Port.

The Wight is called in Latine *Vectis*, but in the Britiſh ſpeach Guidh, that is to ſaie, Eaſe or eaſie to be ſéene, or (as D. Caius ſaith) ſeparate, bicauſe that by a breach of the ſea, it was once diuided from the maine, as Sicilia was alſo from Italie, Angleſei from Wales, Foulneſſe from Eſſex, & Quinborow from Kent. It lieth diſtant from the ſouth ſhore of Britaine (where it is fardeſt off) by fiue miles & a halfe, but where it commeth néereſt, not paſſing a thouſand paces, and this at the cut ouer betweene Hirſt caſtell and a place called Whetwell chine, as the inhabitants doo report. It conteineth in length twentie miles, and in breadth ten, it hath alſo the north pole eleuated by 50. degrées and 27. minutes, and is onelie 18. degrees in diſtance, and 50. od minuts from the weſt point, as experience hath confirmed, contrarie to the deſcription of Ptolomie, and ſuch as folow his aſſertions in the ſame. In forme, it reſembleth almoſt an egg, and ſo well is it inhabited with mere Engliſh at this preſent, that there are thirtie ſix townes, villages and caſtels to be found therein, beſide 27. pariſh-churches, of which 15. or 16. haue their Parſons, the reſt either ſuch poore Vicars or Curats, as the liuings left are able to ſuſtaine. The names of the pariſhes in the Wight are theſe.

Wight. Guidh.

1	Newport, a chap.		15	Pottelton.	p.
2	Cairſhroſſe.	v.	16	Yarmouth.	p.
3	Northwood.		17	Thorley.	v.
4	Arriun.	v.	18	Shalflete.	v.
5	Goddelhill.	v.	19	Whippingham.	p.
6	Whitwell.		20	Wolton.	p.
7	S. Laurence.	p.	21	Chale.	p.
8	Nighton.	p.	22	Kingſton.	p.
9	Brading.	v.	23	Shorwell.	p.
10	Newchurch.	v.	24	Gatrombe.	p.
11	S. Helene.	v.	25	Broſſe.	
12	Bauerland.	p.	26	Bzirſton.	p.
13	Calborne.	p.	27	Benſted.	p.
14	Bonechurch.	p.			

P. ſignifieth parſonages, V. vicarages.

It belongeth for temporall iuriſdiction to the countie of Hamſhire, but in ſpirituall cauſes it yéeldeth obedience to the ſée of Winchceſter, wherof it is a Deanerie. As for the ſoile of the whole Iland, it is verie fruitfull, for notwithſtanding the ſhore of it ſelfe be verie full of rocks and craggie cliffes, yet there wanteth no plentie of cattell, corne, paſture, meadow ground, wild foule, fiſh, freſh riuers, and pleaſant woods, whereby the inhabitants may liue in eaſe and welfare. It was firſt ruled by a ſeuerall king, and afterwards wonne from the Britons by Veſpaſian the legat, at ſuch time as he made a voiage into the weſt countrie. In proceſſe of time alſo it was gotten from the Romans by the kings of Suſſex, who held the ſouereigntie of the ſame, and kept the king thereof vnder tribute, till it was wonne alſo from them, in the time of Athelwold, the eight king of the ſaid ſouth region, by Ceadwalla, who killed Aruald that reigned there, and reſerued the ſouereigntie of that Ile to himſelfe and his ſucceſſors for euermore. At this time alſo there were 1200. families in that Iland, whereof the ſaid Ceadwalla gaue 300 to Wilfride ſometime biſhop of Yorke, exhorting him to erect a church there, and preach the goſpell alſo to the inhabitants thereof, which he in like maner performed, but according to the preſcriptions of the church of Rome, wherevnto he yéelded himſelfe vaſſall and feudarie: ſo that this Ile by Wilfride was firſt conuerted to the faith, though the laſt of all other that hearkened vnto the word. After Ceadwalla, Woolfride the parricide was the firſt Saxon prince that aduentured to flie into the Wight for his ſafegard, whither he was driuen by Kenwalch of the Weſtſaxons, who made great warres vpon him, and in the end compelled him to go into this place for ſuccour, as did alſo king Iohn, in the rebellious ſtir of his Barons, practiſed by the clergie: the ſaid Iland being as then in poſſeſſion of the Forts, as ſome doo write that haue handled it of purpoſe. The firſt Earle of this Iland that I doo read of, was one Baldwijne de Betoun, who married for his ſecond wife, the daughter of William le Groſſe Earle of Awmarle; but he dieng without iſſue by this ladie, the was maried the ſecond time to Earle Maundeuile, and thirdlie to William de Fortes, who finiſhed Skipton caſtell, which his wiues father had begun about the time of king Richard the firſt. Hereby it came to paſſe alſo, that the Forts were Earls of Awmarle, Wight, and Deuonſhire a long time, till the ladie Elizabeth Fortes, ſole heire to all thoſe poſſeſſions came to age, with whom king Edward the third ſo preuailed through monie & faire words, that he gat the poſſeſſion of the Wight wholie into his hands, & held it to himſelfe & his ſucceſſors, vntill Henrie the firſt, about the twentieth of his reigne, crowned Henrie Beauchamp ſonne to the lord Richard Earle of Warwike king thereof and of Jarſeſey and Garſeſey with his owne hands, and thervnto gaue him a commendation of the Dutchie of Warwike with the titles of *Comes comitum Angliæ*, lord Spenſer of Aburgauenie, and of the caſtell of Bzikſow (which caſtell was ſometime taken from his anceſtors by king Iohn) albeit he did not long enioy

theſe great honors, ſith he died 1446. without iſſue, and ſeuen yéeres after his father.

After we be paſt the Wight, we go forward and come vnto Pole hauen, wherein is an Ile, called Brunt Keyſy, in which was ſometime a pariſh church, and but a chapell at this preſent, as I heare. There are alſo two other Iles, but as yet I know not their names.

Brunt Keyſy.

We haue (after we are paſſed by theſe) another Ile, or rather Byland alſo vpon the coaſt named Portland not far from Waymouth or the Golwy, a prettie fertile peece though without wood, of ten miles in circuit, now well inhabited, but much better heretofore, and yet are there about foure ſcore houſholds in it. There is but one ſtreet of houſes therein, the reſt are diſperſed, howbeit they belong all to one pariſh-church, whereas in time paſt there were two within the compaſſe of the ſame. There is alſo a caſtell of the kings, who is lord of the Ile, although the biſhop of Wincheſter be patrone of the church, the perſonage whereof is the faireſt houſe in all the peece. The people there are no leſſe excellent ſlingers of ſtones than were the Baleares, who would neuer giue their children their dinners till they had gotten the ſame with their ſlings, and therefore their parents vſed to hang their meate verie high vpon ſome bough, to the end that he which ſtrake it downe might onlie haue it, whereas ſuch as miſſed were ſure to go without it, Florus lib. 3. cap. 8. Which feat the Portlands vſe for the defenſe of their Iland, and yet otherwiſe are verie couetous. And whereas in time paſt they liued onlie by fiſhing, now they fall to tillage. Their fire bote is brought out of the Wight, and other places, yet do they burne much cow dong dried in the ſunne, for there is I ſaie no wood in the Ile, except a few elmes that be about the church. There would ſome grow there, no doubt, if they were willing to plant it, although the ſoile lie verie bleake and open. It is not long ſince this was vnited to the maine, and likelie yer long to be cut off againe.

Portland.

Being paſt this we raiſe another, alſo in the mouth of the Golwy, betweene Collford and Lime, of which for the ſmalneſſe thereof I make no great account. Wherefore giuing ouer to intreat any farther of it, I caſt about to Jardſey, and Gardeſey, which Iles with their appurtenances apperteined in times paſt to the Dukes of Normandie, but now they remaine to our Queene, as parcell of Hamſhire and iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, & belonging to hir crowne, by meanes of a compoſition made betweene K. Iohn of England and the K. of France, when the dominions of the ſaid prince began ſo faſt to decreaſe, as Thomas Sulmo ſaith.

Jardſey. Gardeſey.

Of theſe two, Jardſey is the greateſt, an Iland hauing thirtie miles in compaſſe, as moſt men do coniecture. There are likewiſe in the ſame twelue pariſh-churches, with a colledge, which hath a Deane and Prebends. It is diſtant from Gardſey full 21. miles, or therabouts, and made notable, by meanes of a bloudie fact done there in Queene Maries daies, whereby a woman called Perotine Maſſie wife vnto an honeſt miniſter or prieſt, being great with childe by hir huſband, was burned to aſhes: through the exceeding crueltie of the Deane and Chapiter, then contending manifeſtlie againſt God for the mainteinance of their popiſh and antichriſtian kingdome. In this hir execution, and at ſuch time as the fire caught holde of hir wombe, hir bellie brake, and there iſſued a goodly manchilde from hir, with ſuch force that it fell vpon the cold ground quite beyond the heate and furie of the flame, which quicklie was taken vp and giuen from one tormentor and aduerſarie to an other to looke vpon, whoſe eies being after a while ſatisfied with the beholding thereof, they threw it vnto the carcaſe of the mother which burned in the fire, whereby the poore innocent was conſumed to aſhes, whom that furious element would gladlie haue left vntouched, & whereunto it miniſtred (as you heare) an hurtleſſe paſſage. In this latter alſo, there haue béene in times paſt, fiue religious houſes, and nine caſtels, howbeit in theſe daies there is but one pariſh-church left ſtanding in the ſame. There are alſo certeine other ſmall Ilands, which Henrie the ſecond in his donation calleth Inſulettas, beſide verie manie rocks whereof one called S. Hilaries (wherein ſometime was a monaſterie) is faſt vpon Jardſey, another is named the Cornet, which hath a caſtel not paſſing an arrow ſhot from Gardſey. The Serke alſo is betweene both, which is ſix miles about, and hath another annered to it by an Iſthmus or Stricland, wherein was a religious houſe, & therwithall great ſtore of conies.

Horrible murther.

Gardſey.

There is alſo the Brehoc, the Gytho, and the Herme, which latter is foure miles in compaſſe, and therein was ſometime a Canonrie, that afterward was conuerted into an houſe of Franciſcanes. There are two other likewiſe neere vnto that of S. Hilarie, of whoſe names I haue no notice. There is alſo the rockie Ile of Burhoo, but now the Ile of rats, ſo called of the huge plentie of rats that are found there, though otherwiſe it be repleniſhed with infinit ſtore of conies, betweene whome and the rats, as I coniecture, the ſame which we call Turkie conies, are oftentimes produced among thoſe few houſes that are to be ſeene in this Iland. Some are of the opinion that there hath béene more ſtore of building in this Ile than is at this preſent to be ſeene, & that it became abandoned through multitudes of rats, but hereof I find no perfect warrantiſe that I may ſafelie truſt vnto, yet in other places I read of the like thing to haue happened, as in Gyara of the Cyclades, where the rats increaſed ſo faſt that they drauc away the people. Varro ſpeaketh of a towne in Spaine that was ouerthrowne by conies. The Abderits were driuen out of Thracia by the increaſe of mice & frogs; and ſo manie conies were there on a time in the Iles Maiorca and Minorca (now perteining to Spaine) that the people began to ſtarue for want of bread, and their cattell for lacke of graſſe. And bicauſe the Ilanders were not able to ouercome them, Auguſtus was conſtreined to ſend an armie of men to deſtroie that needleſſe brood. Plin. *lib. 8. cap. 55.* A towne alſo in France ſometime became deſolate onelie by frogs and todes. Another in Africa by locuſts and alſo by graſhoppers, as Amicla was by ſnakes and adders. Theophraſt telleth of an whole countrie conſumed by the palmer-worme, which is like vnto an huge caterpiller. Plinie writeth of a prouince vpon the borders of Æthiopia made void of people by ants and ſcorpions, and how the citizens of Megara in Grecia were faine to leaue that citie through multitudes of bées, as waſpes had almoſt driuen the Epheſians out of Epheſus. But this of all other (whereof Ælianus intreateth) is moſt wonderfull, that when the Cretenſes were chaſed out of a famous citie of their Iland by infinit numbers of bées, the ſaid bées conuerted their houſes into hiues, and made large combes in them which reached from wall to wall, wherein they reſerued their honie. Which things being dulie conſidered, I do not denie the poſſibilitie of the expulſion of the inhabitants out of the Ile of Burho by rats, although I ſay that I do not warrant the effect, bicauſe I find it not ſet downe directlie in plaine words.

Brehoc. Gytho. Herme.

Burhoo, *alias* the Ile of rats.

Turkie conies.

Cauſes of the deſolation of ſundrie cities and townes.

Beſide this there is moreouer the Ile of Alderney a verie prettie plot, about ſeuen miles in compaſſe, wherin a prieſt not long ſince did find a coffin of ſtone, in which lay the bodie of an huge giant, whoſe fore téeth were ſo big as a mans fiſt, as Leland doth report. Certes this to me is no maruell at all, ſith I haue read of greater, and mentioned them alreadie in the beginning of this booke. Such a toth alſo haue they in Spaine whereunto they go in pilgrimage as vnto S. Chriſtophers toth, but it was one of his eie téeth, if Ludouicus Viues ſay true, who went thither to offer vnto the ſame

Alderney.

Comment. Brit.

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. &

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Bruchſe

Woun Iland.

S. Nic Iland

Gree Inis nim.

ſame. S. Auguſt. *de ciuit. lib.* 15. *cap.* 9. writeth in like ſort, of ſuch another found vpon the coaſt of Vtica, and thereby gathereth that all men in time paſt were not onlie far greater than they be now, but alſo the giants farre exceeding the huge ſtature and height of the higheſt of them all. Homer complaineth that men in his time were but dwarfes in compariſon of ſuch as liued in the wars of Troy. See his firſt Iliad, where he ſpeaketh of Diomedes, and how he threw a ſtone at Æneas, (which 14. men of his time were not able to ſtirre) and therewith did hit him on the thigh and ouerthrew him. Virgil alſo noteth no leſſe, in his owne deuiſe, but Iuuenall breefelie comprehendeth all this in his 15. Satya, where he ſaith:

Iliad. 6.

Iliad 5. & 7.

Virgilius Aen. 12.

Saxa inclinatis per humum quæſita lacertis
Incipiunt torquere, domeſtica ſeditione
Tela, nec hunc lapidem, quali ſe Turnus, & Aiax,
Et quo Tytides percuſſit pondere coxam
Aeneæ: ſed quem valeant emittere dextræ
Illis diſſimiles, & noſtro tempore natæ.
Nam genus hoc viuo iam decreſcebat Homero,
Terra malos homines nunc educat, atque puſillos,
Ergo Deus quicunque aſpexit, ridet, & odit.

But to returne againe vnto the Ile of Alderney, from whence I haue digreſſed. Herein alſo is a prettie towne with a pariſh-church, great plentie of corne, cattell, conies, and wilde foule, whereby the inhabitants do reape much gaine and commoditie: onelie wood is their want, which they otherwiſe ſupplie. The language alſo of ſuch as dwell in theſe Iles, is French; but the wearing of their haire long, & the attire of thoſe that liued in Gardſey and Jardſey, vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, was all after the Iriſh guiſe. The Ile of Gardſey alſo was ſore ſpoiled by the French 1371. and left ſo deſolate, that onlie one caſtell remained therein vntouched.

Beyond this, and nearer vnto the coaſt of England (for theſe do lie about the verie middeſt of the Britiſh ſea) we haue one Iland called the Bruch or the Bruchſey, lieng about two miles from Poole, whither men ſaile from the Fromouth, and wherein is nought elſe, but an old chapell, without any other houſing.

Bruchſey.

Next to this alſo are certeine rocks, which ſome take for Iles, as Illeſton rocke neere vnto Peritozie, Horeſtan Ile a mile from Peritozie by ſouth, Blacke rocke Ile ſoutheaſt from Peritozie toward Teygnemouth, and alſo Chefer, otherwiſe called Plegimundham: but how (to ſaie truth) or where this latter lieth, I cannot make report as yet, neuertheleſſe ſith Leland noteth them togither, I thinke it not my part to make ſeparation of them.

From hence the next Ile is called Mount Iland, otherwiſe Mowtland, ſituate ouer againſt Lough, about two miles from the ſhore, and well neere three miles in compaſſe. This Iland hath no inhabitants, but onelie the warrenner and his dog, who looketh vnto the conies there: notwithſtanding that vpon the coaſt thereof in time of the yeere, great ſtore of pilchards is taken, and carried from thence into manie places of our countrie. It hath alſo a freſh well coming out of the rocks, which is worthie to be noted in ſo ſmall a compaſſe of ground. Moreouer in the mouth of the creeke that leadeth vnto Lough, or Low, as ſome call it, there is another little Iland of about eight acres of ground called S. Nicholas Ile, and midwaie betweene Falmouth and Dudman (a certeine promontorie is ſuch another named the Greeſe, wherein is great ſtore of gulles & ſea foule. As for Inis Pyrnin, it lieth within the Baie, about three miles from Lizards, and containeth not aboue two acres of ground, from which Newlyn is not far diſtant, and wherein is a poore fiſher-towne and a faire wel-ſpring, whereof as yet no writer hath made mention. After theſe (omitting Pendinant in the point of Falmouth hauen) we came at laſt to ſaint Michaels mount, whereof I find this deſcription readie to my hand in Leland.

Mount Iland.

S. Nicholas Iland.

Greeſe.

Inis Pyrnin.

S. Michaels mount.

The compaſſe of the rot of the mount of ſaint Michael is not much more than halfe a mile, and of this the ſouth part is paſturable and breedeth conies, the reſidue high and rockie ſoile. In the north ſide thereof alſo is a garden, with certeine houſes and ſhops for fiſhermen. Furthermore, the waie to the mountaine lieth at the north ſide, and is frequented from halfe eb to halfe floud, the entrance beginning at the fot of the hill, and ſo aſcending by ſteps and greeces weſtward, firſt; and then eaſtward to the vtter ward of the church. Within the ſame ward alſo is a court ſtronglie walled, wherein on the ſouth ſide is a chapell of S. Michaell, and in the eaſt ſide another of our ladie. Manie times a man may come to the hill on fot. On the north northweſt ſide hereof alſo, is a Piere for botes and ſhips, and in the Baie betwixt the mount and Penſardz are ſeene at the lowe water marke, diuers roots and ſtubs of trees, beſide hewen ſtone, ſometimes of doores & windowes, which are perceiued in the inner part of the Baie, and import that there hath not onelie beene building, but alſo firme ground, whereas the ſalt water doth now rule and beare the maiſterie. Beyond this is an other little Ile, called S. Clements Ile, of a chapell there dedicated to that ſaint. It hath a little from it alſo the Ile called Nowſhole, which is not touched in any Chard. As for Nowſhole it ſelfe, it is a towne of the maine, called in Cornith Port Enis, that is, *Portus inſulæ*, whereof the ſaid Ile taketh denomination, and in tin workes neere vnto the ſame there hath beene found of late, ſpeare heds, battell axes, and ſwords of copper wrapped vp in linnen, and ſcarſelie hurt with ruſt or other hinderance. Certes the ſea hath won verie much in this corner of our Iland, but cheefelie betweene Nowſhole and Penſardz.

S. Clements Ile.

Hauing thus paſſed ouer verie neere all ſuch Iles, as lie vpon the ſouth coaſt of Britaine, and now being come vnto the weſt part of our countrie, a ſudden Pirie catcheth hold of vs (as it did before, when we went to Jardſey) and carieth vs yet more weſterlie among the flats of Sylley. Such force doth the ſouth-eaſt wind, often ſhewe vpon poore trauellers in thoſe parts, as the ſouth and ſouthweſt doth vpon ſtrangers againſt the Britiſh coaſt, that are not skilfull of our rodes and harborowes. Howbeit ſuch was our ſucceſſe in this voiage, that we feared no rocks, more than did king Athelſtane, when he ſubdued them (and ſome after builded a colledge of preeſts at S. Burien, in performance of his vow made when he enterpriſed this voiage for his ſafe returne) nor anie tempeſt of weather in thoſe parts that could annoie our paſſage. Peruſing therefore the perils whereinto we were pitifullie plunged, we found the Syllane Ilands (places often robbed by the Frenchmen and Spaniards) to lie diſtant from the point of Cornewall, about three or foure hours ſailing, or twentie Engliſh miles, as ſome men do account it. There are of theſe (as I ſaid) to the number of one hundreth fortie ſeauen in ſight, whereof each one is greater or leſſe than other, and moſt of them ſometime inhabited: howbeit, there are twentie of them, which for their greatneſſe and commodities exceed all the reſt. Thereto (if you reſpect their poſition) they are ſituat in maner of a circle or ring, hauing an huge lake or portion of the ſea in the middeſt of them, which is not without perill to ſuch as with ſmall aduiſement enter into the ſame. Certes it paſſeth my cunning, either to name or to deſcribe all theſe one hundreth fourtie ſeauen, according to their eſtate; neither haue I had anie information of them, more than I haue gathered by Leland, or gotten out of a map of their deſcription, which I had ſometime of Reginald Wolfe: wherfore omitting as it were all the rags, and ſuch as are not worthie to haue anie time ſpent about

Sylley Iles or Syl.

their

their particular deſcriptions, I will onelie touch the greateſt, and thoſe that lie togither (as I ſaid) in maner of a roundle.

S. Maries Ile. The firſt and greateſt of theſe therefore, called S. Maries Ile, is about fiue miles ouer, or nine miles in compaſſe. Therein alſo is a pariſh-church, and a poore towne belonging thereto, of threeſcore houſholds, beſide a caſtell, plentie of corne, conies, wild ſwans, puffens, gulles, cranes, & other kinds of foule, in great abundance. This fertile Iland being thus viewed, we ſailed ſouthwards by the Norman rocke, and S. Maries ſound vnto Agnus Ile, which is ſix miles ouer, and hath in like ſort one towne or pariſh within the ſame of fiue or ſix houſholds, beſide no ſmall ſtore of hogs & conies of ſundrie colours, verie profitable to their owners. It is not long ſince this Ile was left deſolate, for when the inhabitants thereof returned from a feaſt holden in S. Maries Ile, they were all drowned, and not one perſon left aliue. There are alſo two other ſmall Ilands, betweene this and the Annot, whereof I find nothing worthie relation: for as both of them ioind togither are not comparable to the ſaid Annot for greatneſſe and circuit, ſo they want both hogs and conies, wherof Annot hath great plentie. There is moreouer the Minwiſand, from whence we paſſe by the Smithy ſound (leauing three little Ilands on the left hand, vnto the Suartigan Iland, then to Rouſuian, Rouſuiar, and the Cregwin, which ſeauen are (for the moſt part) replenished with conies onelie, and wild garlike, but void of wood & other commodities, ſauing of a ſhort kind of graſſe, or here & there ſome firzes wheron their conies do feed.

Agnus Ile. Annot. Minwiſand. Smithy ſound. Suartigan. Rouſuian. Rouſuiar. Cregwin.

Leauing therefore theſe deſert peeces, we incline a little toward the northweſt, where we ſtumble or run vpon Moncarthat, Inis Welſeck, & Suethiall. We came in like ſort vnto Rat Iland, wherein are ſo manie monſtrous rats, that if anie horſſes, or other beaſts, happen to come thither, or be left there by negligence but one night, they are ſure to be deuoured & eaten vp, without all hope of recouerie. There is moreouer the Anwall and the Brier, Ilands in like ſort void of all good furniture, conies onelie excepted, and the Brier (wherein is a village, caſtell, and pariſh-church) bringeth forth no leſſe ſtore of hogs, and wild foule, than Rat Iland doth of rats, whereof I greatlie maruell.

Moncarthat. Inis Welſeck. Suethiall. Rat Iland. Anwall. Brier.

By north of the Brier, lieth the Ruſco, which hath a Label or Byland ſtretching out toward the ſouthweſt, called Inis widdon. This Ruſco is verie neere ſo great as that of S. Maries. It hath moreouer an hold, and a pariſh within it, beſide great ſtore of conies and wild foule, whereof they make much gaine in due time of the yeare. Next vnto this we come to the Round Iland, which is about a mile ouer, then to S. Lides Iland, (wherein is a pariſh-church dedicated to that Saint, beſide conies, wood, and wild foule, of which two later there is ſome indifferent ſtore) the Notho, the Auing, (one of them being ſituat by ſouth of another, and the Auing halfe a mile ouer, which is a iuſt halfe leſſe than the Notho) and the Tyan, which later is a great Iland, furniſhed with a pariſh-church, and no ſmall plentie of conies as I heare. After the Tyan we come to S. Martines Ile, wherein is a faire towne, the Ile it ſelfe being next vnto the Ruſco for greatneſſe, and verie well furniſhed with conies & freſh ſpring. Alſo betwixt this and S. Maries, are ten other, ſmaller, which reach out of the northeaſt into the ſouthweſt, as Knolworth, Sniuilliuer, Menwetham, Vollis. 1. Surwihe, Vollis. 2. Arthurs Iland, Guiniliuer, Nenech and Gothrois, whoſe eſtates are diuers: howbeit as no one of theſe is to be accounted great in compariſon of the other, ſo they all yeeld a ſhort graſſe meet for ſheepe and conies, as do alſo the reſt. In the greater Iles likewiſe (whoſe names are commonlie ſuch as thoſe of the townes or churches ſtanding in the ſame) there are (as I here) ſundrie lakes, and thoſe neuer without great plentie of wild foule, ſo

Ruſco. Inis widdō. Round Iland. S. Lides. Notho. Auing. Tyan. S. Martines. Knolworth. Sniuilliuer. Menwethā. Vollis. 1. Surwihe. Vollis. 2. Arthurs Ile. Guiniliuer. Nenech. Gothrois.

that the Iles of Sylley, are ſuppoſed to be no leſſe beneficiall to their lords, than anie other whatſoeuer, within the compaſſe of our Ile, or neere vnto our coaſts. In ſome of them alſo are wild ſwine. And as theſe Iles are ſuppoſed to be a notable ſafegard to the coaſt of Cornewall, ſo in diuerſe of them great ſtore of tin is likewiſe to be found. There is in like maner ſuch plentie of fiſh taken among theſe ſame, that beſide the feeding of their ſwine withall, a man ſhall haue more there for a penie, than in London for ten grotes. Howbeit their cheeſe commoditie is made by Reigh, which they drie, cut in peeces, and carie ouer into little Britaine, where they exchange it there, for ſalt, canuas, readie monie, or other merchandize which they do ſtand in need of. A like trade haue ſome of them alſo, with Buckhorne or dried whiting, as I heare. But ſith the author of this report did not flatlie auouch it, I paſſe ouer that fiſh as not in ſeaſon at this time. Thus haue we viewed the richeſt and moſt wealthie Iles of Sylley, from whence we muſt direct our courſe eaſtwards, vnto the mouth of the Sauerne, and then go backe againe vnto the weſt point of Wales, continuing ſtill our voiage along vpon the weſt coaſt of Britaine, till we come to the Solucy whereat the kingdomes part, & from which forth on we muſt touch ſuch Ilands as lie vpon the weſt and north ſhore, till we be come againe vnto the Scotiſh ſea, and to our owne dominions.

wild ſwine in Sylley.

From the point of Cornewall therefore, or promontorie of Helenus (ſo called, as ſome thinke, becauſe Helenus the ſon of Priamus who arriued here with Brute lieth buried there, except the ſea haue waſhed awaie his ſepulchre) vntill we come vnto the mouth of Sauerne, we haue none Ilands at all that I do know or heare of, but one litle Byland, Cape or Peninſula, which is not to be counted of in this place. And yet ſith I haue ſpoken of it, you ſhall vnderſtand, that it is called Pendinas, and beſide that the compaſſe thereof is not aboue a mile, this is to be remembred farder thereof, how there ſtandeth a Pharos or light therein, for ſhips which ſaile by thoſe coaſts in the night. There is alſo at the verie point of the ſaid Pendinas, a chappell of ſaint Nicholas, beſide the church of ſaint Ia, an Iriſh woman ſaint. It belonged of late to the Lord Broke, but now (as I geſſe) the Lord Mountioy enioieth it. There is alſo a blockhouſe, and a peere in the eaſt ſide thereof, but the peere is ſore choked with ſand, as is the whole ſhore furthermore from S. Ies vnto S. Carantokes, inſomuch that the greateſt part of this Byland is now couered with ſands, which the ſea caſteth vp, and this calamitie hath indured little aboue fiftie yeares, as the inhabitants do affirme.

Helenus. Priamus. Pendinas.

There are alſo two rocks neere vnto Tredwy, and another not farre from Tintagell, all which many of the common ſort do repute and take for Iles: wherefore as one deſirous to note all, I thinke it not beſt that theſe ſhould be omitted: but to proceed. When we be come further, I meane vnto the Sauerne mouth, we meet the two Holmes, of which one is called Stepholme, and the other Flatholme, of their formes beeing in deed parcels of ground and low ſoiles fit for little elſe than to beare graſſe for cattell, whereof they take thoſe names. For Holme is an old Saxon word, applied to all ſuch places. Of theſe alſo Stepholme lieth ſouth of the Flatholme, about foure or fiue miles; the firſt alſo a mile and an halfe, the other two miles or thereabout in length; but neither of them a mile and an halfe in breadth, where they do ſeeme to be the broadeſt.

It ſhould ſeeme by ſome that they are not worthie to be placed among Ilands: yet otherſome are of opinion, that they are not altogither ſo baſe, as to be reputed amongſt flats or rocks: but whatſoeuer they be, this is ſure, that they oft annoie ſuch paſſengers and merchants as paſſe and repaſſe vpon that riuer. Neither

do

dw I read of any other Iles which lie by eaſt of theſe, ſaue onlie the Barri, and Dunwen: the firſt of which is ſo called of one Barroc, a religious man (as Gyraldus ſaith) and is about a flight ſhot from the ſhoꝛe. Herin alſo is a rocke ſtanding at the verie entrance of the cliffe, which hath a little rift oꝛ chine vpon the ſide, wherevnto if a man dw laie his eare, he ſhall heare a noiſe, as if ſmithes did woꝛke at the foꝛge, ſometimes blowing with their bellowes, and ſometimes ſtriking and clinking with hammers, whereof manie men haue great wonder; and no maruell. It is about a mile in compaſſe, ſituat ouer againſt Aberbarry, and hath a chappell in it.

Barri.

Barri is a flight ſhot from the ſhoꝛe.

Dunwen is ſo called of a church (dedicated to a Welſh woman ſaint, called Dunwen) that ſtandeth there. It lieth moꝛe than two miles from Henroſſer, right againſt Neuen, and hath within it two faire mils, & great ſtoꝛe of conies. Certes if the ſand increaſe ſo faſt hereafter as it hath done of late about it, it will be vnited to the maine within a ſhoꝛt ſeaſon. Beyond theſe & toward the coaſt of Southwales lie two other Ilands, larger in quantitie than the Holmes, of which the one is called Caldee oꝛ Inis Pyr. It hath a pariſh-church with a ſpire ſteeple, and a pꝛettie towne belonging to the countie of Pembroke, and iuriſdiction of one Dauid in Wales. Leland ſuppoſeth the ruines that are found therein to haue bẽne of an old pꝛiorie ſometimes called Lille, which was a cell belonging to the monaſterie of S. Dogmael, but of this I can ſaie nothing. The other hight Londy, wherein is alſo a village oꝛ towne, and of this Iland the perſon of the ſaid towns is not onelie the captaine, but hath thereto weife, diſtreſſe, and all other commodities belonging to the ſame. It is little aboue ſixteene miles from the coaſt of Wales, though it be thirtie from Caldee, and yet it ſerueth (as I am infoꝛmed) loꝛd and king in Deuonſhire. Moꝛeouer in this Iland is great plentie of ſheepe, but moꝛe conies, and therewithall of verie fine and ſhoꝛt graſſe foꝛ their better food & paſturage; likewiſe much Sampere vpon the ſhoꝛe, which is carried from thence in barrels. And albeit that there be not ſcarſlie fourtie houſholds in the whole, yet the inhabitants there with huge ſtones (alredie pꝛouided) may kẽpe off thouſands of their enimies, bicauſe it is not poſſible foꝛ anie aduerſaries to aſſaile them, but onelie at one place, and with a moſt dangerous entrance. In this voiage alſo we met with two other Ilands, one of them called Shepes Ile, the other Rat Ile; the firſt is but a little plot lieng at the point of the Baie, beſoꝛe we coꝛne at the Blockehouſe which ſtandeth noꝛth of the ſame, at the verie entrie into Wilfoꝛd hauen vpon the eaſtſide. By noꝛth alſo of Shepes Ile, and betweene it & Stacke rocke, which lieth in the verie middeſt of the hauen, at another point is Rat Ile yet ſmaller than the foꝛmer, but what commodities are to be found in them as yet I cannot tell. Schalmey the greater and the leſſe lie noꝛthweſt of Wilfoꝛd hauen a good waie. They belong both to the crowne, but are not inhabited, bicauſe they be ſo often ſpoiled with pirates. Schoncold Ile ioineth vnto great Schalmey, and is bigger than it, onlie a paſſage foꝛ ſhips parteth them, whereby they are ſuppoſed to be one: Leland noteth them to lie in Wilfoꝛd hauen. Beſide theſe alſo we found the Bateholme, Stockeholme, Midland, and Greſholme Iles, and then doubling the Wellock point, we came into a Baie, where we ſaw ſaint Bꝛides Iland, and anpther in the Sound betweene Ramſey and the point; of all which Iles and ſuch rocks as are offenſiue to mariners that paſſe by them, it may be my hap to ſpeake moꝛe at large hereafter.

Londy.

Schalmey.

Schoncold.

Limen (as Ptolomie calleth it) is ſituat ouer againſt S. Dauids in Wales (wherevnto we muſt nedes come, after we be paſt another little one, which ſome men dw call Greſholme) & lieth directlie weſt of Schalmey. In a late map I find this Limen to be called in Engliſh Ramſey: Leland alſo confirmeth the ſame, and I cannot learne moꝛe thereof, than that it is much greater than anie of the other laſt mentioned (ſithens I deſcribed the Holmes) and foꝛ tempoꝛall iuriſdiction a member of Penbꝛokeſhire, as it is vnto S. Dauids foꝛ matters concerning the church. Leland in his commentaries of England *lib.* 8. ſaieth that it contained three Ilets, whereof the biſhop of S. Dauids is owner of the greateſt, but the chanter of S. Dauids claimeth the ſecond, as the archdeacon of Cairmarden doth the third. And in theſe is verie excellent paſture foꝛ ſheepe and hoꝛſes, but not foꝛ other hoꝛned beaſts which lacke their vpper teeth by nature (whoſe ſubſtance is conuerted into the nouriſhment of their hoꝛnes) and therefoꝛe cannot bite ſo low. Next vnto this Ile we came to Mawr, an Iland in the mouth of Mawr, ſcant a bow ſhot ouer, and enuironed at the low water with freſh, but at the high with ſalt, and here alſo is excellent catching of herings.

Limen oꝛ Ramſey.

Mawr.

After this, pꝛoceeding on ſtill with our courſe, we fetched a compaſſe, going out of the noꝛth toward the weſt, and then turning againe (as the coaſt of the countrie leadeth) vntill we ſailed full ſouth, leauing the ſhoꝛe ſtill on our right hand, vntill we came vnto a couple of Iles, which dw lie vpon the mouth of the Sodi, one of them being diſtant (as we geſſed) a mile from the other, and neither of them of anie greatneſſe almoſt woꝛthie to be remembꝛed. The firſt that we came vnto is called Tudfall, and therein is a church, but without anie pariſhioners, except they be ſheepe and conies. The quantitie thereof alſo is not much aboue ſix acres of ground, meaſured by the pole. The next is Penthlin, Myrach, oꝛ Mereroſſe, ſituat in maner betwixt Tudfall oꝛ Tuidall and the ſhoꝛe, and herein is verie good paſture foꝛ hoꝛſes, wherof (as I take it) that name is giuen vnto it. Next vnto them, we come vnto Gwelyn, a little Ile which lieth ſoutheaſt of the fall of Daron oꝛ Daren, a thing of ſmall quantitie, and yet almoſt parted in the mids by water, and next of all vnto Bardſey an Iland lieng ouer againſt Periuincle the ſouthweſt point oꝛ pꝛomontoꝛie of Noꝛthwales (where Merlin Sylueſtris lieth buried) and whither the reſt of the monks of Bangor did flie to ſaue themſelues, when 2100. of their fellowes were ſlaine by the Saxon pꝛinces in the quarell of Auguſtine the monke, & the citie of Caerleon oꝛ Cheſter raced to the ground, and not ſince reedified againe to anie purpoſe. Ptolomie calleth this Iland Lymnos, the Bꝛitons Enlhi, and therein alſo is a pariſh-church, as the repoꝛt goeth. From hence we caſt about, gathering ſtill toward the noꝛtheſt, till we came to Caer Ierienrhod, a notable rocke ſituat ouer againſt the mouth of the Leuenni, wherein ſtandeth a ſtrong hold oꝛ foꝛtreſſe, oꝛ elſe ſome towne oꝛ village. Certes we could not well diſcerne whether of both it was, bicauſe the wind blew hard at ſouthweſt, the moꝛning was miſtie, and our mariners doubting ſome flats to be couched not far from thence, haſted awaie vnto Angleſei, whither we went apace with a readie wind euen at our owne deſire.

Penthlin.

Guelyn.

This Iland (which Tacitus miſtaketh no doubt foꝛ Mona Cæſaris, and ſo doth Ptolomie as appeareth by his latitudes) is ſituat about two miles from the ſhoꝛe of Noꝛthwales. Paulus Iouius geſſeth that it was in time paſt ioined to the continent, oꝛ maine of our Ile, and onelie cut off by woꝛking of the Ocean, as Sicilia peraduenture was from Italie by the violence of the Leuant oꝛ paſcriſe of ſome king that reigned there. Thereby alſo (as he ſaith) the inhabitants were conſtreind at the firſt to make a bꝛidge ouer into the ſame, till the bꝛeach waxed ſo great, that no ſuch paſſage could anie longer be maintained. But as theſe things dw either not touch my purpoſe at all, oꝛ make ſmallie with the pꝛeſent deſcription of this Ile; ſo (in comming to

Angleſei cut from Wales by woꝛking of the ſea.

my

Angleſei. my matter) Angleſei is found to be full ſo great as the Wight, and nothing inferiour, but rather ſurmounting it, as that alſo which Cæſar calleth Mona in fruitfulneſſe of ſoile by manie an hundred fold. In old time it was reputed and taken for the common granarie to Wales, as Sicilia was to Rome and Italie for their prouiſion of corne. In like maner the Welſhmen themſelues called it the mother of their countrie, for giuing their minds wholie to paſturage, as the moſt eaſie and leſſe chargeable trade, they vtterlie neglected tillage, as men that leaned onelie to the fertilitie of this Iland for their corne, from whence they neuer failed to receiue continuall abundance. Gyraldus ſaith that the Ile of Angleſei was no leſſe ſufficient to miniſter graine for the ſuſtentation of all the men of Wales, than the mountaines called Ereri or Snowdoni in Northwales were to yeld plentie of paſture for all the cattell whatſoeuer within the aforeſaid compaſſe, if they were brought togither and left vpon the ſame. It contained moreouer ſo manie townes welnere, as there be daies in a yeare, which ſome conuerting into Cantreds haue accompted but for three, as Gyraldus ſaith. Howbeit, as there haue beene I ſay 363. townes in Angleſei, ſo now a great part of that reckoning is vtterlie ſhronke, and ſo far gone to decaie, that the verie ruines of them are vnneath to be ſeene & diſcerned: and yet it ſeemeth to be meetlie well inhabited. Leland noting the ſmalneſſe of our hundreds in compariſon to that they were in time paſt, addeth (ſo far as I remember) that there are ſix of them in Angleſei, as Menay, Maltraith, Liuon, Talbellion, Torkalin, and Tindaithin: hereunto Lhoid ſaith alſo how it belonged in old time vnto the kingdome of Guinhed or Northwales, and that therein at a towne called Aberfraw, being on the ſouthweſtſide of the Ile, the kings of Gwinhed held euermore their palaces, whereby it came to paſſe, that the kings of Northwales were for a long time called kings of Aberfraw, as the Welſhmen named the kings of England kings of London, till better inſtruction did bring them farther knowledge.

There are in Angleſei many townes and villages, whoſe names as yet I cannot orderlie atteine vnto: wherefore I will content my ſelfe with the rehearſall of ſo many as we viewed in ſailing about the coaſts, and otherwiſe heard report of by ſuch as I haue talked withall. Beginning therefore at the mouth of the Gefni (which riſeth at northeaſt aboue Gefni or Geuenni, 20. miles at the leaſt into the land) we paſſed firſt by Hundwyn, then by Newborow, Port Hayton, Beaumarrais, Penmon, Elian, Almwoch, Burric (whereby runneth a rill into a creeke) Cornew, Holihed (ſtanding in the promontorie) Gwifen, Aberfraw, and Cair Cadwalader, of all which, the two latter ſtand as it were in a nuke betweene the Geuenni water, and the Fraw, whereupon Aberfraw is ſituate. Within the Iland we heard onlie of Gefni afore mentioned, of Griſtial ſtanding vpon the ſame water, of Tefri, of Lanerchimedh, Lachtenfarwy and Bodedrin, but of all theſe the cheefe is now Beaumarais, which was builded ſometime by king Edward the firſt, and therewithall a ſtrong caſtell about the yeare 1295. to keepe that land in quiet. There are alſo (as Leland ſaith) 31. pariſh churches beſide 69. chappels, that is, a hundreth in all. But heerof I can ſaie little, for lacke of full inſtruction. In time paſt, the people of this Ile vſed not to ſeuerall their grounds, but now they dig ſtonie hillocks, and with the ſtones thereof they make rude walles, much like to thoſe of Deuonſhire, ſith they want hedgebote, fire bote, and houſe bote, or (to ſaie at one word) timber, buſhes and trees. As for wine, it is ſo plentifull and good cheape there moſt commonlie as in London, through the great recourſe of merchants from France, Spaine, and Italie vnto the aforeſaid Iland. The fleſh likewiſe of ſuch cattell as is bred there, whereof we haue ſtore yearelie brought vnto Cole ſaire in Eſſex is moſt delicate, by reaſon of their excellent paſture, and ſo much was it eſteemed by the Romans in time paſt, that Columella did not onelie commend and preferre them before thoſe of Liguria, but the emperours themſelues being neere hand alſo cauſed their prouiſion to be made for nete out of Angleſei, to ſeed vpon at their owne tables as the moſt excellent beeſe. It taketh now the name of Angles and Ei, which is to meane the Ile of Engliſhmen, becauſe they wan it in the Conquerors time, vnder the leading of Hugh earle of Cheſter, and Hugh of Shrewesburie. Howbeit they recouered it againe in the time of William Rufus, when they ſpoiled the citie of Glocester, ranſacked Shrewesburie, and returned home with great botie and pillage, in which voiage alſo they were holpen greatlie by the Iriſhmen, who after three yeares ioined with them againe, and ſlue the earle of Shrewesburie (which then liued) with great crueltie. The Welſhmen call it Tiremone and Mon, and herein likewiſe is a promontorie or Byland, called Holie head (which hath in time paſt beene named Cair kyby, of Kyby a monke that dwelled there) from whence the readieſt paſſage is commonlie had out of Northwales to get ouer into Ireland, of which Ile I will not ſpeake at this time, leaſt I ſhuld bereaue another of that trauell. Yet Plinie ſaith, *lib. 4. cap. 16.* that it lieth not farre off from and ouer againſt the Silures, which then dwelled vpon the weſt coaſt of our Iland, and euen ſo farre as Dunbritton, and beyond: but to our Cair kybi. The Britons named it Enylſinach, or holie Ile, of the number of carcaſes of holie men, which they affirme to haue beene buried there. But herein I maruell not a little, wherein women had offended, that they might not come thither, or at the leaſt wiſe returne from thence without ſome notable reproch or ſhame vnto their bodies. By ſouth alſo of Hilarie point, ſomewhat inclining toward the eaſt, lieth Inis Lygod, a ſmall thing (God wot) and therefore not worthie great remembrance: neuertheles not to be omitted, though nothing elſe inforced the memoriall thereof, but onelie the number and certeine tale of ſuch Iles as lie about our Iland. I might alſo ſpeake of the Ile Mail Ronyad, which lieth north weſt of Angleſei by fiue miles; but becauſe the true name hereof, as of manie riuers and ſtreames are to me vnknowne, I am the more willing to paſſe them ouer in ſilence, leaſt I ſhould be noted to be farther corrupter of ſuch words as I haue no ſkill to deliuer and exhibit in their kind. And now to conclude with the deſcription of the whole Iland, this I will adde moreouer vnto hir commodities, that as there are the beſt milſtones of white, red, blew, and greene greets, (eſpeciallie in Tindaithin) ſo there is great gaines to be gotten by fiſhing round about this Ile, if the people there could vſe the trade: but they want both cunning and diligence to take that matter in hand. And as for temporall regiment, it apperteineth to the countie of Cairnaruon, ſo in ſpirituall cauſes it belongeth to the biſhoprike of Bangor. This is finallie to be noted of Angleſei, that ſundrie earthen pots are often found there of dead mens bones conuerted into aſhes, ſet with the mouthes downeward contrarie to the vſe of other nations, which turned the brims vpwards, whereof let this ſuffice.

Hauing thus deſcribed Angleſei, it reſteth to report further more, how that in our circuit about the ſame, we met with other little Ilets, of which one lieth northweſt thereof almoſt ouer againſt Butricke mouth, or the fall of the water, that paſſeth by Butricke. The Britons called it Ynis Ader, that is to ſay, the Ile of birds in old time, but now it hight Ynis Moil, or Ynis Rhomaid, that is the Ile of porpaſſes. It hath to name likewiſe Yſterifd, and Adros. Being paſt this, we came to the ſecond lieng by north eaſt, ouer againſt the Hilarie point

Lygod.

Seriall Preſthe

Credin

Holie head, or Cair kiby.

Enilſinach, holie Ile.

Hilber

Ancient buriall.

Eubon Mcua

Adar. Moil. Rhomaid. Yſterifd. Adros.

Lygod. point, called Ynis Ligod, that is to ſaie, the Ile of Miſe, and of theſe two this latter is the ſmalleſt, neither of them both being of any greatneſſe to ſpeake of. Ynis Seriall. Seriall or Preſtholme, lieth ouer againſt Penmon, or the Preſtholme point called the head of Mon, where I found a towne (as I told you) of the ſame denomination. Ptolomie nameth not this Iland, whereof I maruell. It is parcell of Flintſhire, and of the iuriſdiction of S. Aſaph, and in fertilitie of ſoile, and breed of cattell, nothing inferiour vnto Angleſei hir mother: although that for quantitie of ground it come infinitelie ſhort thereof, and be nothing comparable vnto it. The laſt Iland vpon the coſt of Wales, hauing now left Angleſei, is called Credine. Credine, and although it lie not properlie within the compaſſe of my deſcription, yet I will not let to touch it by the waie, ſith the cauſey thither from Denbighland, is commonlie ouerflowne. It is partlie made an Iland by the Conwey, and partlie by the ſea. But to proceed, when we had viewed this place, we paſſed forth to S. Antonies Ile, which is about two or three miles compaſſe or more, a ſandie ſoile, but yet verie batable for ſheepe and cattell, it is well replenished alſo with freſh wels, great plentie of wild foule, conies and quarries of hard ruddie ſtone, which is oft brought thence to Weſtchester, where they make the foundations of their buildings withall. There are alſo two pariſh churches in the ſame, dedicated to S. Antonie and S. Iohn, but the people are verie poore, bicauſe they be ſo oft ſpoiled by pirats, although the lord of the ſame be verie wealthie thorough the exchange made with them of his victuals, for their wares, whereof they make good penie worths, as theeues commonlie do of ſuch preies as they get by like eſcheat, notwithſtanding their landing there is verie dangerous, and onlie at one place. Howbeit they are conſtreined to vſe it, and there to make their marts. From hence we went on, vntill we came Hilberie. to the cape of Ile Bree, or Hilberie, and point of Wyre, from whence is a common paſſage into Ireland, of 18. or 20. houres ſailing, if the wether be not tedious. This Iland at the full ſea is a quarter of a mile from the land, and the ſtreame betweene foure fadams deepe, as ſhip-boies haue oft ſounded, but at a lowe water a man may go ouer thither on the ſand. The Ile of it ſelfe is verie ſandie a mile in compaſſe, and well ſtored with conies, thither alſo went a ſort of ſuperſticious fooles in times paſt, in pilgrimage, to our ladie of Hilberie, by whoſe offerings a cell of monkes there, which belonged to Cheſter, was cheriſhed and mainteined.

The next Iland vpon the coaſt of England is Man or Mona Cæſaris, which ſome name Mana or Manim, but after Ptolomie, Monaoida, as ſome thinke, though other aſcribe that name to Angleſei, which the Welſhmen do commonlie call Mon, as they do this Manaw. It is ſuppoſed to be the firſt, as Hirtha is the laſt of the Hebrides. Hector Boetius noteth a difference betweene them of 300. miles. But Plinie ſaith that Mona is 200000. miles from Camaldunum, *lib. 2. cap. 75.* It lieth alſo vnder 53. degrees of latitude, and 30. minuts, and hath in longitude 16. degrees and 40. minuts, abutting on the north ſide vpon S. Ninians in Scotland, Furneſſels on the eaſt, Preſtholme and Angleſei on the ſouth, and Ulſther in Ireland on the weſt. It is greater than Angleſei by a third, and there are two riuers in the ſame, whoſe heads do ioine ſo neere, that they do ſeeme in maner to part the Ile in twaine. Some of the ancient writers, as Ethicus, &c: call it Eubonia, and other Eubonia. Meuania. following Oroſius, Meuana or Mæuania, howbeit after Beda and the Scotiſh hiſtories, the Meuaniæ are all thoſe Iles aforeſaid called the Hebrides, Eubonides, or Hebudes (whereof William Malmeſburie, *lib. 1. de regibus* (beſide this our Mona) will haue Angleſei alſo to be one. Wherefore it ſeemeth hereby that a number of our late writers aſcribing the ſaid name vnto Mona onelie, haue not beene a little deceiued. Iornandes *lib. de Getis* ſpeaketh of a ſecond Meuania; *Habet & aliam Meuaniam* (ſaith he) *necnon & Orchadas.* But which ſhould be *prima*, as yet I do not read, except it ſhould be Angleſei; and then ſaith Malmesburie well. In like ſort Propertius ſpeaketh of a Meuania, which he called *Nebuloſa*, but he meaneth it euidentlie of a little towne in Umbria where he was borne, *lib. 4. eleg. De vrbe Rom.* Wherfore there needeth no vſe of his authoritie. This in the meane time is euident out of Oroſius, *lib. 1. capite 2.* that Scots dwelled ſomtime in this Ile, as alſo in Ireland, which Ethicus alſo affirmeth of his owne time, and finallie confirmeth that the Scots and Iriſh were ſometime one people. It hath in length 24. miles, and 8. in breedth, and is in maner of like diſtance from Galloway in Scotland, Ireland and Cumberland in England, as Buchanan reporteth.

In this Iland alſo were ſome time 1300. families, of which 960. were in the weſt halfe, and the reſt in the other. But now through ioining houſe to houſe & land to land (a common plague and canker, which will eat vp all, if prouiſion be not made in time to withſtand this miſchefe) that number is halfe diminiſhed, and yet many of the rich inhabiters want rome, and wote not how and where to beſtowe themſelues, to their quiet contentations. Certes this impediment groweth not by reaſon that men were greater in bodie, than they haue beene in time paſt, but onelie for that their inſatiable deſire of inlarging their priuate poſſeſſions increaſeth ſtill vpon them, and will do more, except they be reſtrained: but to returne to our purpoſe. It was once ſpoiled by the Scots in the time of king Athelſtane, chiefelie by Anlafus in his flight from the bloudie battell, wherein Conſtantine king of Scotland was ouercome: ſecondlie by the Scots 1388. after it came to the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, for in the beginning the kings of Scotland had this Iland vnder their dominion, almoſt from their firſt arriuall in this Iland, and as Beda ſaith till Edwine king of the Northumbers wan it from them, and vnited it to his kingdome. After the time of Edwine, the Scots gat the poſſeſſion thereof againe, and held it till the Danes & Norwaies wan it from them, who alſo kept it (but with much trouble) almoſt 370. yeares vnder the gouernance of their viceroies, whome the kings of Norwaie inuſted vnto that honor, till Alexander the third king of that name in Scotland recouered it from them, with all the reſt of thoſe Iles that lie vpon the weſt coaſt, called alſo Sodorenſes in the daies of Magnus king of Norwaie. And ſithens that time the Scotiſh princes haue not ceaſed to giue lawes to ſuch as dwelled there, but alſo from time to time appointed ſuch biſhops as ſhould exerciſe eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in the ſame, till it was won from them by our princes, and ſo vnited vnto the realme of England. Finallie, how after ſundrie ſales Chronica Tinemuthi. bargains and contracts of matrimonie (for I read that William Scrope the kings Vicechamberleine, did buy this Ile and crowne thereof of the lord William Montacute earle of Sarum) it came vnto the anceſtours of the earles of Darbie, who haue beene commonlie ſaid to be kings of Man, the diſcourſe following ſhall more at large declare. Giraldus noteth a contention betweene the kings of England & Ireland for the right of this Iland, but in the end, when by a compromiſe the triall of the matter was referred to the lines or deaths of ſuch venemous wormes as ſhould be brought into the ſame, and it was found that they died not at all, as the like do in Ireland, ſentence paſſed with the king of England, & ſo he reteined the Iland. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, and whether anie ſuch thing was done at all or not, ſure it is that the people of the ſaid Ile were much giuen to witchcraft and ſorcerie (which they learned of the Scots a nation greatlie bent to that horrible practiſe) in ſomuch that their women would oftentimes ſell wind to the mariners,

incloſed vnder certeine knots of thred, with this iniunction, that they which bought the ſame, ſhould for a great gale vndo manie, and for the leſſe a fewer or ſmaller number. The ſtature of the men and alſo fertilitie of this Iland are much commended, and for the latter ſuppoſed verie neere to be equall with that of Angleſei, in all commodities.

Tall men in Man.

There are alſo theſe townes therein, as they come now to my remembrance, Ruſhen, Dunglaſſe, Holme towne, S. Brids, Bala cury (the biſhops houſe) S. Mich. S. Andrew, kirk Chriſt, kirk Louel, S. Mathees, kirk S. Anne, Pala ſala, kirk S. Marie, kirk Concane, kirk Malu, and Home. But of all theſe Ruſhen with the caſtell is the ſtrongeſt. It is alſo in recompenſe of the common want of wood, indued with ſundrie pretie waters, as firſt of al the Burne riſing in the northſide of Warehill botoms, and branching out by ſouthweſt of kirk S. An, it ſeemeth to cut off a great part of the eaſtſide thereof, from the reſidue of that Iland. From thoſe hils alſo (but of the ſouth halfe) commeth the Holme and Holmey, by a towne of the ſame name, in the verie mouth whereof lieth the Pile afore mentioned. They haue alſo the Bala paſſing by Bala cury, on the weſtſide, and the Rame on the north, whoſe fall is named Rameſei hauen, as I do read in Chronicles.

Riuers.

Hilles.

There are moreouer ſundrie great hils therein, as that whereupon S. Mathees ſtandeth, in the northeaſt part of the Ile, a parcell whereof commeth flat ſouth, betweene kirk Louell, and kirk Marie, yelding out of their botoms the water Bala, whereof I ſpake before. Beſide theſe and well toward the ſouth part of the Ile, I find the Warehils, which are extended almoſt from the weſt coaſt ouerthart vnto the Burne ſtreame. It hath alſo ſundrie hauens, as Ramſei hauen, by north Laxam hauen, by eaſt Port Iris, by ſouthweſt Port Home, and Port Pichell, by weſt. In like ſort there are diuers Ilets annexed to the ſame, as the Calfe of man on the ſouth, the Pile on the weſt, and finallie S. Michels Ile in the gulfe called Ranoths waie in the eaſt. Moreouer the ſheepe of this countrie are exceeding huge, well woolled, and their tailes of ſuch greatneſſe as is almoſt incredible. In like ſort their hogs are in maner monſtrous. They haue furthermore great ſtore of barnacles breeding vpon their coaſts, but yet not ſo great ſtore as in Ireland, and thoſe (as there alſo) of old ſhips, ores, maſts, peeces of rotten timber as they ſaie, and ſuch putrified pitched ſtuffe, as by wracke hath happened to corrupt vpon that ſhore. Howbeit neither the inhabitants of this Ile, nor yet of Ireland can readilie ſaie whether they be fiſh or fleſh, for although the religious there vſed to eat them as fiſh, yet elſewhere, ſome haue beene troubled, for eating of them in times prohibited for heretikes and lollards.

Hauens.

Calfe of man.

The pile.

S. Michels Ile.

Sheepe.

Hogs.

Barnacles.

Barnacles neither fiſh nor fleſh.

For my part, I haue beene verie deſirous to vnderſtand the vttermoſt of the breeding of barnacls, & queſtioned with diuers perſons about the ſame. I haue red alſo whatſoeuer is written by forren authors touching the generation of that foule, & ſought out ſome places where I haue beene aſſured to ſee great numbers of them: but in vaine. Wherefore I vtterlie deſpaired to obteine my purpoſe, till this preſent yeare of Grace 1584. and moneth of Maie, wherein going to the court at Greenewich from London by bote, I ſaw ſundrie ſhips lieng in the Thames newlie come home, either from Barbarie or the Canarie Iles (for I do not well remember now from which of theſe places) on whoſe ſides I perceiued an infinit ſort of ſhels to hang ſo thicke as could be one by another. Drawing neere alſo, I toke off ten or twelue of the greateſt of them, & afterward hauing opened them, I ſaw the proportion of a foule in one of them more perfectlie than in all the reſt, ſauing that the head was not yet formed, becauſe the freſh water had killed them all (as I take it) and thereby hindered their perfection. Certeinelie the feathers of the taile hong out of the ſhell at leaſt two inches, the wings (almoſt perfect touching forme) were garded with two ſhels or theeldes proportioned like the ſelfe wings, and likewiſe the breſtbone had hir couerture alſo of like ſhellie ſubſtance, and altogither reſembling the figure which Lobell and Pena do giue forth in their deſcription of this foule: ſo that I am now fullie perſuaded that it is either the barnacle that is ingendred after one maner in theſe ſhels, or ſome other ſea-foule to vs as yet vnknowen. For by the feathers appearing and forme ſo apparant, it cannot be denied, but that ſome bird or other muſt proceed of this ſubſtance, which by falling from the ſides of the ſhips in long voiages, may come to ſome perfection. But now it is time for me to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe.

There hath ſometime beene, and yet is a biſhop of this Ile, who at the firſt was called Epiſcopus Sodorenſis, when the iuriſdiction of all the Hebrides belonged vnto him. Whereas now he that is biſhop there, is but a biſhops ſhadow, for albeit that he beare the name of biſhop of Man, yet haue the earles of Darbie, as it is ſuppoſed, the chefe profit of his ſee (ſauing that they allow him a little ſomewhat for a flouriſh) notwithſtanding that they be his patrons, and haue his nomination vnto that liuing. The firſt biſhop of this Ile was called Wimundus or Raymundus, and ſurnamed Monachus Sauinenſis, who by reaſon of his extreame and tyrannicall crueltie toward the Ilanders, had firſt his ſight taken from him, & then was ſent into exile. After him ſucceeded another monke in king Stephens daies called Iohn, and after him one Marcus, &c: other after other in ſucceſſion, the ſee it ſelfe being now alſo ſubiect to the archbiſhop of Yorke for ſpirituall iuriſdiction. In time of Henrie the ſecond, this Iland alſo had a king, whoſe name was Cuthred, vnto whome Vinianus the cardinall came as legate 1177. and wherin Houeden erreth not. In the yeare alſo 1228. one Reginald was viceroy or petie king of Man, afterward murthered by his ſubiects. Then Olauus, after him Hoſbach the ſonne of Oſmond Hacon, 1290. who being ſlaine, Olauus and Gotredus parted this kingdome of Sodora, in ſuch wiſe, that this had all the reſt of the Iles, the other onelie the Ile of Man at the firſt; but after the ſlaughter of Gotredus, Olauus held all, after whom Olauus his ſonne ſucceeded. Then Harald ſonne to Olauus, who being entered in Maie, and drowned vpon the coaſtes of Ireland, his brother Reginald reigned twentie and ſeuen daies, and then was killed the firſt of June, whereby Olauus *alias* Harald ſonne to Gotred ruled in the Ile one yeare. Next vnto him ſucceeded Magnus the ſecond ſonne of Olauus, and laſt of all Iuarus, who held it ſo long as the Norwaies were lords thereof. But being once come into the hands of the Scots, one Godred Mac Mares was made lieutenant, then Alane, thirdlie Maurice Okareſer, and fourthlie one of the kings chapleines, &c. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the whole catalog of all the viceroyes and lieutenants: but ſith I can neither come by their names nor ſucceſſions, I ſurceſſe to ſpeake any more of them, and alſo of the Ile it ſelfe, whereof this may ſuffice.

Biſhop of Man.

Patrone of Man.

King of Man.

After we haue in this wiſe deſcribed the Ile of Man, with hir commodities, we returned eaſtwards backe againe vnto the point of Ramſhed, where we found to the number of ſix Ilets of one ſort and other, whereof the firſt greateſt and moſt ſouthweſterlie, is named the Wauay. It runneth out in length, as we geſſed, about fiue miles and more from the ſoutheaſt into the northweſt, betweene which and the maine land lie two little ones, whoſe names are Oldborrow and Fowlney. The fourth is called the Fouldra, and being ſituate ſoutheaſt of the firſt, it hath a prettie pile or blockhouſe therin, which the inhabitants name the pile of Fouldra.

Wauay.

Fouldra.

By

Fola. Roa.

By eaſt thereof in like ſort lie the Fola and the Roa, plots of no great compaſſe, and yet of all theſe ſix, the firſt and Fouldra are the faireſt and moſt fruitfull.

Rauenglaſſe.

From hence we went by Rauenglaſſe point, where lieth an Iland of the ſame denomination, as Reginald Wolfe hath noted in his great card, not yet finiſhed, nor likelie to be publiſhed. He noteth alſo two other Ilets, betweene the ſame and the maine land; but Leland ſpeaketh nothing of them (to my remembrance) neither any other card, as yet ſet forth of England: and thus much of the Ilands that lie vpon our ſhore in this part of my voiage.

Iles in Scotland.

Hauing ſo exactlie as to me is poſſible, ſet downe the names and poſitions of ſuch Iles, as are to be found vpon the coaſt of the Queenes Maieſties dominions, now it reſteth that we proceed orderlie with thoſe that are ſeene to lie vpon the coaſt of Scotland, that is to ſaie, in the Iriſh, the Deucalidonian & the Germans ſeas, which I will performe in ſuch order as I may, ſith I cannot do ſo much therin as I would. Some therefore do comprehend and diuide all the Iles that lie about the north coaſt of this Ile now called Scotland into three parts, ſauing that they are either occidentals, the weſt Iles, *aliàs* the Orchades & Zelandine, or the Shetlands. They place the firſt betweene Ireland and the Orchades, ſo that they are extended from Man and the point of Cantire almoſt vnto the Orchades in the Deucalidonian ſea, and after ſome are called the Hebrides. In this part the old writers in deed placed the Hebrides or Hemodes, which diuers call the Hebudes and the Acmodes; albeit the writers varie in their numbers, ſome ſpeaking of 30 Hebudes and ſeuen Hemodes; ſome of fiue Ebudes, as Solinus, and ſuch as follow his authoritie. Howbeit the late Scottiſh writers do product a ſumme of more than 300 of theſe Ilands in all, which ſometime belonged to the Scots, ſometime to the Norwegians, and ſometime to the Danes. The firſt of theſe is our Manaw, of which I haue before intreated: next vnto this is Aliſa a deſert Ile, yet replenished with conies, ſoland foule, and a fit harbor for fiſhermen that in time of the yeare lie vpon the coaſt thereof for herings. Next vnto this is the Arran, a verie hillie and craggie ſoile, yet verie plentifull of fiſh all about the coaſt, and wherein is a verie good hauen: ouer againſt the mouth whereof lieth the Moll, which is alſo no ſmall defenſe to ſuch ſeafaring men as ſeeke harbor in that part. Then came we by the Fladwa or Pladwa, no leſſe fruitfull and ſtored with conies than the Bota, Bura, or Botha, of eight miles long & foure miles broad, a low ground but yet verie batable, and wherein is good ſtore of ſhort and indifferent paſture: it hath alſo a towne there called Roſſe, and a caſtell named the Camps. There is alſo another called the Marneth, an Iland of a mile in length, and halfe a mile in breadth, low ground alſo but yet verie fertile. In the mouth likewiſe of the Glot, lieth the more Cumber and the leſſe, not farre in ſunder one from another, and both fruitfull inough the one for corne, and the other for Platyceraton. The Auon another Iland lieth about a mile from Cantire, and is verie commodious to ſhips, wherof it is called Auon, that is to ſaie, *Portuoſa*, or full of harbor: and therefore the Danes had in time paſt great vſe of it. Then haue we the Raclind, the Kyntar, the Cray, the Gegaw ſix miles in length and a mile and a halfe in breadth; the Dera full of deere, and not otherwiſe vnfruitfull: and therefore ſome thinke that it was called the Ile of deere in old time. Scarba foure miles in length, and one in breadth, verie little inhabited, and thereinto the ſea betweene that and the Ile of deere is ſo ſwift and violent, that except it be at certeine times, it is not eaſilie nauigable. Being paſt theſe, we come to certeine Ilands of no great fame, which lie ſcattered here and there, as Bellach, Gyraſtell, Longaie, both the Fiolas, the three Yarues, Culbrenin, Duncomell, Lupar, Belnaua, Wikerua, Calfile, Luing, Sele Ile, Sound, of which the laſt three are fruitfull, and belong to the earle of Argile. Then haue we the Slate, ſo called of the tiles that are made therin. The Nagſey, Iſdalf, and the Sken (which later is alſo called Thian, of a wicked herbe growing there greatlie hurtfull, and in colour not much vnlike the lillie, ſauing that it is of a more wan and feeble colour) Vderga, kings Ile, Duffa or blacke Ile, Kirke Ile and Triarach. There is alſo the Ile Ard, Humble Ile, Greene Ile, and Heth Ile, Arbor Ile, Gote Ile, Conies Ile *aliàs* idle Ile, Abrid Ile or bird Ile, and Liſmor, wherein the biſhop of Argill ſometime held his palace, being eight miles in length and two miles in breadth, and not without ſome mines alſo of good mettall. There is alſo the Ile Ouilia, Siuna, Trect, Shepey, Fladaw, Stone Ile, Greſſe, great Ile, Ardis, Muſadell, & Berner, ſometime called the holie ſanctuarie, Vghe Ile, Molochaſgyr, and Drinacha, now ouergrowne with buſhes, elders, and vtterlie ſpoiled by the ruines of ſuch great houſes as haue heretofore beene found therin. There is in like ſort the Wijc, the Ranſe, and the Caruer.

Slate Ile.

Hemodes of ſome called Acmodes, ſee Plinie, *Mela*, *Martianus*, *Capella*. Plutarch. *de defect. orac.*

Scarba.

Ila.

In this tract alſo, there are yet three to intreat of, as Ila, Mula and Iona, of which the firſt is one of the moſt, that hath not beene leaſt accounted of. It is not much aboue 24 miles in length, and in breadth 16 reaching from the ſouth into the north, and yet it is an exceeding rich plot of ground verie plentious of corne, cattell, deere, and alſo lead, and other mettals, which were eaſie to be obteined, if either the people were induſtrious, or the ſoile yeeldable of wood to fine and trie out the ſame. In this Iland alſo there is a lake of ſweet water called the Laie, and alſo a baie wherein are ſundrie Ilands; and thereunto another lake of freſh water, wherein the Falangam Ile is ſituate, wherein the ſouereigne of all the Iles ſometime dwelled. Neere vnto this is the round Ile, ſo called of the conſultations there had: for there was a court ſometime holden, wherein 14 of the principall inhabitants did miniſter iuſtice vnto the reſt, and had the whole diſpoſition of things committed vnto them, which might rule vnto the benefit of thoſe Ilands. There is alſo the Stoneheape, an other Iland ſo called of the heape of ſtones that is therein. On the ſouth ſide alſo of Ila, we find moreouer the Colurne, Mulmor, Oſirin, Brigidan, Corkerke, Humble Ile, Imerſga, Bethy, Texa, Shepeie, Naoſig, Rinard, Cane, Tharſcher, Aknor, Gret Ile, Man Ile, S. Iohns Ile, and Stackbed. On the weſt ſide thereof alſo lieth Oueriey, whereby runneth a perilous ſea, and not nauigable, but at certeine houres. Merchant Ile, Vſabraſt, Tanask, Neff, Wauer Ile, Oruans, Hog Ile, and Colauanſo.

Round Ile.

Mula.

Mula is a right noble Ile, 24 miles in length and ſo manie in breth, rough of ſoile, yet fruitfull enough: & beſide woods, deere, & good harborough for ſhips, repleniſhed with diuers and ſundrie townes and caſtels. Ouer againſt Columkill alſo, it hath two riuers, which yeld verie great ſtore of ſalmons, and other riuellets now altogither vnfruitfull, beſide two lakes, in each of which is an Iland: and likewiſe in euerie of theſe Ilands a caſtell. The ſea beating vpon this Ile, maketh foure notable baies wherein great plentie and verie good herrings are taken. It hath alſo in the northweſt ſide Columbria, or the Ile of doues; on the ſoutheaſt, Era: both verie commodious for fiſhing, cattell, and corne. Moreouer, this is worth the noting in this Ile aboue all the reſt, that it hath a pleſant ſpring, ariſing two miles in diſtance from the ſhore, wherein are certeine little egs found, much like vnto indifferent pearles, both for colour and bright-

neſſe, and thereto full of thicke humour, which egs being carried by violence of the freſh water vnto the ſalt, are there within the ſpace of twelue houres conuerted into great ſhels, which I take to be mother pearle; except I be deceiued.

Iona. Iona was ſometime called Columkill, in fame and eſtimation nothing inferiour to anie of the other, although in length it exceed little aboue two miles, and in breadth one. Certes it is verie fruitfull of all ſuch commodities, as that climat wherein it ſtandeth doth yeeld, and beareth the name of Columbus the abbat, of whome I haue ſpoken more at large in my Chronologie. There were ſomtimes alſo two monaſteries therein, one of monks builded by Fergus, another of nuns: and a pariſh church, beſide many chappels builded by the Scotiſh kings, and ſuch princes as gouerned in the Iles. And when the Engliſh had once gotten poſſeſſion of the Ile of Mania, a biſhops ſee was erected in the old monaſterie of Columbus, whereby the iuriſdiction of thoſe Iles was ſtill mainteined and continued. Certes there remaine yet in this Iland the old burials apperteining to the moſt noble families that had dwelled in the weſt Iles; but three aboue other are accompted the moſt notable, which haue little houſes builded vpon them. That in the middeſt hath a ſtone, whereon is written, *Tumuli regum Scotiæ*, The burials of the kings of Scotland: for (as they ſaie) fourtie eight of them were there interred. Another is intituled with theſe words, The burials of the kings of Ireland, becauſe foure of them lie in that place. The third hath theſe words written thereon, The graues of the kings of Norwaie, for there eight of them were buried alſo, and all through a fond ſuſpicion conceiued of the merits of Columbus. Howbeit in proceſſe of time, when Malcolme Cammor had erected his abbeie at Donfermeling, he gaue occaſion to manie of his ſucceſſors to be interred there.

Regum tumuli.

About this Iland there lie ſix other Iles diſperſed, ſmall in quantitie, but not altogither barren, ſometimes giuen by the kings of Scotland and lords of the Iles vnto the abbeie of ſaint Columbus, of which the Soa, albeit that it yeeld competent paſturage for ſheepe, yet is it more commodious, by ſuch egs as the great plentie of wildfoule there breeding do laie within the ſame. Then is there the Ile of Shewes or of women; as the more ſober heads do call it. Alſo Rudan, & next vnto that, the Rering. There is alſo the Shen halfe a mile from Mula, whoſe bankes do ſwarme with conies: it hath alſo a pariſh church, but moſt of the inhabitants do liue and dwell in Mula. There is alſo the Eorſe or the Arſe, and all theſe belong vnto ſaint Columbus abbeie. Two miles from Arſe is the Olue, an Iland fiue miles in length, and ſufficientlie ſtored with corne and graſſe, & not without a good hauen for ſhips to lie and harbor in. There is alſo the Colkans, an Iland fruitfull inough, and full of cornell trees. There is not far off alſo the Gomater, Staſa, the two Kerneburgs, and the Moſſe Ile, in the old Britiſh ſpeech called Monad, that is to ſaie Moſſe. The ſoile of it is verie blacke, becauſe of the corruption & putrefaction of ſuch woods as haue rotted thereon: wherevpon alſo no ſmall plentie of moſſe is bred and ingendered. The people in like maner make their fire of the ſaid earth, which is fullie ſo good as our Engliſh turfe. There is alſo the Long, & ſix miles further toward the weſt, Tirree, which is eight miles in length and three in breadth, & of all other one of the moſt plentifull for all kinds of commodities: for it beareth corne, cattell, fiſh, and ſeafowle aboundantlie. It hath alſo a well of freſh water, a caſtell, and a verie good hauen for great veſſels to lie at ſafegard in. Two miles from this alſo is the Gun, and the Coll two miles alſo from the Gun. Then paſſed we by the Calfe, a verie woodie Iland, the foure greene Iles, the two glaſſe or skie Iands, the Ardan, the Ile of woolfes, & then the great Iland which reacheth from the eaſt into the weſt, is ſixtene miles in length, and ſix in breadth, full of mounteins and ſwelling woods: and for aſmuch as it is not much inhabited, the ſeafoules laie great plentie of egs there, whereof ſuch as will, may gather what number them liſteth. Vpon the high cliffes and rocks alſo the Soland geeſe are taken verie plentifullie. Beyond this, about foure miles alſo is the Ile of horſſes: and a little from that the hog Iland, which is not altogither vnfruitfull. There is a falcon which of cuſtome breedeth there, and therevnto it is not without a conuenient hauen. Not farre off alſo is the Canna, and the Egga, little Iles, but the later full of Soland geeſe. Likewiſe the Sobzatill, more apt to hunt in than meet for anie other commoditie that is to be reaped thereby.

After this we come to the Skie, the greateſt Ile about all Scotland: for it is two and fortie miles long; and ſomewhere eight, & in ſome places twelue miles broad: it is moreouer verie hillie, which hilles are therevnto loaden with great ſtore of wood, as the woods are with paſture, the fields with corne and cattell; and (beſides all other commodities) with no ſmall heards of mares, whereby they raiſe great aduantage and commoditie. It hath fiue riuers verie much abounding with ſalmons, and other freſh ſtreams not altogither void of that prouiſion. It is inuironed alſo with manie baies, wherein great plentie of herrings is taken in time of the yeere. It hath alſo a noble pole of freſh water; fiue caſtels and ſundrie townes; as Aie, S. Johns, Dunwegen, S. Nicholas, &c. The old Scots called it Skianacha, that is, Winged, but now named Skie. There lie certeine ſmall Ilands about this alſo, as Rauſa a batable ſoile for corne & graſs; Conie Iland full of woods and conies; Paba a theeuiſh Iland, in whoſe woods theeues do lurke to rob ſuch as paſſe by them. Scalpe Ile, which is full of deere; Crowling, wherein is verie good harbour for ſhips; Rarſa, full of beechen woods and ſtags, being in length ſeuen miles, and two in breadth. The Ron, a woodie Ile and full of heath: yet hath it a good hauen, which hath a little Iland called Gerloch on the mouth thereof, and therein lurke manie theeues. There is not farre off from this Ron, to wit about ſix miles alſo, the Flad, the Tiulmen, Oransa, Bute the leſſe, and Buis the more, and fiue other little trifling Iles, of whoſe names I haue no notice.

Skie.

The Ile of Shzewes.

Moſſe Ile.

After theſe we come vnto the Ile, a pretie fertile Iland, to the Doe, to the Aſkome, to the Lindtil. And foure ſcore miles from the Skie towards the weſt, to the Ling, the Gigarmen, the Berner, the Nagle, the Pable, the Flad, the Scarpe, the Sander, the Vateras, which later hath a noble hauen for great ſhips; beſide ſundrie other commodities: and theſe nine laſt rehearſed are vnder the dominion of the biſhop of the Iles. After this we come to the War, an Iland ſeuen miles in length, not vnfruitfull for graſſe and corne, but the chiefe commoditie thereof lieth by taking of herrings, which are there to be had abundantlie. In one bate of this Iland there lieth an Iſlet, and therein ſtandeth a ſtrong caſtell. In the north part hereof alſo is an hill which beareth good graſſe from the foot to the top, and out of that riſeth a ſpring, which running to the ſea, doth carrie withall a kind of creature not yet perfectlie formed, which ſome do liken vnto cockels; and vpon the ſhore where the water falleth into the ſea, they take vp a kind of ſhelfiſh, when the water is gone, which they ſuppoſe to be ingendred or increaſed after this manner. Betweene the Barre and the Miſſe lie alſo

War.

theſe

theſe Ilands, Orbaus, Oue, Yakerſet, Warlang, Flad, the two Baies, Yaie, Yelſaie, Gigaie, Lingaie, Fraie, Fudaie, and Frilkaie. The Ile is thirtie miles long and ſix miles broad; and therein are ſundrie freſh waters, but one eſpeciallie of three miles in length: neuertheleſſe, the ſea hath now of late found a waie into it, ſo that it cannot be kept off with a banke of three ſcore foot, but now and then it will flowe into the ſame, and leaue ſea-fiſh behind it in the lake. There is alſo a fiſh bred therein almoſt like vnto a ſalmon, ſauing that it hath a white bellie, a blacke backe, and is altogither without ſcales: it is likewiſe a great harbour for theeues and pirats.

Eight miles beyond this lieth the Yelſcher, appertinent to the nuns of Iona: we haue then the Yalker, verie plentifullie benefited by ſeales, which are there taken in time of the yeere. Three ſcore miles from this alſo is the Yirth, whoſe inhabitants are rude in all good ſcience and religion; yet is the Iland verie fruitfull in all things, and bringeth forth ſheepe farre greater than are elſe-where to be found, for they are as big as our fallow deare, horned like bugles, and haue their tailes hanging to the ground. He that is owner of this Ile, ſendeth ouer his bailiffe into the ſame at midſummer, to gather in his duties, and with him a prieſt to ſaie maſſe, and to baptiſe all the children borne ſince that time of the yeere precedent: or if none will go ouer with him (becauſe the voiage is dangerous) then doth each father take paine to baptiſe his owne at home. Their rents are paid commonlie in dried ſeales and ſea foule. All the whole Ile is not aboue a mile euerie waie; and except three mounteines that lie vpon one part of the ſhore, ſuch as dwell in the other Iles can ſee no part thereof.

Baptiſme without prieſts.

Being paſt the Ille, we came after to Walaie, the Soa, the Strome, to Pabaie, to Barner, Enſaie, Killiger, the two Sagas, the Yermodraie, Scarſe, Orie, Ling, Gilling, Yeie, Yoie, Farlaie, great So, little So, Ile, Sein the more, Sein the leſſe, Tarant, Slegan, Tuom, Scarpe, Yareie, and the ſeauen holie Ilands, which are deſert and bred nothing but a kind of wild ſheepe, which are often hunted, but ſeldome or neuer eaten. For in ſtéd of fleſh they haue nothing but tallow; and if anie fleſh be, it is ſo vnſauorie, that few men care to eate of it, except great hunger compell them. I ſuppoſe, that theſe be the wild ſheepe which will not be tamed; and becauſe of the horrible grenning thereof, is taken for the baſtard tiger. Their haire is betweene the wooll of a ſheepe, and the haire of a goat, reſembling both, ſhacked, and yet abſolutelie like vnto neither of both: it maie be alſo the ſame beaſt which Capitolinus calleth Ouis fera, ſhewed in the time of Gordian the emperour; albeit that ſome take the ſame for the Camelopardalis: but hereof I make no warrantiſe.

wild ſheepe.

Tigers.

There is alſo not farre off the Garuell, the Lambe, the Flad, the Bellas, the two Bernars, the Birt, the two Buies, the Uiraie, the Pabaie, the two Sigrams, and the Ile of Pigmeies (which is ſo called vpon ſome probable coniecture) for manie little ſculs and bones are dailie there found deepe in the ground, perfectlie reſembling the bodies of children; & not anie of greater quantities, wherby their coniecture (in their opinion) is the more likelie to be true. There is alſo the Fabill Ile, Adams Ile, the Ile of Lambes, Hulmes, Uiccoll, Hauerraie, Car, Era, Columbes Ile, Tor Ile, Iſkird, Scalpe, Flad, and the Swet; on whoſe eaſt ſide is a certeine vault or caue, arched ouer, a flight ſhot in length, whereunto meane ſhips do vſe to runne for harbour with full ſaile when a tempeſt ouertaketh them, or the raging of the ſea, in thoſe parts do put them in danger of wracke. Alſo we paſſed by the old caſtell Ile, which is a prettie and verie commodious plat for fiſh, foule, egges, corne and paſture. There is alſo the Ile Euſt or Eu, which is full of wood, and a notable harbour for theeues, as is alſo the Grinort; likewiſe the preſts Ile, which is verie full of ſea foule and good paſture. The Afull, the two Herberts, to wit, the greater and the leſſe; and the Iles of Horſles, and Mertaika: and theſe 8 lie ouer againſt the baie which is called the Lake Brian. After this, we go toward the north, and come to the Yaraie, and the Lewis or the Leug, both which make (in truth) but one Iland of three ſcore miles in length, and ſixténe in breadth, being diſtinguiſhed by no water, but by huge woods, bounds, and limits of the two owners that do poſſeſſe thoſe parts. The ſouth part is called Yaraie, and the whole ſituate in the Deucalidon ſea, ouer againſt the Roſſe, & called Thule by Tacitus, wherein are manie lakes, and verie pretie villages, as lake Erwijn, lake Unſalſago: but of townes, S. Clements, Stoie, Nois, S. Columbane, Radmach, &c. In like ſort, there are two churches, whereof one is dedicated to ſaint Peter, an other to S. Clement, beſide a monaſterie called Roadill. The ſoile alſo of this Ile is indifferent fruitfull; but they reape more profit vnder the ground than aboue, by digging. There is neither woolfe, fox, nor ſerpent ſéene in this Iland; yet are there great woods therein, which alſo ſeparate one part from the other. Likewiſe there be plentie of ſtags, but farre leſſe in quantitie than ours: and in the north part of the Iland alſo is a riuer which greatlie aboundeth with ſalmons. That part alſo called Lewiſa, which is the north half of the Ile is well inhabited toward the ſea coaſts, and hath riuers no leſſe plentifull for ſalmon than the other halfe. There is alſo great ſtore of herrings taken, whereof the fiſher men do raiſe great gaine and commoditie; and no leſſe plentie of ſheepe, which they do not ſhere, but plucke euerie yeere; yet is the ground of this part verie heathie, and full of moſſe, and the face thereof verie ſwart and blacke, for the ſpace of a foot in depth, through the corruption of ſuch woods as in time paſt haue rotted on the ſame. And therefore in time of the yeere they conuert it into turfe to burne, as néede ſhall ſerue; and in the yeere after, hauing well donged it in the meane time with ſlawke of the ſea, they ſowe barleie in the ſelfe places where the turfes grew, and reape verie good corne, wherewith they liue and féed. Such plentie of whales alſo are taken in this coaſt, that the verie tithe hath béene knowne, in ſome one yeere, to amount vnto ſeauen and twentie whales of one greatneſſe and other. This is notable alſo in this part of the Ile, that there is a great caue two yards déepe of water when the ſea is gone, and not aboue foure when it is at the higheſt; ouer which great numbers do ſit of both ſeres and ages, with hooks and lines, and catch at all times an infinite deale of fiſh, wherewith they liue, and which maketh them alſo the more idle.

Lewis called Thule by Tacitus, with no better authoritie than the Inglefic Mons.

Tithe whales.

Being paſt this about ſixtie miles, we come vnto the Rona, or Ron, which ſome take for the laſt of the Hebrides, diſtant (as I ſaid) about fortie miles from the Orchades, and one hundreth and thirtie from the promontorie of Dungiſbe. The inhabitants of this Ile are verie rude and irreligious, the lord alſo of the ſoile doth limit their number of houſholds, & hauing aſſigned vnto them what numbers of the greater and ſmaller ſorts of cattell they ſhall ſpend and inioie for their owne proviſion, they ſend the ouerplus yeerlie vnto him to Lewis. Their cheefe paiments conſiſt of a great quantitie of meale, which is verie plentifull among them, ſowed vp in ſheepes ſkins. Alſo of mutton and ſea foule dried, that reſteth ouer and aboue, which they themſelues do ſpend. And if it happen

Ile of Pigmeies.

that there be more people in the Iland than the lords booke or rate doth come vnto, then they ſend alſo the ouerplus of them in like maner vnto him: by which meanes they liue alwaies in plentie. They receiue no vices from ſtrange countries, neither know or heare of anie things done elſe-where than in their owne Iland. Manie whales are taken alſo vpon their coaſts, which are likewiſe replenished with ſcale, and porpaſſe, and thoſe which are either ſo tame, or ſo fierce, that they abaſh not at the ſight of ſuch as looke vpon them, neither make they anie haſt to flie out of their preſence.

Beyond this Ile, about 16 miles weſtward, there is another called Suilſcraie, of a mile length, void of graſſe, and without ſo much as heath growing vpon hir ſoile: yet are there manie cliffes and rocks therein, which are couered with blacke moſſe, whereon innumerable ſorts of foules do breed and laie their egs. Thither in like ſort manie do ſaile from Lewiſſa, to take them yong in time of the yeare, before they be able to flie, which they alſo kill and drie in eight daies ſpace, and then returne home againe with them, and great plentie of fethers gathered in this voiage. One thing is verie ſtrange and to be noted in this Iland, of the Colks foule, which is little leſſe than a goſe; and this kind commeth thither but once in the yeare, to wit, in the ſpring, to laie hir egs and bring vp hir yong, till they be able to ſhift for themſelues, & then they get them awaie togither to the ſea, and come no more vntill that time of the yére which next inſueth. At the ſame ſeaſon alſo they caſt their fethers there, as it were anſwering tribute to nature for the vſe of hir moſſie ſoile: wherein it is wonderfull to ſée, that thoſe fethers haue no ſtalkes, neither anie thing that is hard in them, but are ſéene to couer their bodies as it were woll or downe, till breeding time (I ſaie) wherein they be left ſtarke naked.

Suilſcraie.

Colke foule.

The Orchades (whoſe firſt inhabitants were the Scithians, which came from thoſe Iles where the Gothes did inhabit, as ſome ſparks yet remaining among them of that language do declare) lie partlie in the Germaine, and partlie in the Caliden ſeas, ouer againſt the point of Dunghilbie (being in number eight and twentie, or as other ſaie thirtie & one, yet ſome ſaie thirtie three, as Oroſius, but Plinie ſaith fortie) and now belonging to the crowne of Scotland, as are thereſt whereof héretofore I haue made report, ſince we croſſed ouer the mouth of the Solueie ſtreame, to come into this countrie. Certes the people of theſe Iſlands reteine much of their old ſparing diets, and thereunto they are of goodlie ſtature, tall, verie comelie, healthfull, of long life, great ſtrength, whitiſh colour, as men that féed moſt vpon fiſh; ſith the cold is ſo extreame in thoſe parts, that the ground bringeth forth but ſmall ſtore of wheate, and in maner verie little or no fuell at all, wherewith to warme them in the winter, and yet it ſéemeth that (in times paſt) ſome of theſe Iſlands alſo haue béene well replenished with wood, but now they are without either tree or ſhrub, in ſtéed whereof they haue plentie of heath, which is ſuffered to grow among them, rather thorough their negligence, than that the ſoile of it ſelfe will not yéeld to bring forth trées & buſhes. For what ſtore of ſuch hath béene in times paſt, the roots yet found and digged out of the ground do yéeld ſufficient triall. Otes they haue verie plentifullie, but greater ſtore of barleie, wherof they make a nappie kind of drinke, and ſuch indéed, as will verie readilie cauſe a ſtranger to ouerſhot himſelfe. Howbeit this may be vnto vs in lieu of a miracle, that although their drinke be neuer ſo ſtrong, & they themſelues ſo vnmeaſurable drinkers (as none are more) yet it ſhall not eaſilie be ſéene (ſaith Hector) that there is anie drunkard among them, either frantike, or mad man, dolt, or naturall fole, meet to weare a cockeſcombe.

Orchades.

If he ſpeake all in truth.

This vnmeaſurable drinking of theirs is confeſſed alſo by Buchanan, who noteth, that whenſoeuer anie wine is brought vnto them from other ſoiles, they take their parts thereof aboundantlie. He addeth moreouer, how they haue an old bole (which they call S. Magnus bole, who firſt preached Chriſt vnto them) of farre greater quantitie than common boles are, and ſo great, that it may ſéeme to be reſerued ſince the Lapithane banket, onelie to quaffe and drinke in. And when anie biſhop commeth vnto them, they offer him this bole full of drinke, which if he be able to drinke vp quite at one draught; then they aſſure themſelues of good lucke, and plentie after it. Neuertheleſſe this exceſſe is not often found in the common ſort, whom penurie maketh to be more frugall; but in their prieſts, and ſuch as are of the richer calling. They ſuccour pirats alſo, and verie often exchange their vittels with their commodities, rather for feare and want of power to reſiſt (their Iſlands lieng ſo ſcattered) than for anie neceſſitie of ſuch gains as they do get by thoſe men: for in truth, they thinke themſelues to haue little néed of other furniture than their owne ſoiles do yéeld and offer vnto them. This is alſo to be read of the inhabitants of theſe Iſlands, that ignorance of exceſſe is vnto the moſt part of them in ſtéed of phyſicke; and labour and trauell a medicine for ſuch few diſeaſes as they are moleſted and incombred withall.

In like ſort they want venemous beaſts, cheefelie ſuch as do delight in hotter ſoile, and all kinds of ouglie creatures. Their ewes alſo are ſo full of increaſe, that ſome do vſuallie bring forth two, three, or foure lambes at once, whereby they account our anelings (which are ſuch as bring forth but one at once) rather barren than to be kept for anie gaine. As for wild and tame foules, they haue ſuch plentie of them, that the people there account them rather a burthen to their ſoile, than a benefit to their tables: they haue alſo neat and gotes, whereby they abound in white meat, as butter and cheeſe: wherein, next vnto fiſh, the cheefe part of their ſuſtenance doth conſiſt. There is alſo a biſhop of the Orchades, who hath his ſée in Pomona the cheefe of all the Iſlands, wherein alſo are two ſtrong caſtels, and ſuch hath béene the ſuperſtition of the people here, that there is almoſt no one of them, that hath not one church at the leaſt dedicated to the mother of Chriſt. Finallie, there is little vſe of phyſicke in theſe quarters, leſſe ſtore of éeles, and leaſt of frogs. As for the horſſes that are bred amongſt them, they are commonlie not much greater than aſſes, and yet to labour and trauell, a man ſhall find verie few elſe-where, able to come néere, much leſſe to match with them, in holding out their iournies. The ſeas about theſe Iſlands are verie tempeſtuous, not onelie through ſtrong winds, and the influences of the heauens and ſtars; but by the contrarie méetings and workings of the weſt ocean, which rageth ſo vehementlie in the ſtreicts, that no veſſell is able to paſſe in ſafetie amongſt them. Some of theſe Iſlands alſo are ſo ſmall and low, that all the commoditie which is to be reaped by anie of them, is ſcarſelie ſufficient to ſuſteine one or two men: and ſome of them ſo barren and full of rocks, that they are nothing elſe but moſſe or bare thingle. Wherefore onelie thirteene of them are inhabited and made account of, the reſt being left vnto their ſheepe and cattell. Of all theſe Iſlands alſo Pomona is the greateſt, and therfore called the continent, which conteineth thirtie miles in length, and is well replenished with people: for it hath twelue pariſh churches, and one towne, which the Danes (ſometime lords of that Iland) called Tracouia: but now it yight Kirkwa.

Kirkwa.

wa. There are alſo two pretie holds, one belonging to the king, the other to the biſhop: and alſo a beautifull church, and much building betweene the two holds, and about this church, which being taken as it were for two townes, the one is called the kings and the other the biſhops towne. All the whole Iland is full of cliffes and promontories, whereby no ſmall number of bates and ſome hauens are produced.

There is alſo tin and lead to be found in ſix of theſe Iles, ſo good and plentifullie as anie where elſe in Britaine. It lieth foure & twentie miles from Cathneſſe, being ſeparated from the ſame by the Pictiſh ſea: wherein alſo lie certeine Ilands, as Stroma, foure miles from Cathneſſe, which albeit that it be but foure miles from Cathneſſe, is not reputed for anie of the Orchades. Going therefore from hence northward, we come to the firſt Ile of the Orchades, called ſouth Rauals, which is ſixtéene miles from Dunghilſbie, *aliàs* Dunachilbie, & that in two houres ſpace, ſuch is the ſwiftneſſe of the ſea in that tract. This Ile is fiue miles long, and hath a faire port called ſaint Margarets hauen. Then paſſe we by two deſert Iles, which lie towards the eaſt, wherein nothing is found but cattell: ſome call them the holmes, becauſe they lie low, and are good for nothing but graſſe. On the northſide lieth the Bur, and two other holmes betweene the ſame Pomona. From Bur, toward the weſt lie three Iles, Snu, Flat, and Far: and beyond them Hote and Wall, which ſome accompt for two, and other but for one; becauſe that in March and September, the flats that lie betweene them, doo ſeeme to ioine them togither, after the tide is gone. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that in this ſingle or double Ile, which is ten miles in length, the higheſt hilles are to be ſéene that are in all the Orchades. And as they lie eight miles from Rauals, ſo are they two miles from Pomona, from ſaint Donats in Scotland full twentie miles. And on the north ſide of it lieth the Brainſe, in a narrow ſtreict, as Buchanan doth remember. And theſe are the Iles which lie betweene Pomona and Cathneſſe. As for the weſt ſide of the continent, I find that it lieth open to the ſea, without either ſhelues, Ilands, or rocks, appéering néere vnto it: but on the eaſt ſide thereof Cobeſa doth in maner ouerſhadow it. Stapinſa alſo an Ile of ſix miles long, lieth within two miles of Craconſa. Toward the eaſt, on the weſt ſide of Pomona lieth the Rouſe, of ſix miles in length: and by eaſt of that, the Egliſa, wherin (as they ſaie) their patrone S. Magnus lieth interred. From henſe ſouthward lie the Uera Gerſa, and not far off the Ueſter (which is foureſcore miles from Hethland) Papa, & Stronza, which is alſo eightie miles from Hethland as the Ueſter. In the middeſt alſo of this tract lieth Far, or Fara, which is to ſaie, faire Ile, in old Engliſh, faire eie: and within ſight ſo well of Hethland, as the Orchades, by reaſon of three inſuperable rocks which are apparant in the ſame: a verie poore Iland, and yet yearelie robbed (of ſuch commodities as it hath) by ſuch Flemiſh and Engliſh fiſhermen as paſſe by the coaſts thereof in time of the yeare, to catch fiſh for the prouiſion of their countries.

Next vnto this is the greateſt of all the Hethlands, an Iland called the Maine, ſixtie miles in length, and ſixtéene in breadth, full of rocks, and whoſe coaſts are onelie inhabited, the innermoſt parts being left vnto the foules of the aire, becauſe of the barrenneſſe and vnfruitfulneſſe of the ſoile: yet of late ſome haue indeuoured to impeople it, but with no ſucceſſe correſpondent to their deſire. Wherefore they returned to their former trades, making their chéefe commoditie and yearelie gaine by fiſh, as aforetime. Ten miles from this toward the north, lieth the Zeale, twentie miles in length, eight in breadth, and ſo wild that it will ſuffer no creature to liue thereof, that is not bred therein. Betwéene this Iland alſo and the Maine, are other ſmaller Ilands to be found, as the Ling, Orne, Big, and Sanſerre. And from henſe nine miles northward Ulla, twentie miles long, & ſix in breadth, plaine, pleaſant, but inuironed with a ſwift and terrible ſea. Betwéene this alſo and the Zeale, are the Wie, the Uze, and the Ling: alſo towards the weſt, the two Skenes, Chalſeie, Northwade, Braſe, and Powſe, on the weſt ſide lie the weſt Skenes, Rottia, Papa the leſſe, Wunned, Papa the more, Walla, Tondra, Burra, Haura the more, Haura the leſſe, & in maner ſo manie holmes diſperſed heere and there, whereof I haue no notice. Some call theſe the Shetland, and ſome the Shotland Iles. Buchanan nameth them in the third member of his diuiſion Zelandiſe, and toward the end of his firſt booke ſeemeth to auouch, that they liue in maner as doo the inhabitants of the Orchades: although not in ſo ciuill wiſe, nor in ſuch large meaſure and aboundance of diet in their houſes. He addeth moreouer, that their apparrell is after the Germaine cut, comelie, but not ſo chargeable and coſtlie, and how they raiſe their gaine by ſkins of beaſts, as marterns, ſheepe, oxen, and gotes ſkins, and therevnto a kind of cloth which they weaue, and ſell to the merchants of Norwaie, togither with their butter, fiſh, either ſalted or dried, and their traine oile, and exerciſe their trade of fiſhing alſo in their vncerteine ſkewes, which they fetch out of Norwaie.

Their ſpeech is Gothiſh, and ſuch of them as by their dealing with forren merchants doo gather anie wealth, that they will verie often beſtow vpon the furniture of their houſes. Their weights & meaſures are after the Germaine maner, their countrie is verie healthie, and ſo wholeſome, that of late a man was found which had maried a wife at one hundred yeares of age, and was able to go out a fiſhing with his bote at one hundred and fortie, and of late yéeres died of méere age, without anie other diſeaſe. Orconkennelle is not heard of among them, and yet they meet and make good chéere verie often. Neither doo I read of anie great vſe of fleſh or foule there, although that ſome of their Ilands haue plentie of each. Nor anie mention of corne growing in theſe parts, and therefore in ſtéed of bread they drie a kind of fiſh, which they beat in morters to powder, & bake it in their ouens, vntill it be hard and drie. Their fuell alſo is of ſuch bones as the fiſh yéeldeth, that is taken on their coaſts: and yet they liue as themſelues ſuppoſe in much felicitie, thinking it a great péece of their happineſſe to be ſo farre diſtant from the wicked auarice, and cruell dealings of the more rich and ciuill part of the world.

Herein alſo they are like vnto the Hirchiens, in that at one time of the yeare, there commeth a prieſt vnto them out of the Orchades (vnto which iuriſdiction they doo belong) who baptiſeth all ſuch children, as haue béene borne among them, ſince he laſt arriued, and hauing afterward remained there for a two daies, he taketh his tithes of them (which they prouide and paie with great ſcrupuloſitie in fiſh, for of other commodities paie they none) and then returneth home againe, not without boaſt of his troubleſome voiage, except he watch his time. In theſe Iles alſo is great plentie of fine Amber to be had (as Hector ſaith) which is produced by the working of the ſea vpon thoſe coaſts: but more of this elſewhere. This neuertheleſs is certeine, that theſe Ilands, with the Orchades, were neuer perfectlie vnited to the crowne of Scotland, till the mariage was made betweene king James and the ladie Marie daughter to Chriſtierne king of Denmarke 1468; which Chriſtierne at the birth of their ſonne James (afterward Amber.

king of Scotland and called James the fourth) reſigned all his right and title whatſoeuer either he or his anceſtors either preſently or hertofore had, might haue had, or hereafter may or ſhould haue, vnto the aforeſaid peeres, as appeereth by the charter.

From theſe Shetland Iles, and vntill we come ſouthwards to the Scarre, which lieth in Buquhamnelle, I find no mention of anie Ile ſituat vpon that coaſt, neither greatlie from thence, vntill we come at the Forth, that leadeth vp to Sterling, neither thought we it ſafetie for vs to ſearch ſo farre as Thule, whence the moſt excellent bzimſtone commeth, & thereto what ſtore of Ilands lie vnder the more northerlie climats, whoſe ſecret ſituations though partlie ſeene in my time, haue not yet bin perfectlie reueled or diſcouered by ante, bicauſe of the great aboundance of huge Ilands of ice that moueth to and fro vpon their ſhores, and ſundrie perilous gulfes and indraughts of water, and for as much as their knowlege doth not concerne our purpoſe, wherfore caſting about, we came at the laſt into the Firth or Forth, which ſome call the Scotiſh ſea, wherein we paſſe by ſeuen or eight ſuch as they be, of which the firſt called the Paie, the ſecond Baas, and Garwie the third, doo ſeeme to be inhabited. From theſe alſo holding on our courſe toward England, we paſſe by another Ile, wherein Faur caſtell ſtandeth, and this (ſo far as my ſkill ſerueth) is the laſt Iland of the Scotiſh ſide, in compaſſing whereof I am not able to diſcerne, whether their flats and ſhallowes, number of Ilands without name, confuſion of ſituation, lacke of true deſcription, or mine owne ignorance hath troubled me moſt. No meruell therefore that I haue beene ſo oft on ground among them. But moſt ioifull am I that am come home againe: & although not by the Thames mouth into my natiue citie (which taketh his name of Troie) yet into the Engliſh dominion, where god interteinement is much more franke and copious, and better harborough wherein to reſt my wearie bones, and refreſh at eaſe our wetherbeaten carcaſſes.

The firſt Iland therefore which commeth to our ſight, after we paſſed Berwike, is that which was ſomtime called Lindeſſarne, but now Holie Iland, and conteineth eight miles; a place much honored among our monaſticall writers, bicauſe diuerſe monks and heremits did ſpend their times therein. There was alſo the biſhops ſee of Lindeſſarne for a long ſeaſon, which afterward was tranſlated to Cheſter in the ſtreet, & finallie to Dureſme, Dunelme, or Durham. It was firſt erected by Oſwald, wherein he placed Aidanus the learned Scotiſh monke, who came hither out of the Ile called Hij, whereof Beda ſpeaking in the third chapter of his third booke, noteth, that although the ſaid Hij belong to the kings of Northumberland, by reaſon of ſituation & neereneſſe to the coaſt; yet the Picts appointed the biſhops of the ſame, and gaue the Ile with the ſee it ſelfe to ſuch Scotiſh monks as they liked, bicauſe that by their preaching they firſt receiued the faith. But to returne to Lindeſſarne. After Aidan departed this life, Finanus finiſhed and builded the whole church with ſawed timber of oke, after the maner of his countrie, which when Theodorus the archbiſhop of Canturburie had dedicated, Edbert the biſhop did couer ouer with lead.

Lindeſſarne or Holie Iland.

Next vnto this is the Ile of Farne, and herein is a place of defenſe ſo far as I remember, and ſo great ſtore of egs laid there by diuerſe kinds of wildfoule in time of the yeare, that a man ſhall hardlie run for a wager on the plaine ground without the breach of manie, before his race be finiſhed. About Farne alſo lie certeine Iles greater than Farne it ſelfe, but void of inhabitants; and in theſe alſo is great ſtore of puffins, graie as duckes, and without coloured feathers, ſaning that they haue a white ring round about their necks. There is moreouer another bird, which the people call ſaint Cuthberts foules, a verie tame and gentle creature, and eaſie to be taken. After this we came to the Cocket Iland; ſo called, bicauſe it lieth ouer againſt the fall of Cocket water. Herein is a veine of meane ſeacole, which the people dig out of the ſhore at the low water; and in this Iland dwelled one Henrie ſometime a famous heremite, who (as his life declareth) came of the Daniſh race. And from thence vntill we came vnto the coaſt of Northolke I ſaw no more Ilands.

Puffins.

Saint Cuthberts foules.

Being therfore paſt S. Edmunds point, we found a litle Ile ouer againſt the fall of the water that commeth from Holkham, & likewiſe another ouer againſt the Claie, before we came at Waburne hope: the third alſo in Yarmouth riuer ouer againſt Bradwell, a towne in low or little England, whereof alſo I muſt needs ſaie ſomewhat, bicauſe it is in maner an Iland, and as I geſſe either hath beene or may be one: for the breadeſt place of the ſtrict land that leadeth to the ſame, is little aboue a quarter of a mile, which againſt the raging waues of the ſea can make but ſmall reſiſtance. Little England or low England therefore is about eight miles in length and foure in breadth, verie well replenithed with townes, as Friſtan, Burgh caſtell, Olton, Flixton, Leſtoft, Gunton, Blundſton, Corton, Lownd, Alhebie, Yorton, Belton, Bradwell, and Gozleſton, and beſide this it is verie fruitfull and indued with all commodities.

Little England.

Going forward from hence, by the Eſſonneſſe (almoſt an Iland) I ſaw a ſmall parcell cut from the maine in Orford hauen, the Langerſtone in Orwell mouth, & two peeces or Iſlets at Cattiwade bridge; and then caſting about vnto the Colne, we beheld Merſeie which is a prettie Iland, well furniſhed with wood. It was ſometime a great receptacle for the Danes when they inuaded England; howbeit at this preſent it hath beſide two decaied blockehouſes, two pariſh churches, of which one is called eaſt Merſeie, the other weſt Merſeie, and both vnder the archdeacon of Colcheſter, as parcell of his iuriſdiction. Foulneſſe is an Ile void of wood, and yet well replenithed with verie good graſſe for neat and ſheepe, whereof the inhabitants haue great plentie: there is alſo a pariſh church, and albeit that it ſtand ſomewhat diſtant from the ſhore, yet at a dead low water a man may (as they ſaie) ride thereto if he be ſkilfull of the cauſie; it is vnder the iuriſdiction of London. And at this preſent maſter William Tabor bacheler of diuinitie and archdeacon of Eſſex hath it vnder his iuriſdiction & regiment, by the ſurrender of maiſter John Walker doctor alſo of diuinitie, who liued at ſuch time as I firſt attempted to commit this booke to the impreſſion.

Merſeie.

Foulneſſe.

In Maldon water are in like ſort three Ilands inuironed all with ſalt ſtreames, as ſaint Oſithes, Northeie, and another (after a merſh) that beareth no name ſo far as I remember. On the right hand alſo as we went toward the ſea againe, we ſaw Ramſeie Ile, or rather a Peninſula or Biland, & likewiſe the Reie, in which is a chappell of ſaint Peter. And then coaſting vpon the mouth of the Bourne, we ſaw the Wallot Ile and his mates, whereof two lie by eaſt Wallot, and the fourth is Foulneſſe, except I be deceiued, for here my memorie faileth me on the one ſide, and information on the other, I meane concerning the placing of Foulneſſe. But to proceed. After this, and being entered into the Thames mouth, I find no Iland of ante name, except you accompt Rochford hundred for one, whereof I haue no mind to intreat, more than of Crowland, Perſland,

Oſithe.

Northeie.

Ramleie.

Reie.

Farne.

Elie,

Elie, and the reſt, that are framed by the ouze, Andredeſeie in Trent, ſo called of a church there dedicated to ſaint Andrew, and Auon (two noble riuers hereafter to be deſcribed) ſith I touch onelie thoſe that are inuironed with the ſea or ſalt water round about, as we may ſee in the Canwaie Iles, which ſome call marſhes onelie, and liken them to an ipocras bag, ſome to a vice, ſcrue, or wide ſleeue, bicauſe they are verie ſmall at the eaſt end, and large at weſt. The ſalt rilles alſo that croſſe the ſame do ſo ſeparat the one of them from the other, that they reſemble the ſlope courſe of the cutting part of a ſcrue or gimlet, in verie perfect maner, if a man do imagine himſelfe to loke downe from the top of the maſt vpon them. Betweene theſe, moreouer and the Leigh towne lieth another litle Ile or Holme, whoſe name is to me vnknowne. Certes I would haue gone to land and viewed theſe parcels as they laie, or at the leaſt haue ſailed round about them by the whole hauen, which may eaſilie be done at an high water: but for as much as a perrie of wind (ſcarſe comparable to the makerell gale, whereof John Anele of Calis one of the beſt ſeamen that England euer bred for his ſkill in the narow ſeas was wont to talke) caught hold of our ſailes, & caried vs forth the right waie toward London, I could not tarie to ſee what things were hereabouts. Thus much therefore of our Ilands, & ſo much may well ſuffice where more cannot be had.

Canwaie.

The deſcription of the Thames, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame.

Cap. 11.

HAuing (as you haue ſeene) attempted to ſet downe a full diſcourſe of all the Ilands, that are ſituat vpon the coaſt of Britaine, and finding the ſucceſſe not correſpondent to mine intent, it hath cauſed me ſomewhat to reſtreine my purpoſe in this deſcription alſo of our riuers. For whereas I intended at the firſt to haue written at large, of the number, ſituation, names, quantities, townes, villages, caſtels, mounteines, freſh waters, plaſhes or lakes, ſalt waters, and other commodities of the aforeſaid Iles, mine expectation of information from all parts of England, was ſo deceiued in the end, that I was faine at laſt onelie to leane to that which I knew my ſelfe either by reading, or ſuch other helpe as I had alreadie purchaſed and gotten of the ſame. And euen ſo it happeneth in this my tractation of waters, of whoſe heads, courſes, length, breadth, depth of chanell (for burden) ebs, flowings, and falles, I had thought to haue made a perfect deſcription vnder the report alſo of an imagined courſe taken by them all. But now for want of inſtruction, which hath beene largelie promiſed, & ſlacklie performed, and other ſudden and iniurious denaall of helpe voluntarilie offered, without occaſion giuen on my part, I muſt needs content my ſelfe with ſuch obſeruations as I haue either obteined by mine owne experience, or gathered from time to time out of other mens writings: whereby the full diſcourſe of the whole is vtterlie cut off, and in ſtead of the ſame a mangled rehearſall of the reſidue ſet downe and left in memorie.

Wherefore I beſeech your honour to pardon this imperfection and rudeneſſe of my labour, which notwithſtanding is not altogither in vaine, ſith my errors maie prooue a ſpurre vnto the better ſkilled, either to correct or inlarge where occaſion ſerueth, or at the leaſt wiſe to take in hand a more abſolute peece of worke, as better direction ſhall incourage them thereto. The entrance and beginning of euerie thing is the hardeſt; and he that beginneth well, hath atchiued halfe his purpoſe. The ice (my lord) is broken, and from henceforth it will be more eaſie for ſuch as ſhall come after to wade through with the reſt, ſith *Facile eſt inuentis addere*; and to continue and finiſh, is not ſo great a matter in building, as to attempt and laie the foundation or platforme of anie noble peece of workmanſhip, though it be but rudelie handled. But to my purpoſe. As I began at the Thames in my deſcription of Ilands, ſo will I now do the like with that of famous riuers; making mine entrie at the ſaid riuer it ſelfe, of whoſe founteine ſome men make as much adoo, as in time paſt of the true head of Nilus, which, till of late (if it be yet deſcried) was neuer found: or the Tanais, whoſe originall was neuer knowne, nor ſhall be: for whileſt one placeth it here, another there; there are none at all that deale with it exactlie. Wherefore leaning to ſuch mens writings as haue of ſet purpoſe ſought out the ſpring of the Thames; I affirme, that this famous ſtreame hath his head or beginning out of the ſide of an hill, ſtanding in the plaines of Cotſwold, about one mile from Tetburie, neere vnto the Foſſe (an high waie ſo called of old) where it was ſometime named Iſis, or the Ouſe, although diuerſe do ignorantlie call it the Thames euen there, rather of a foliſh cuſtome than anie ſkill, bicauſe they either neglect or vtterlie are ignorant how it was named at the firſt. From hence it runneth directlie toward the eaſt (as all good riuers ſhould) and meeteth with the Cirne or Churne, (a brooke called in Latine Corinium) whereof Cirnceſter towne (by which it commeth) doth take the denomination.

Thameſis.

Corinium.

From hence it haſteth vnto Crekelade, *alias* Crekanford, Lechlade, Radcotebridge, Newbridge, and Oueſham, receiuing by the waie an infinit ſort of ſmall ſtreames, brookes, beckes, waters, and rundels: and here on this ſide of the towne diuideth it ſelfe into two courſes, of which the one goeth ſtraight to Botleie and Hinkſeie, the other by Godſtow, a village not farre off. This latter ſpreadeth it ſelfe alſo for a while into ſundrie ſmaller branches, which run not farre per they be reunited, and then beclipping ſundrie pleaſant medowes, it paſſeth at length by Orford, of ſome ſuppoſed rather to be called Duſeford of this riuer, where it meeteth with the Charwell, and a litle from whence the originall branches do ioine and go togither by Abbandune (*alias* Sentham or Abington as we call it) although no part of it at the firſt came ſo neere the towne as it doth now, till a branch thereof was led thither from the maine ſtreame, thorough the induſtrie of the monks, as (beſide the teſtimonie of old records thereof yet extant to be ſeene) by the decaie of Cair Dour now Dorcheſter it ſelfe, ſometime the thorough fare from Wales and the weſt countrie to London, which inſued vpon this fact, is eaſie to be ſeene. From hence it goeth to Dorcheſter, and ſo to Thame, where ioining with a riuer of the ſame denomination, it loſeth the name of Iſis or Ouſe (whereof Duſencie at Orford is produced) and from thenceforth is called Thameſis. From Thame it goeth to Wallingford, and ſo to Reding, which in time paſt, of the number of bridges there, was called Pontium; albeit that the Engliſh name doth rather proceed from Rhe, or Ree, the Saxon word for a water-courſe or riuer, which maie be ſeene in Dureé, or Sutheré, for ouer the Ree, or ſouth of the Rhee, as to the ſkilfull doth readilie appeere; yet ſome hold (and not altogither againſt probabilitie and likelihood) that the word Sutheré is ſo called of Sudrijc, to wit, the ſouth kingdome, wherunto

Charwell.

Some write, that the maine ſtreame was brought thither which ranne before betweene Andredeſeie and Culenham.

Pontium.

Saint Marie ouer Rhee.

whereunto in part the Thames is a bound. But that holdeth not in denomination, either of the ſaid church or name of the foreſaid countie. Other affirme likewiſe, that Reding is ſo called of the Greeke word (ῥέω) which is to ouer flowe. Certes, as neither of theſe coniectures are to be contemned, ſo the laſt cõmeth moſt neere to mine aid, who affirme, that not onelie the courſe of euerie water it ſelfe, but alſo his ouer flowing was in time paſt called Rhe, by ſuch Saxons as inhabited in this Iland: and euen to this daie in Eſſex I haue oft obſerued, that when the lower grounds by rage of water haue béene ouerflowen, the people beholding the ſame, haue ſaid; All is on a Rhe, as if they ſhould haue ſaid; All is now a riuer, albeit the word Riuer be deriued from the French, and borrowed by them from the Latins: but not without corruption, as it was brought vnto them. I will not here giue notice how farre they are deceiued, which call the aforeſaid church by the name of S. Marie Auderies, or S. Marie ouer Iſis, or Iſe. But I will proceed with the courſe of this noble ſtreame, which, howſoeuer theſe matters ſtand it hath paſſed by Reding, and there receiued the Kenet, which commeth from the hilles that lie weſt of Marleborough, & then the Thetis, commonlie called the Tide that commeth from Thetilford: it hieth to Sudlington otherwiſe called Maidenhead, and ſo to Windleſhore (or Windſore) Eaton, and then to Chertſeie, where Erkenwald biſhop of London, ſometime builded a religious houſe or cell, as I doo read.

Kenet.

Thetis.

From Chertſeie it haſteth directlie vnto Stanes, and receiuing an other ſtreame by the waie, called the Cole (whereupon Colbrooke ſtandeth) it goeth by Kingſtone, Shene, Sion, and Brentford or Bregentford, where it méeteth the Brane or the Brene, another brook deſcending from Edgeworth, whoſe name ſignifieth a frog, in the Britiſh ſpeach. Upon this alſo ſir John Thin had ſometime a ſtatelie houſe, with a maruellous prouiſion to incloſe and reteine ſuch fiſh as ſhould come about the ſame. From Brentford it paſſeth by Mortlach, Putneie, Fulham, Batterſeie, Chelſeie, Lambeth, and ſo to London. Finallie going from thence vnto the ſea, it taketh the Lée with it by the waie vpon the coaſt of Eſſex, and the Darnt vpon Kent ſide, which riſeth neere to Tanrige, and commeth by Shoreham, vnto Dernford, whereunto the Craic falleth. And laſt of all the Medwaie a notable riuer (in mine opinion) which watereth all the ſouth and ſouthweſt part of Kent, and whoſe deſcription is not to be omitted hereafter in this place.

Cole.

Brene.

Darwent.

Craic.

Hauing in this maner breefelie touched this noble riuer, and ſuch brookes as fall into the ſame; I will now adde a particular deſcription of each of theſe laſt by themſelues, whereby their courſes alſo ſhall be ſeuerallie deſcribed to the ſatiſfaction of the ſtudious. But yet I take the ſame in hand, I will inſert a word or two of the commodities of the ſaid riuer, which I will performe with ſo much breuitie as is poſſible; hereby alſo finding out his whole tract and courſe from the head to the fall thereof into the ſea. It appeareth euidentlie that the length thereof is at the leaſt, one hundreth and eightie miles, if it be meaſured by the tourneies of the land. And as it is in courſe, the longeſt of the three famous riuers of this Ile, ſo it is nothing inferiour vnto them in aboundance of all kind of fiſh, whereof it is hard to ſaie, which of the three haue either moſt plentie, or greateſt varietie, if the circumſtances be duelie weighed. What ſome other write of the riuers of their countries it ſkilleth not, neither will I (as diuerſe doo) inuent ſtrange things of this noble ſtreame, therewith to nobilitate and make it more honorable: but this will I in plaine termes affirme, that it neither ſwalloweth vp baſtards of the Celtiſh brood, or calleth vp the right begotten that are thrown in without hurt into their mothers lap, as Politian fableth of the Rhene, *Epiſtiloram lib. 8. epi. 6.* nor yéeldeth clots of gold as the Tagus doth: but an infinit plentie of excellent, ſweet and pleaſant fiſh, wherewith ſuch as inhabit neere vnto hir bankes are fed and fullie nouriſhed.

What ſhould I ſpeake of the fat and ſweet ſalmons, dailie taken in this ſtreame, and that in ſuch plentie (after the time of the ſmelt be paſt) as no riuer in Europa is able to exceed it. But what ſtore alſo of barbels, trouts, cheuins, pearches, ſmelts, breames, roches, daces, gudgings, flounders, thrimps, &c: are commonlie to be had therein, I refer me to them that know by experience better than I, by reaſon of their dailie trade of fiſhing in the ſame. And albeit it ſeemeth from time to time, to be as it were defrauded in ſundrie wiſe of theſe hir large commodities, by the inſatiable auarice of the fiſhermen, yet this famous riuer complaineth commonlie of no want, but the more it loſeth at one time, the more it yéeldeth at another. Onelie in carps it ſeemeth to be ſcant, ſith it is not long ſince that kind of fiſh was brought ouer into England, and but of late to ſpeake of into this ſtreame, by the violent rage of ſundrie landflouds, that brake open the heads and dams of diuers gentlemens ponds, by which meanes it became ſomewhat partaker alſo of this ſaid commoditie, whereof earſt it had no portion that I could euer heare. Oh that this riuer might be ſpared but euen one yeare from nets, &c! But alas then ſhould manie a poore man be vndone. In the meane time it is lamentable to ſée, how it is and hath béene choked of late with ſands and ſhelues, through the penning and wreſting of the courſe of the water for commodities ſake. But as this is an inconuenience eaſilie remedied, if good order were taken for the redreſſe thereof: ſo now, the fine or pate ſet vpon the ballaſſe ſometime frælie giuen to the merchants by patent, euen vnto the lands end (*Iuſques au poinct*) will be another cauſe of harme vnto this noble ſtreame, and all through an aduantage taken at the want of an (i) in the word *poinct*: which grew through an error committed by an Engliſh notarie vnſkilfull in the French tong, wherein that patent was granted.

Salmons.

Carps a fiſh late brought into England and later into the Thames.

Furthermore, the ſaid riuer floweth and filleth all his chanels twiſe in the daie and night, that is in euerie twelue houres once; and this ebbing & flowing, holdeth on for the ſpace of ſeauentie miles, within the maine land: the ſtreame or tide being alwaies higheſt at London, when the moone doth exactlie touch the northeaſt and ſouth or weſt points of the heauens, of which one is viſible, the other vnder the earth, and not ſubiect to our ſight. Theſe tides alſo differ in their times, each one comming latter than other, by ſo manie minuts as paſſe per the reuolution and naturall courſe of the heauens doo reduce, and bring about the ſaid planet vnto thoſe hir former places: whereby the common difference betweene one tide and another, is found to conſiſt of twentie foure minuts, which wanteth but twelue of an whole houre in foure and twentie, as experience doth confirme. In like ſort we ſée by dailie triall, that each tide is not of equall heigth and greatneſſe. For at the full and change of the moone we haue the greateſt flouds, and ſuch is their ordinarie courſe, that as they diminiſh from their changes and fuls, vnto the firſt and laſt quarters; ſo afterwards they increaſe againe, vntill they come to the full and change. Sometimes alſo they riſe ſo high (if the wind be at the north or northeaſt, which bringeth in the water with more vehemencie, becauſe the tide which filleth the chanell, commeth from Scotland ward) that the Thames

The iuſt diſtãce betweẽ one tide and another.

ouer-

ouerflowèth hir banks nèere vnto London: which happeneth eſpecialliè in the fuls and changes of Januarie and Februarie, wherein the lower grounds are of cuſtome ſoneſt drowned. This order of flowing in like ſort is perpetuall, ſo that when the mone is vpon the ſouthweſt and north of points, then is the water by London at the higheſt: neither do the tides alter, except ſome rough winds out of the weſt or ſouthweſt do kéepe backe and checke the ſtreame in his entrance, as the eaſt and northeaſt do haſten the comming in thereof, or elſe ſome other extraordinarie occaſion, put by the ordinarie courſe of the northerne ſeas, which fill the ſaid riuer by their naturall returne and flowing. And that both theſe do happen eſt among, I refer me to ſuch as haue not ſildome obſerued it, as alſo the ſenſible chopping in of thrée or foure tides in one naturall daie, wherof the vnſkilfull do deſcant manie things.

The ſtreame oft checked in hir entrance into the land.

But how ſo euer theſe ſmall matters do fall out, and how often ſoeuer this courſe of the ſtreame doth happen to be diſturbed; yet at two ſeuerall times of the age of the mone, the waters returne to their naturall courſe and limits of time exactlie. Polydore ſaith, that this riuer is ſeldome increaſed or rather neuer ouerfloweth hir banks by landflouds: but he is herein verie much deceiued, as it ſhalbe more apparantlie ſéene hereafter. For the more that this riuer is put by of hir right courſe, the more the water muſt of neceſſitie ſwell with the white waters which run downe from the land: bicauſe the paſſage cannot be ſo ſwift and readie in the winding as in the ſtreight courſe. Theſe landflouds alſo do greatlie ſtraine the fineſſe of the ſtreame, in ſo much that after a great landflood, you ſhall take haddocks with your hands beneath the bridge, as they flote aloft vpon the water, whoſe eies are ſo blinded with the thickneſſe of that element, that they cannot ſée where to become, and make ſhift to ſaue themſelues before death take hold of them. Otherwiſe the water of it ſelfe is very cléere, and in compariſon next vnto that of the ſea, which is moſt ſubtile and pure of all other; as that of great riuers is moſt excellent, in compariſon of ſmaller brookes: although Ariſtotle will haue the ſalt water to be moſt groſſe, bicauſe a ſhip will beare a greater burden on the ſea than on the freſh water; and an eg ſinke in this that ſwimmeth on the other. But he may eaſilie be anſwered by the quantitie of rome and aboundance of waters in the ſea; whereby it becommeth of more force to ſuſteine ſuch veſſels as are committed to the ſame, and wherevnto the greateſt riuers (God wot) are nothing comparable. I would here make mention of ſundrie bridges placed ouer this noble ſtreame, of which that of London is moſt chieflie to be commended, for it is in maner a cõtinuall ſtréet, well replenithed with large and ſtatelie houſes on both ſides, and ſituat vpon twentie arches, whereof ech one is made of excellent free ſquared ſtone, euerie of them being threeſcore foot in heigth, and full twentie in diſtance one from another, as I haue often viewed.

London bridge.

2000 boates vpon the Thames and 3000 pwrem maintained by the ſame whoſe gaines come in moſt plentifullie in the tearme time.

In like maner I could intreat of the infinit number of ſwans daillie to be ſéene vpon this riuer, the two thouſand wherries and ſmall boats, wherby three thouſand poore watermen are mainteined, through the cariage and recariage of ſuch perſons as paſſe or repaſſe, from time to time vpon the ſame: beſide thoſe huge tideboats, tiltbotes, and barges, which either carrie paſſengers, or bring neceſſarie proviſion from all quarters of Oxfordſhire, Barkeſhire, Buckinghamſhire, Bedfordſhire, Herfordſhire, Middleſex, Eſſex, Surrie, and Kent, vnto the citie of London. But for ſomuch as theſe things are to be repeated againe in the particular deſcription of London, annexed to his card; I ſurceaſe at this time to ſpeake anie more of them here, as not lingering but haſting to performe my promiſe made euen now, not yet forgotten, and in performance whereof I thinke it beſt to reſume the deſcription of this noble riuer againe into my hands, and in adding whatſoeuer is before omitted, to deliuer a full and perfect demonſtration of his courſe. How and where the ſaid ſtreame ariſeth, is alreadie ſufficientlie ſet downe, noting the place to be within a mile of Tetburie, whereof ſome do vtterlie miſlike, bicauſe that rill in ſummer drouths is oft ſo drie, that there is little or no water at all ſéene running aboue ground in the ſame. For this cauſe therefore manie affirme the verie head of Iſis to come from the pole aboue Kemble. Other confound it with the head of the Cirne or Chirne, called in Latine Corinium that riſeth aboue Coberleie. For my part I follow Leland, as he doth the monke of Malmesburie, which wrote the hiſtorie intituled Eulogium hiſtoriarum, who ſearched the ſame of ſet purpoſe, and pronounced with Leland, although at this preſent that courſe be verie ſmall, and choked vp (as I heare) with grauell and ſand. Proceéding therefore from the head, it firſt of all receiueth the Kemble water called the Coue, which riſeth aboue Kemble towne, goeth by Kemble it ſelfe vnto Poole and Somerford, and then (accompanieth the Thames) vnto Canes, Ashton, Canes, and Howſton, holding on in one chanell vntill they méet with the Chirne, the next of all to be deſcribed.

Iſis.

Coue.

The Chirne is a faire water ariſing out of the ground aboue Coberleie, from whence it runneth to Colwleie, Colweſburne, Randcome, and ſo into the Iſis on the left ſide aboue Crekelade. Theſe three waters being thus vnited and brought into one chanell, within a little ſpace of the head of Iſis, it runneth on by Crekelade, beneath which towne it receiueth the Rhe, deſcending from Elcombe, Eſcot, Redburne, Wildhill, & at the fall into Iſis, or not far off ioineth with another that runneth weſt of Purton by Braden forreſt, &c. Next of all our Iſis méeteth with the Amneie on the left hand, which comming from aboue Holie rode Amneie, runneth by Downe Amneie, and finallie into the Iſis a little aboue Iſeie. In like ſort I read of another that méeteth withall on the right hand aboue Iſeie alſo, which ſo far as I can call to remembrance, commeth from about Dziſield and falleth ſo into our Iſis, that they run as one vntill they come at the Colne, although not ſo nakedlie and without helpe, but that in this voiage, the maine ſtreame doth croſſe one water that deſcendeth from Swindon, and going alſo by Stratton toward Seuingham, is it ſelfe increaſed with two rils by the waie, whereof one commeth from Liddenton by Wambzeie, as I haue béene informed.

Cotinium.

Rhe.

Amneie.

The Colne is a faire riuer riſing by north nère to Witchington, & from thence goeth to Shiptons, Compton Abdale, Mittenton, Parnewzth, Colne Deanes, and Colne Rogers, Winſton, Bibcrie, Colne Alens, Quenington, Faireford, and weſt of Lachelade into the riuer Iſis, which hereabout on the ſouthſide alſo taketh in another, whereof I find this remembrance. The Iſis being once paſt Seuingham, croſſeth a brooke from ſouthweſt that mounteth about Alhbirie, and receiuing a rill from byweſt (that commeth from Hinton) beneath Shrineham, it afterward ſo diuideth it ſelfe, that the armes therof include Inglecham, and by reaſon that it falleth into the Iſis at two ſeuerall places, there is a pleſant Iland produced, whereof let this ſuffice.

Colneius, Colineus, or Colunus.

Being paſt Lechelade a mile, it runneth to ſaint Johns bridge, & there aboue méeteth with the Leche on the left hand. This brooke, whereof Lechlade taketh

Lecus or Leche.

keth the name (a towne whereunto one peece of an old vniuerſitie is aſcribed, which it did neuer poſſeſſe, more than Crekelade did the other) riſeth eaſt of Hampnet, frõ whence it goeth to north Lech, Eſſenton, Anleſworth, eaſt Lech, ſouth Thorpe, Farendon, & ſo into the Iſis. From hence this famous water goeth by Kenſkot toward Radcote bridge (taking in the rill that riſeth in an odpeece of Barkeſhire, and runneth by Langford) and being paſt the ſaid bridge (now notable through a conſpiracie made there ſometimes by ſundrie barons againſt the eſtate) it is not long yer it croſſe two other waters, both of them deſcending from another od parcell of the ſaid countie, whereof I haue this note giuen me for my further information. There are two fals of water into Iſis beneath Radcote bridge, wherof the one commeth from Shilton in Barkeſhire by Areſcote, blacke Burton and Clarrefield. The other alſo riſeth in the ſame peece, and runneth by Biſenorton vnto Bampton, and there receiuing an armelet from the firſt that breake off at blacke Burton, it is not long yer they fall into Iſis, and leaue a pretie Iland. After theſe confluences, the maine courſe of the ſtreame halleth by Shifford to Newbridge, where it ioineth with the Winruſh. The Winruſh riſeth aboue Shieburne in Gloceſterſhire, from whence it goeth to Winruſh, & cõming by Barrington, Burford, Widbroke, Swinbecke caſtell, Witneie, Duckington, Cockthorpe, Stanlake, it meeteth with the Iſis weſt by ſouth of Northmore. From hence it goeth beneath Stanton, Hartingcourt and Enſham, betweene which and Taſſinton, it receiueth (as Leland calleth it) the Bzuerne water.

Winruſh.

Bziwerus.

It riſeth aboue Limington, and going to Norton in the Marſh, and through a patch of Worceſterſhire vnto Euenlode, betweene it and the foure ſhireſtones, it taketh in a rill called Come, comming by the long and the little Comptons. After this alſo it goeth by Bradwell, Odington, and ſo to Bleddenton, aboue which towne it taketh in the Rolrich water that iſſueth at two heads, in the hils that lie by weſt of little Rolrich, and ioine aboue Kenkeham, and Church hill. From thence alſo it goeth vnto Bzuerne, Shipton vnderwood, Alcot, Short hamton, Chorlebarie, Corneburie parke, Stonfield, Longcombe, and ſoutheaſt of Wodſtocke parke, taketh in the Enis, that riſeth aboue Emſtone, and goeth to Ciddington, Glimton, Wotton (where it is increaſed with a rill that runneth thither from ſteeple Barton, by the Beechin tree) Wodſtocke, Blaidon, ſo that after this confluence, the ſaid Enis runneth to Taſſinton, and ſo into the Iſis, which goeth from hence to Orford, and there receiueth the Charwell, now preſentlie to be deſcribed.

Comus.

Rolrich.

Enis.

The head of Charwell is in Northamptonſhire, where it riſeth out of a little pole, by Charleton village, ſeuen miles aboue Banberie northeaſt, and there it iſſueth ſo faſt at the verie ſurge, that it groweth into a pretie ſtreame, in maner out of hand. Some after alſo it taketh in a rillet called the Bure, which falleth into it, about Otmere ſide: but forasmuch as it riſeth by Bincester, the whole courſe thereof is not aboue foure miles, and therefore cannot be great. A friend of mine proſecuting the reſt of this deſcription reporteth thereof as followeth. Before the Charwell commeth into Orfordſhire, it receiueth the Culen, which falleth into the ſame, a little aboue Edgcote, and ſo deſcending toward Wardington, it meeteth with another comming from by north weſt, betweene Wardington and Cropreadie. At Banberie alſo it meeteth with the Come (which falleth from fennie Conton by Farnebzo, and afterwards going by kings Sutton, not far from Aine, it receiueth the diſcharge of diuerſe rillets, in one bottome before it come at Cliſton. The ſaid water therfore ingendred of ſo manie brookelets, conſiſteth chiefelie of two, whereof the moſt ſouther lie called Oke, commeth from Oke Norton, by Witchington or Wiggington, and the Berfords; and carieng a few blind rils withall, doth meet with the other that falleth from by northweſt into the ſame, within a mile of Charwell.

Charwell.

Bure.

Culen.

Come.

That other (as I coniecture) is increaſed of three waters, wherof each one hath his ſeuerall name. The firſt of them therefore hight Tudo, which comming betweene Epwell and the Lee by Toddington, ioineth about Broughton with the ſecond that runneth from Horneton, named Ornus, as I geſſe. The laſt falleth into the Tude or Tudelake, beneath Broughton; and for that it riſeth not far from Sotteſwell in Warwikeſhire, ſome are of the opinion, that it is to be called Sothroke. The nert water that meeteth without Charwell beneath Cliſton commeth from about Croughton, and after this is the Sowar or Swere, that riſeth north of Michaell Tew, and runneth by nether Wotton. The laſt of all is the Reie *alias* Bure, whoſe head is not far aboue Burceſter, *alias* Bincester, and Burneſter: and from whence it goeth by Bureceſter to Merton, Charleton, Fencote, Addington, Noke, Iſlip, and ſo into Charwell, that holdeth on his courſe after this augmentation of the waters, betweene Wood and Water Eton, to Marſton, and the eaſt bridge of Orford by Magdalene college, and ſo beneath the ſouth bridge into our aforeſaid Iſis.

Tudo.

Ornus.

Sothroke.

Sowarus.

Sowar.

Burus.

In deſcribing this riuer, this one thing (right honorable) is come vnto my mind, touching the center and nauill as it were of England. Certes there is an hillie plot of ground in Helledon pariſh, not far from Danberie, where a man maie ſtand and behold the heads of three notable riuers, whoſe waters, and thoſe of ſuch as fall into them, do abundantlie ſerue the greateſt part of England on this ſide of the Humber. The firſt of theſe waters is the Charwell, alreadie deſcribed. The ſecond is the Leme that goeth weſtward into the fourth Auon. And the third is the head of the Nene or firſt Auon it ſelfe, of whoſe courſes there is no card but doth make ſufficient mention; and therefore your honour maie behold in the ſame how they do coaſt the countrie, and alſo meaſure by compaſſes how this plot lieth in reſpect of all the reſt, contrarie to common iudgement, which maketh Northampton to be the middeſt and center of our countrie.

Middeſt of England whereabouts.

But to go forward with my deſcription of the Muſe, which being paſt Orford goeth to Iffie, Kennington, Sanford, Rodleie, Newnham, and ſo to Abington, ſomtime called Senſham, without increaſe, where it receiueth the Oche, otherwiſe called the Coche, a little beneath S. Helens, which runneth thither of two brooklets, as I take it, whereof one commeth from Compton, out of the vale and weſt of the hill of the White horſſe, the other from Kings Letcombe, and Wantage in Barkſhire, and in one chanell, entreth into the ſame, vpon the right ſide of his courſe. From Abington likewiſe (taking the Arun withall ſouthweſt of Sutton Courtneie) it goeth by Appleford, long Wittenham, Cliſton, Wittenham the leſſe, & beneath Dorcheſter, taketh in the Thame water, from whence the Iſis loſeth the prehemminence of the whole denomination of this riuer, and is contented to impart the ſame with the Thame, ſo that by the coniunction of theſe two waters Thamesis is produced, and that name continued euen vnto the ſea.

Ocus.

Arun.

Thame riuer riſeth in the eaſterlie parts of Chilterne hils, towards Penleie parke, at a towne called Tring weſt of the ſaid parke, which is ſeauen miles from

Thame.

from the ſtone bꝛidge, that is betweene Querendon and Aillsburie (after the courſe of the water) as Leland hath ſet downe. Running therefoꝛe by long Merſton, and Puttenham, Hucket, and Bearton, it receiueth ſone after a rill that commeth by Querendon from Hardwike, and yer long an other on the other ſide that riſeth aboue Windouer in the Chilterne, and paſſing by Halton, Weſton, Turrill, Bꝛoughton, and Aillsburie, it falleth into the Tame well of the ſaid towne (except my memoꝛie doo faile me. From this confluence the Tame goeth by Echoꝛpe, the Winchingtons, Coddington, Cherſleie, Notleie abbeie: and comming almoſt to Tame, it receiueth one water from ſoutheaſt aboue the ſaid towne, and another alſo from the ſame quarter beneath the towne; ſo that Tame ſtandeth inuironed vpon thꝛée ſides with thꝛée ſeuerall waters, as maie be eaſilie ſéene. The firſt of theſe commeth from the Chiltern eaſt of Below oꝛ Bledlow, from whence it goeth to Hinton, Hoꝛſlenden, Kingſeie, Towſeie, and ſo into the Tame. The other deſcendeth alſo from the Chilterne, and going by Chinner, Crowell, Siddenham, and Tame parke, it falleth in the end into Tame water, and then they pꝛoceed togither as one by Shabbington, Ricot parke, Dꝛacot, Waterſtoke, Milton, Cuddeſdon, and Chiſelton. Here alſo it taketh in another water from by-eaſt, whoſe head commeth from Chilterne hils, not farre from Stocking church, in the waie from Oxfoꝛd to London. From whence it runneth to Weſton (and méeting beneath Curham with Watlington rill) it goeth on to Chalgraue, Stadham, and ſo into the Tame. From hence our ſtreame of Thame runneth to Newenton, Dꝛaton, Doꝛcheſter (ſometime a biſhops ſée, and a noble citie) and ſo into the Thames, which haſteth in like ſoꝛt to Benſington, Crowmarſh, oꝛ Wallingfoꝛd, where it receiueth the Blaue, deſcending from Blauebuꝛg, now Blewberie, as I learne.

Blamus.

Thus haue I bꝛought the Thames vnto Wallingfoꝛd, ſituate in the vale of White hoꝛſe that runneth a long therby. From hence it goeth by Newenham, noꝛth Stoke, ſouth Stoke, Goꝛing, Baſſilden, Pangburne, where it méeteth with a water that commeth from about Hamſted Noꝛris, runneth by Fritzelham, Buckelburie, Stanfoꝛd, Bꝛadfeld, Didmarſh and Pangburne. After which confluence it goeth on betweene Mapledoꝛham and Purleie, to Cauerſham, and Cauerſham manour, and a little beneath receiueth the Kenet that commeth thereinto from Reading.

Cenethus.

The Kenet riſeth aboue Duerton 5 oꝛ 6 miles weſt of Marleboꝛow, oꝛ Marlingſboꝛow, as ſome call it; & then going by Fiſeld, Clatfoꝛ, Maulon, & Pꝛeſhute, vnto Marleburie: it holdeth on in like oꝛder to Ramſburie, and noꝛthweſt of little Cote, taketh in a water by noꝛth deſcending from the hilles aboue Alburne chaſe weſt of Alburns town. Thence it runneth to little Cote, Charnhamſtréet, & beneth Charnhamſtréet it croſſeth the Bedwin, which (taking the Chalkburns rill withall) commeth from great Bedwine, & at Hungerfoꝛd alſo two other in one botom ſomewhat beneath the towne. From hence it goeth to Auington, Kinburie, Hamſted marſhall, Euburne, Newberie; and beneath this towne, taketh in the Lamburne water that commeth by Iſberie, Egerton, the Sheffoꝛds, Weſtfoꝛd, Boꝛfoꝛd, Donington caſtell, and Shaw. From Newberie it goeth to Thatcham, Wolhampton, Aldermaſton, a little aboue which village it receiueth the Alburne, another bꝛoke increaſed with ſundꝛie rils: and thus going on to Padwoꝛth, Olton, and Michaell, it commeth at laſt to Reading, where (as I ſaid) it ioineth with the Thames, and ſo they go foꝛward as one by Sonning to Shiplake, and there on the eaſt ſide receiue the Loddon that commeth downe thither from the ſouth, as by his courſe appéereth.

Bedwine. Chalkeburne. Lamburne. Alburnus.

The Loddon riſeth in Hamſhire betweene weſt Shirburne and Woton toward the ſouthweſt, afterward directing his courſe toward the noꝛthweſt, thoꝛough the Vine, it paſſeth at the laſt by Bꝛamlie, and thoꝛough a pæce of Wiltſhire, to Stradfield, Swallowfield, Arberfield, Loddon bꝛidge, leauing a patch of Wiltſhire on the right hand (as I haue béene informed.) This Loddon not far from Turges towne receiueth two waters in one bottome, whereof the weſterlie called Baſing water, commeth from Baſingſtoke, and thoꝛough a parke vnto the afoꝛeſaid place.

Lodunus.

The other deſcendeth of two heads from Mapledour well, and goeth by Skewes, Newenham, Rotherwic, and yer it come at Hartlie, ioineth with the Baſing water, from whence they go togither to Turges, where they méet with the Loddon (as I haue ſaid alreadie.) The next ſtreame toward the ſouth is called Ditfoꝛd bꝛoke. It riſeth not farre from Upton, goeth by Gruell, and beneath Wharnboꝛow caſtell receiueth the Ikell (comming from a parke of the ſame denomination) from whence they go togither by Maddingleie vnto Swalowfield, and ſo into the Loddon. In this voiage alſo the Loddon méeteth with the Elwie oꝛ Elueie that commeth from Alderſhare, not farre by weſt of Euerſleie: and about Eluetham likewiſe with another running from Dogmanſfield named the Douke: and alſo the third not inferioꝛ to the reſt comming from Erin, whoſe head is in Surreie, and going by Alh becommeth a limit, firſt betwéene Surreie and Hamſhire; then betwéene Hamſhire and Barkeſhire, and paſſing by Alh, Erinleie, Blacke water, Perleie, and Finchamſted; it ioineth at laſt with the Ditfoꝛd, beꝛoꝛe it come at Swalowfield. To conclude therefoꝛe with our Loddon, hauing receiued all theſe waters; and after the laſt confluence with them now being come to Loddon bꝛidge, it paſſeth on by a part of Wiltſhire to Twifoꝛd bꝛidge, then to Wargraue, and ſo into the Thames that now is maruellouſlie increaſed and growen vnto triple greatneſſe (to that it was at Oxfoꝛd.)

Ditis vadum. Ikelus. Eluetus. Ducus. Erin.

Being therefoꝛe paſt Shiplake and Wargraue, it runneth by Hoꝛſependon, oꝛ Harding: then to Henleie vpon Thames, where ſometime a great rill boideth it ſelfe in the ſame. Then to Remenham, Greneland (going all this waie from Shiplake iuſt noꝛth, and now turning eaſtwards againe) by Medenham, Hurleie, Bilham, Marlow the greater, Marlow the leſſe, it méeteth with a bꝛoke ſone after that conſiſteth of the water of two rilles, whereof the one called the Uſe, riſeth about weſt Wickham, out of one of the Chilterne hilles, and goeth from thence to eaſt Wickham oꝛ high Wickham, a pꝛetie market towne. The other named Higden, deſcendeth alſo from thoſe mountaines but a mile beneath weſt Wickham, and ioining both in one at the laſt, in the weſt end of eaſt Wickham towne, they go togither to Woburne, Hedſoꝛ, & ſo into the Thames. Some call it the Tide; and that woꝛd doo I vſe in my foꝛmer treatiſe: but to pꝛoceed. After this confluence our Thames goeth on by Cowkham, Topleie, Maidenhead, *alias* Sudlington, Bꝛaie, Doꝛneie, Clure, new Windſoꝛ (taking in neuertheleſſe, at Eaton by the waie, the Burne which riſeth out of a Hoꝛſe, & commeth thither by Burnham) old Windſoꝛ, Wraiboꝛow, and a little by eaſt therof doth croſſe the Cole, whereof I find this ſhoꝛt deſcription inſuing.

Uſa. Higden.

The Cole riſeth nére vnto Flamſted, from whence it goeth to Redburn, S. Michaels, S. Albons, Aldenham, Watfoꝛd, and ſo by Noꝛe to Richmanſwoꝛth, where there is a confluence of thꝛée waters, of

Colus, alias Vere and Uertume.

which

Gadus. which this Cole is the firſt. The ſecond called Gadus riſeth not farre from Athridge, an houſe or palace belonging to the prince: from whence it runneth to great Gaddeſdin, Hemſted, betweene Kings Langleie, and Abbots Langleie, then to Hunters, and Caſhew bridges, and ſo to Richmanſworth, receiuing by the waie a rill comming from Alburie by northweſt, to Northchurch, Barkehamſted, and beneath Hemſted ioining with the ſame. The laſt commeth in at northweſt from aboue Cheſham, by Cheſham it ſelfe, then by Cheſham Bois, Latimers, Mawdlens, Cheintes, Sarret and Richmanſworth, and ſo going on all in one chanell vnder the name of Cole, it runneth to Vrbridge, where it taketh in the Miſſenden water, from northweſt, which riſing aboue Miſſenden the greater goeth by Miſſenden the leſſe, Hagmondeſham (now Hammerſham) the Vach, Chalkhunt Giles, Chalkhunt S. Peters, Denham, and then into the Cole aboue Vrbridge (as I haue ſaid.) Soone after this our Cole doth part it ſelfe into two branches, neuer to ioine againe before they come at the Thames, for the greater of them goeth thorough the goodlie medows ſtraight to Colebrooke, the other vnto two milles, a mile and a halfe eaſt of Colebrooke, in the waie to London, leauing an Iland betweene them of no ſmall ſize and quantitie.

Windeles. Being paſt the Cole, we come to the fall of the Windeles, which riſeth by northweſt neere vnto Bagſhot, from whence it goeth to Windleſham, Chobham, and meeting with a brooklet comming weſtward from Billeie, they run togither toward Cherteſeie, where when they haue met with a ſmall rill riſing north of Sonning hill in Windleſoure great parke, it falleth into the Thames on the northeaſt ſide of Cherteſeie. When we were come beyond this water, it was not long yer we came vnto another on the ſame ſide, that fell into the Thames betweene Shepperton on the one ſide, and Oteland on the other, and is called the Waie. The Weie or the Waie riſing by weſt, commeth from Dlked, & ſome after taking the Hedleie brooke withall (which riſeth in Wulmere forreſt, and goeth by Hedleie and Frenſham) haſteth by Bentleie, Farnham, Alton, Waiberleie, Elſted, and ſo to Pepper harrow, where it ioineth with the Thurelbie water, which commeth not farre off from a village of the ſame denomination. From hence alſo it goeth to Godalming, and then toward Shalford, but yer it come there, it croſſeth Craulie becke, which riſing ſomewhere about the edge of Suſſer ſhort of Ridgewie, goeth by Wacherie parke, Knoll, Craulie, Bramleie, Monarſh, and ſo into the Waie. From hence then our riuer goeth to Shalford, and ſoone after (meeting with the Abbinger water that commeth by Shere, Albirie, and the chappell on the hill) it proceedeth to Guldsford, thence to Stoke, Sutton in the parke, Send, Woking, and at Newarke parke ſide taketh in a brooke that riſeth of two heads, whereof one doth ſpring betweene two hils north of Pepper harrow, and ſo runneth through Henleie parke, the other aboue Purbright, and afterward ioining in one, they go forth vnto Newarke, and being there vnited, after the confluence it goeth to Purford court, to Biſſer, Waifred, Oteland, and ſo into the Thames.

Thurelbie. Crawleie. Abbinger.

Wolis. From Oteland the Thames goeth by Walton, Sunburie, weſt Moulſete, Hampton, and yer it come at Hampton court on the northſide, and eaſt Moulſeie on the other, it taketh in the Moule water, which giueth name vnto the two townes that ſtand on each ſide of the place, where it falleth into our ſtreame. It riſeth in Wood forreſt, and going by Burſtow, it meeteth afterward with another gullet, conteining a ſmall courſe from two ſeuerall heads, whereof one is alſo in the forreſt aforenamed, the other runneth from Bebuſh wood, and comming by Iſeld, meeteth with the firſt aboue Horleie, and ſo run on in one chanell, I ſaie, till they ioine with the Moule water, whereof I ſpake before.

After this confluence in like ſort, it is not long yer the Moule take in another from by north, which commeth from about Pelham on the one ſide, and another on the other ſide, running by Dleie and Capell, and whereinto alſo a branch or rill commeth from a wood on the northweſt part. Finallie, being thus increaſed with theſe manie rilles, it goeth by eaſt Bechewoorth, weſt Bechewoorth, and ouer againſt the Swalow on the ſide of Drake hill, taking in another that cõmeth thither from Wotton by Darking and Milton, it runneth to Mickleham, Letherhed, Stoke, Cobham, Athire parke, eaſt Moulſeie, and ſo into the Thames, which after this conſunction goeth on to Kingſton, and there alſo meeteth with another becke, riſing at Ewell ſouth of Nonſuch. Certes, this rill goeth from Ewell by the old parke, then to Pauldon, & ſo to Kingſton towne. The Thames in like maner being paſt Kingſton, goeth to Tuddington, Peterſham, Twickenham, Richmond, and Shene, where it receiueth a water on the northweſt ſide, which comming from about Harrow on the hill, and by weſt of the ſame, goeth by Hales, Harlington, Felthan, and Thiſſlewoorth into the Thames.

Stur.

Veius.

Crawleie.

Abbinger.

Brane. The next fall of water is at Sion, neere vnto new Brainford, ſo that it iſſueth into the Thames betweene them both. This water is called Brane, that is in the Britiſh tong (as Leland ſaith) a frog. It riſeth about Edgewoorth, and commeth from thence by Kingeſburie, Twiford, Perſuall, Yanwell, and Aukerleie. Thence we followed our riuer to old Brentford, Mortlach, Cheſwike, Barnelmes, Fulham, and Putneie, beneath which townes it croſſed a becke from Wandleſworth, that riſeth at Woodmans turne, and going by Eaſthalton, meeteth another comming from Croidon by Bedington, and ſo going on to Mitcham, Marton abbeie, and Wandleſworth, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. Next vnto this is Mariburne rill on the other ſide, which commeth in by S. James, ſo that by this time we haue either brought the Thames, or the Thames conueied vs to London, where we reſted for a ſeaſon to take view of the ſeuerall tides there, of which each one differeth from other, by foure & twentie minuts, that is fortie eight in a whole daie, as I haue noted before, except the wether alter them. Being paſt London, and in the waie toward the ſea: the firſt water that it meeteth withall, is the Brome on Kent ſide, weſt of Greenewich, whoſe head is Bromis in Bromleie pariſh, and going from thence to Lewſham, it taketh in a water from by eaſt, and ſo directeth his courſe forth right vnto the Thames.

Mariburne. Bromis.

The next water that it meeteth withall, is on Eſſex ſide, almoſt againſt Woolwich, and that is the Lee or Luie, whoſe head riſeth ſhort of Hempton in Hertfordſhire, foure miles ſoutheaſt of Luton, ſometime called Logodunum or Logrodunum, & going through a peece of Brokehall parke (leauing Woodhall parke on the north, and Hatfield on the ſouth, with another parke adioining) it goeth toward Hartford towne. But yer it come there, it receiueth a water (peraduenture the Parran) riſing at northweſt in Brodewater hundred, from aboue Welwin, northeaſt of Digeſwell, and going to Hartingfeld burie, where the ſaid confluence is within one mile of the towne. Beneath Hatfield alſo it receiueth the Beane (as I geſſe) comming from Borwod by Benington, Aſton, Watton, and Stapleford, and a little lower, the third arme of increaſe from aboue Ware, which deſcendeth from two heads: whereof the greateſt commeth

Lee. Logus. Alfred. Parran. Beane.

meth from Barkewaie in Edwinſter hundred, the other Sandon in Oddeſey hundred, and after they be met beneath little Hornemeade, they go togither by Pulcherchurth, or Puckrich, Stonden, Thunderidge Wadeſmill, Benghow, and ſo into the Lée, which from hence runneth on till it come at Ware, which was drowned by the rage of the ſame 1408, and ſo to Amwell, where on the north ſide it receiueth the warer that commeth from little Hadham, through a peece of Singleſhall parke, then by great Hadham, and ſo from Widford to the aforeſaid towne. From hence alſo they go as one to old Stanſted called Le Veil, branching in ſuch wiſe yer it come there, that it runneth through the towne in ſundrie places. Thence it goeth forth to Abbats Stanſted, beneath which it méeteth with the Stoure, weſt (as I remember) of Roidon. This Sture riſeth at Wenden lotes, from whence it goeth to Langleie, Clauering, Berden, Hanhuden, & Birchanger (where it taketh a rill comming from Elſingham, & Stanſted Mountfitchet.) The it hieth on to Biſhops Stourford, Sabrichford, and beneath this towne croſſeth with another from the eaſt ſide of Elſingham, that goeth to Hatfield, Brodocke, Shiring, Harlo, & ſo into the Stoure, and from whence they go togither to Eaſtwic, Parnedon, and next into the Lée. Theſe things being thus performed, the Lée runneth on beneath Hoddeſdon, Broxburne, and Wormleie, where a water breaketh out by weſt of the maine ſtreame, a mile lower than Wormeleie it ſelfe, but yet within the paroch, and is called Wormeleie locke. Sturus.

It runneth alſo by Cheſton nunrie, and out of this a little beneath the ſaid houſe, breaketh an arme called the Shirelake, becauſe it diuideth Eaſſex and Hartford ſhire in ſunder, and in the length of one medow called Fritheie. This lake runneth not but at great flouds, and méeteth againe with a ſuccor of ditchwater, at a place called Hockeſdich, halfe a mile from his firſt breaking out, and halfe a mile lower at Marſh point ſoineth againe with the ſtreame from whence it came before. Thence commeth the firſt arme to S. Paulie bridge (the firſt bridge weſtward vpon that riuer) vpon Waltham cauſie, & halfe a mile lower than Paulie bridge, at the corner of Ramnie mead, it méeteth with the kings ſtreame & principall courſe of Luy, or Lée, as it is commonlie called. The ſecond arme breaketh out of the kings ſtreame at Halifield halfe a mile lower than Cheſton nunrie, and ſo to the fulling mill, and two bridges by weſt of the kings ſtreame, wherinto it falleth about a ſtones caſt lower at a place called Malkins ſhelfe, except I was wrong informed. Cheſton & Hartfordſhire men doo ſaie, that the kings ſtreame at Waltham doth part Hartfordſhire and Eſſex, but the Eſſex men by forreſt charter doo plead their liberties to hold vnto S. Paulies bridge. On the eaſt ſide alſo of the kings ſtreame breaketh out but one principall arme at Halifield, three quarters of a mile aboue Waltham, & ſo goeth to the corne mill in Waltham, and then to the R. ſtreame againe a little beneath the kings bridge.

From hence the Lée runneth on by ſouth on Waltonſtow till it come to Stretford Langthorne, where it brancheth partlie of it ſelfe, and partlie by mans induſtrie for mils. Howbeit herein the dealing of Alfred (ſometimes king of England) was not of ſmalleſt force, who vnderſtanding the Danes to be gotten vp with their ſhips into the countrie, thereto kill and ſlaie his ſubiects, in the yeere of grace 896, by the conduct of this riuer: he in the meane time before they could returne, did ſo mightilie weaken the maine chanell, by drawing great numbers of trenches from the ſame; that when they purpoſed to come backe, there was nothing ſo much water left as the ſhips did draw: wherefore being ſet on ground, they Alfred.

were ſome fired, & the aduerſaries ouercome. By this policie alſo much medow ground was woone, & made firme land, whereby the countrie about was not a little inriched, as was alſo a part of Aſſyria by the like practiſe of Cyrus with the Ganges, at ſuch time as he came againſt Babylon, which riuer before time was in maner equall with Euphrates. For he was ſo offended, that one of his knights whom he loued déerlie, was drowned and borne awaie with the water in his paſſage ouer the ſame, that he ſware a déepe oth, yer long to make it ſo ſhallow that it ſhould not wet a woman to the knées. Which came to paſſe, for he cauſed all his armie to dig 46 new drames frō the ſame, wherby the vow that he had made was at the full performed. *Senec. de Tra. li. 3.* But to conclude with the Lée that ſomtime ouerflowed all thoſe medowes, through which it paſſeth (as for a great waie not inferior to the Thames) and I find that being paſt Weſtham, it is not long yer it fall into that ſtreame. One thing I read more of this riuer before the conqueſt, that is, how Edward the firſt, & ſonne of Alfred, in the yeare of grace 912, builded Hartford towne: at which time alſo he had Wittham a towne in Eſſex in hand, as his ſiſter called Aelfled repaired Orford & London, and all this foure yeares before the building of Maldon, of ſome called Hertford or Herudford betweene three waters, that is, the Lée, the Beneſuth, and Hemmarran, or rather Penmarran: but how theſe waters are diſtinguiſhed in theſe daies, as yet I cannot tell. It is poſſible, that the Bene may be the ſame which commeth by Benington, and Benghow: which if it be ſo, then muſt the Hemmarran be the ſame that deſcendeth from Whitwell, for not farre from thence is Branfield, which might in time paſt right well be called Parranfield, for of like inuerſion of names I could ſhew manie examples.

Being paſt the Lée (whoſe chanell is begun to be purged 1576, with further hope to bring the ſame to the north ſide of London) we come vnto the Rodon, vpon Eſſex ſide in like maner, and not verie farre (for foure miles is the moſt) from the fall of the Lée. This water riſeth at little Canfield, from whence it goeth to great Canfield, high Roding, Ethorpe Roding, Ledon Roding, White Roding, Beauchampe Roding, Fifeld, Shelleie, high Ongar, and Cheping Ongar, where the Lauer falleth into it, that ariſeth betwixt Matching and high Lauer; and taking another rill withall comming from aboue Northweld at Cheping Ongar, they ioine (I ſaie) with the Rodon, after which confluence Leland coniectureth that the ſtreame is called Iuell: for my part, I wot not what to ſay of it. But herof I am ſure, that the whole courſe being paſt Ongar, it goeth to Stanſted riuers, Theldon mount, Helbridge, Chigwell, Woodford bridge, Ilford bridge, Barking, & ſo into the Thames. Rodon or Rodunus. Lauer. Iuelus.

The Darwent méeteth with our ſaid Thames vpon Kents ſide, two miles and more beneath Erith. It riſeth at Tanridge, or there abouts, as I haue béene informed by Chriſtopher Saxtons card late made of the ſame, and the like (I hope) he will doo in all the ſeuerall ſhires of England at the infinit charges of ſir Thomas Sackford knight, & maiſter of the requeſts, whoſe zeale vnto his countrie hérin I cannot but remember, & ſo much the rather, for that he meaneth to imitate Ortelius, & ſomewhat beſide this hath holpen me in the names of the townes, by which theſe riuers for the Kentiſh part do run. Would to God his plats were once finiſhed for the reſt! But to proceed. The Darwent therefore, riſing at Tanridge, goeth on by Titſeie toward Brazſted, and receiuing on ech ſide of that towne (& ſeuerall bankes) a riuer or rill, it goeth on to Rockhold, Shorham, Kinſford, Horton, Darnhith, Dartford or Derwentford, & there taking in the Craie on the left hand that coms from Orpington by Darwent. Craie.

Marie Crate, Paules Crate, North Crate, and Crailford, it is not long yer it fall into the Thames. But after I had vnce paſſed the fall of the bꝛoke, it is a woꝛld to ſée what plentie of Serephium groweth vpon the Kentiſh ſhoꝛe, in whoſe deſcription Fuchſius hath not a little halted: whileſt he giueth foꝛth the hearbe Argentaria foꝛ Serephium, betweene which there is no maner of likelihood. This neuertheleſſe is notable in the ſaid hearbe, that being tranſlated into the garden, it receiueth another foꝛme cleane different from the firſt, which it yéelded when it grew vpon the ſhoꝛe, and therevnto appeareth of moꝛe fat & ſoggie ſubſtance. Which maketh me to thinke that our phyſicians do take it foꝛ a diſtinct kind of woꝛmewood, whereof controuerſie ariſeth among them. The next water that falleth into the Thames, is weſt of the Wauie Iles, a rill of no great fame, neither long courſe, foꝛ riſing about Coꝛingham, it runneth not manie miles eaſt and by ſouth, yer it fall into the mouth of this riuer, which I do now deſcribe.

I would haue ſpoken of one creéke that commeth in at Cliffe, and another that runneth downe from Haltſto by S. Maries: but ſith I vnderſtand not with what backewaters they be ſerued, I let them paſſe as not ſkilfull of their courſes. And thus much of the riuers that fall into the Thames, wherein I haue done what I inaie, but not what I would foꝛ mine owne ſatisfaction, till I came from the head to Lechlade, vnto which, as in lieu of a farewell, I will aſcribe that diſtichon which Apollonius Rhodius wꝛiteth of the Thermodon:

Huic non eſt aliud flumen par, nec tot in agros
Vllum dimittit riuos quot fundit vtrinque.

Midwaie. Next vnto the Thames we haue the Midwaie water, whereof I find two deſcriptions, the firſt beginneth thus. The Midwaie water is called in Latine Medeuia (as ſome wꝛite) bicauſe the courſe therof is midwaie in a manner betweene London and Dorobernia, oꝛ (as we now call it) Canturburie. In Britiſh it hight Dourbrée: and thereof Rocheſter was ſometime called Durobꝛenum. But in an old charter which I haue ſeene (conteining a donation ſometime made to the monaſterie of ſaint Andꝛews there by Ceadwalla) I find that the Saxons called this riuer Wedꝛing; and alſo a towne ſtanding betweene Palling and eaſt Farleie, Wedꝛington; and finallie, a foꝛreſt alſo of the ſame denomination, Wedꝛington, now Waterdon, wherby the oꝛiginall name appeareth to be fetched from this ſtreame. It ariſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt eaſt of Whetlin oꝛ Wedꝛing, and ioineth with another bꝛoke that deſcendeth from Ward foꝛreſt in Suſſex: and after this confluence they go on togither, as one by Aſhhirſt, where hauing receiued alſo the ſecond bꝛoke, it haſteth to Penſherſt, and there carrieth withall the Eden, that commeth from Lingfield parke. After this it goeth to the ſoutheaſt part of Kent, and taketh with it the Frith oꝛ Firth, on the noꝛthweſt ſide, and an other little ſtreame that commeth from the hilles, betweene Peuenburie and Hoꝛſemon on the ſoutheaſt. From thence alſo, and not farre from Palling it receiueth the Theiſe (a pꝛetie ſtreame that ariſeth about Theiſe Hirſt) & afterward the Gran oꝛ Crane, which hauing his head not farre from Cranbꝛoke, and méeting with ſundꝛie other riuelets by the waie, whereof one bꝛanch of Theiſe is the laſt, foꝛ it parteth at the Twiſt, and including a pꝛetie Iland, doth ioine with the ſaid Midwaie, a little aboue Palding, and then with the Lowſe. Finallie at Maidſtone it méeteth with another bꝛoke, whoſe name I know not, and then paſſeth by Allington, Dutton, Newhide, Halling, Cuckſtane, Rocheſter, Chatham, Gillingham, Upchurch, Kingſferrie, and falleth into the maine ſea betweene Shepeie and the Grane.

Frethus. Theiſe. Grane *alias* Cranus.

And thus much out of the firſt authour, who commendeth it alſo, foꝛ that in time paſt it did yéeld ſuch plentie of ſturgeon, as beſide the kings poꝛtion, and a due vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie out of the ſame, the deane and chapter of Rocheſter had no ſmall allowance alſo of that commoditie: likewiſe foꝛ the ſhꝛimps that are taken therein, which are no leſſe eſteemed of in their kind, than the weſterne ſmelts oꝛ flounders taken in the Thames, &c. The ſecond authour deſcribeth it after this manner, and moꝛe copiouſlie than the other.

The cheefe head of this ſtreame riſeth in Waterdon foꝛreſt, from whence after it hath runne a pꝛetie waie ſtill within the ſame, eaſt of Whetlin, it méeteth with a bꝛoke, whoſe head is in Ward foꝛreſt, ſouthweſt of Grœneſted, which goeth to Hartfield, and ſo to Whetlin, and yer long ioineth with the Midwaie. After this confluence it is not long yer it take in another by-weſt from Cowden ward, and the third aboue Penſherſt, growing from two heads, whereof one is in Lingfield parke, the other weſt of Crawherſt; and ioining aboue Edinbꝛidge, it doth fall into the midwaie beneath Heuer towne, and Chiddingſton. From Penſherſt our maine ſtreame haſteth to Ligh, Tunbꝛidge, and Twidleie, and beneath the towne, it croſſeth a water from Noꝛth, whereof one head is at the Mote, another at Wꝛeteham, the third at weſt Peckham, & likewiſe another from ſouthweſt, that runneth eaſt of Capell. Next after this it receiueth the Theſe, whoſe foꝛked head is at Theiſe Hirſt, which deſcending downe toward the noꝛth, taketh in not farre from Scotnie a bꝛoke out of the noꝛthſide of Waterden foꝛreſt, whoſe name I find not, except it be the Dour. After this confluence our riuer goeth to Goldhirſt, and comming to the Twiſt, it bꝛancheth in ſuch wiſe, that one part of it runneth into Midwaie, another into the Garan, oꝛ rather Cranebꝛoke (if my coniecture be ante thing.) The Garan (as Leland calleth it) oꝛ the Crane (as I do take it) riſeth néere to Cranebꝛoke, and going by Sillinghirſt, it receiueth yer long one water that commeth by Fretingdon, and another that runneth from great Chard by Smerdon, and Hedcoꝛne, croſſing two rilles by the waie from by noꝛth, Hedcoꝛne it ſelfe ſtanding betweene them both. Finallie, the Garan oꝛ Crane méeting with Midwaie ſouth of Palling, they on the one ſide, and the Theſe on the other, leaue a pꝛetie Iland in the middeſt, of foure miles in length, and two in bꝛeadth, wherein is ſome hillie ſoile, but neither towne noꝛ village, ſo farre as I remember. Garunus, Cranus.

From Palling foꝛward, the Midwaie goeth to weſt Farlegh, eaſt Farlegh: and yer it come at Maidſtone, it interteineth a rill that riſeth ſhoꝛt of Jenham, and goeth by Ledes and Otteringden, which is verie beneficiall to clothiers in dꝛie yéeres: foꝛ thither they conueie their clothes to be thicked at the fulling milles, ſometimes ten miles foꝛ the ſame: there is alſo at Ledes great plentie of fulling earth, which is a neceſſarie commoditie.

Being paſt Maidſtone, it runneth by Allington, Snodland, Halling, Cuckſtane, and Rocheſter, where it paſſeth vnder a faire bꝛidge of ſtone, with a verie ſwift courſe, which bꝛidge was begun 1388 by the lord John Cobham, the ladie Margaret his wife, and the valiant ſir Robert Knolles, who gaue the firſt onſet vpon that péece of woꝛke, and therevnto builded a chapell of the Trinitie at the end therof, in teſtimonie of his pietie. In pꝛoceſſe of time alſo one John Warner of Rocheſter made the new coping thereof; and archbiſhop Warham of Canturburie the iron barres: the biſhops alſo of that ſée were not ſlacke in their benevolence and furtherances toward

that

that woꝛke, eſpecíallie Walter Merton founder of Merton colledge in Oxford, who by miſfoꝛtune periſhed by falling from the ſame, as he rode to ſurueie the woꝛkemen. Being paſt Rocheſter, this noble riuer goeth to Chatham, Gillingham, Apchurin, and ſone after bꝛanching, it imbꝛaceth the Greene at his fall, as his two heads dw Aſhdon foꝛreſt, that lieth betweene them both.

Of ſuch ſtreames as fall into the ſea, betweene the Thames and the mouth of the Sauerne.

Chap. 12.

Stoure.

Nailburne water alſo (as I heare) neer to Cantwarbꝛie, but I wote not whereabouts: ſee Marianus Scotus.

Wantſome.

Dour.

AFter the Midwaie we haue the Stoure that riſeth at Kingeſwood, which is fourteene oꝛ fiftéene miles from Canturburie. This riuer paſſeth by Aſhfoꝛd, Wie, Packington, Canturburie, Foꝛdich, Standich, and Stuꝛemouth, where it receiueth another riuer growing of thꝛee bꝛanches. After our Stoure oꝛ Stuꝛe parteth it ſelf in twaine, & in ſuch wiſe, that one arme therof goeth toward the noꝛth, and is called (when it commeth at the ſea) the noꝛth mouth of Stoure; the other runneth ſoutheaſt ward vp to Richboꝛow, and ſo to Sandwich, from whence it goeth noꝛtheaſt againe and falleth into the ſea. The iſſue of this later tract is called the hauen of Sandwich. And peraduenture the ſtreame that commeth dowme thither, after the diuiſion of the Stoure, maie be the ſame which Beda calleth Wantſome; but as I cannot vndo this knot at will, ſo this is certeine, that the Stoure on the one ſide, and peraduenture, the Wantſome on the other, parteth and cutteth the Tenet from the maine land of Kent, whereby it is left foꝛ an Iland.

There are other little bꝛookes which fall into the Stoure, whereof Leland ſpeaketh, as Filhpoole becke that ariſeth in Stonehirſt wood, and mæteth with it foure miles from Canturburie: another beginneth at Chillet, and goeth into the Stoure gut, which ſometime incloſed Thanet, as Leland ſaith: the third iſſueth out of the ground at Noꝛthburne (where Eadbert of Kent ſometime paſt held his palace) and runneth to Sandwich hauen, as the ſaid authour repoꝛteth: and the fourth called Bꝛidgewater that riſeth by S. Marie Burne church, and going by Biſhops Burne, mæteth with Canturburie water at Stourmouth: alſo Wiham that riſeth aboue Wiham ſhoꝛt of Adſam, and falleth into Bꝛidgewater at Dudmill, oꝛ Wenderton: and the third nameleſſe, which riſeth ſhoꝛt of Wodenſburgh (a towne wherein Hengiſt & the Saxons honoꝛed their grand idoll Woden, oꝛ Othine) and goeth by Staple to Wingam: but ſith they aꝛe obſcure I will not touch them here. From hence paſſing by the Godwine, a plot verie perilous foꝛ ſea-faring men (ſometime firme land, that is, vntill the tenth of the conqueꝛours ſonne, whoſe name was William Rufus, and wherein a great part of the inheritance of erle Godwine in time paſt was knowne to lie) but eſcaping it with eaſe, we came at length to Douer. In all which voiage we found no ſtreame, by reaſon of the cliffes that inuiron the ſaid coaſt. Howbeit vpon the ſouth ſide of Douer, there is a pꝛettie freſh riuer, whoſe head ariſeth at Erwell, not paſſing foure miles from the ſea, and of ſome is called Dour, which in the Bꝛitiſh tong is a common name foꝛ waters, as is alſo the old Bꝛitiſh woꝛd Auon foꝛ the greateſt riuers, into whoſe mouthes oꝛ falles ſhippes might find ſafe entrance; and therefoꝛe ſuch aꝛe in my time called hauens, a new woꝛd growen by an aſpiration added to the old: the Scots call it Auen. But moꝛe of this elſe-where, ſith I am now onelie to ſpeake of Dour, whꝛof it is likelie that the towne & caſtell of Douer did ſometime take the name. From hence we go toward the Camber (omitting peraduenture here and there ſundꝛie ſmall creeks void of backwater by the waie) whereabouts the Rother a noble riuer falleth into the ſea. This Rother ſeparateth Suſſex from Kent, and hath his head in Suſſex, not farre from Argas hill neere to Waterden foꝛreſt, and from thence diꝛecteth his courſe vnto Rotherfield. After this it goeth to Ethlingham oꝛ Yitchingham, and ſo foꝛth by Newendon vnto Patthams ferrie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one bꝛanch thereof goeth to Appledoure (where is a caſtell ſometime builded by the Danes, in the time of Alfred, as they did erect another at Middleton, and the third at Beamflete) and at this towne, where it mæteth the Bilie that riſeth about Bilſington, the other by Iden, ſo that it includeth a fine parcell of ground called Orneie, which in time paſt was reputed as a parcell of Suſſex; but now vpon ſome occaſion oꝛ other (to me vnknowne) annexed vnto Kent. From hence alſo growing into ſome greatneſſe, it runneth to Rie, where it mæteth finallie with the Becke, which commeth from Beckleie: ſo that the plot wherein Rie ſtandeth, is in manner a by-land oꝛ peninſula, as experience doth confiꝛme. Leland and moſt men are of the likelieſt opinion, that this riuer ſhould be called the Limen, which (as Peter of Cornhull ſaith) doth iſſue out of Andꝛedeſwald, where the head thereof is knowne to be. Certes, I am of the opinion, that it is called the Rother vnto Appledoure, & from thence the Limen, bicauſe the Danes are noted to enter into theſe parts by the Limen; and ſailing on the ſame to Appledoure, did there begin to foꝛtifie, as I haue noted alreadie. Yoꝛwbeit, in our time it is knowne by none other name than the Rother oꝛ Appledoure water, whereof let this ſuffice.

Rother.

Bilie.

Becke.

Limenus.

Being thus croſſed ouer to the weſt ſide of Rie hauen, & in viewing the iſſues that fall into the ſame, I mæt firſt of all with a water that groweth of two bꝛookes, which come dowme by one chanell into the eaſt ſide of the mouth of the ſaid poꝛt. The firſt therfoꝛe that falleth into it deſcendeth from Beckleie oꝛ thereabouts (as I take it) the next runneth along by Peſemarſh, & ſone after ioining with all, they hold on as one, till they fall into the ſame at the weſterlie ſide of Rie: the third ſtreame commeth from the noꝛth, and as it mounteth vp not farre from Punfield, ſo it runneth betweene Seſcambe and Wacklinton neere vnto Bꝛead, taking another rill withall that riſeth (as I heare) not verie far from Weſtfield. There is likewiſe a fourth that groweth of two heads betweene Ielingham and Pet, and going by Winchelſeie it mæteth with all about Rie hauen, ſo that Winchelſeie ſtandeth inuironed on thꝛée parts with water, and the ſtreames of theſe two that I haue laſt rehearſed.

The water that falleth into the Ocean, a mile by ſouthweſt of Haſtings, oꝛ therabouts, is called Æſtus oꝛ Aſten: perhaps of Haſten oꝛ Haſting the Dane, (who in time paſt was a plague to France and England) & riſing not far from Penhirſt, it mæteth with the ſea (as I heare) by eaſt of Hollington. Buluerhith is but a creeke (as I remember) ſerued with no backewater; and ſo I heare of Codding oꝛ Old hauen, wherefoꝛe I meane not to touch them.

Aeſtus.

Bulnerhithe.

Into Peuenſeie hauen diuerſe waters dw reſoꝛt, and of theſe, that which entereth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide riſeth out from two heads, whereof the moſt eaſterlie is called Alh, the nert vnto the Burne, and vniting themſelues not farre from Alhburne, they continue their courſe vnder the name and title of Alhburne water, as I read. The ſecond that commeth thereinto iſſueth alſo of two heads, whereof the one is ſo manie miles from Boꝛeham, the other not

Peuenſeie.

Aſh.

Burne.

far from the Parke eaſt of Hellingſtowne, and both of them concurring ſouthweſt of Hirſtmonſeux, they direct their courſe toward Peuenſeie (beneath which they meet with another riſing at Foington) and thence go in one chanell for a mile or more, till they fall togither into Peuenſeie hauen. The Cuckmer iſſueth out at ſeuerall places, and hereof the more eaſterlie branch commeth from Warbleton ward, the other from Biſhops wood, and meeting beneth Halling, they run in one bottome by Wicham Arlington, Wellington, old Frithſtan, and ſo into the ſea.

Cucomarus.

Lis, *ni fallor.*

Vnto the water that commeth out at Newhauen, ſundrie brookes and riuerets doo reſort, but the chiefe head riſeth toward the weſt, ſomewhat betweene Etchinford and Shepleie, as I heare. The firſt water therefore that falleth into the ſame on the eaſt ſide, iſſueth out of the ground about Uertwood, and running from thence by Langhton and Ripe, on the weſt ſide, it falleth into the aforeſaid riuer beneath Forle and Glime, or three miles lower than Lewis, if the other buttall like you not. The nert herevnto hath his head in Argas hill, the third deſcendeth from Aſhedon forreſt, and ioining with the laſt mentioned, they croſſe the maine riuer a little beneath Iſefield. The fourth water commeth from Aſhedon forreſt by Horſted Caines (or Duſſefate Caines) and falleth into the ſame, likewiſe eaſt of Linfield. Certes I am deceiued if this riuer be not called Iſis, after it is paſt Iſefield. The fift riſeth about Stonuelgate, and meeteth alſo with the maine ſtreame aboue Linfield, and theſe are knowen to lie vpon the right hand as we rowed vp the riuer. On the other ſide are onelie two, whereof the firſt hath his originall nære vnto Wenefield, and holding on his courſe toward the eaſt, it meeteth with his maiſter betweene Newicke and Iſefield (or Iſield) as ſome read it. The laſt of all commeth from Plimodune or Plumpton, and hauing met in like ſort with the maine riuer about Barcham, it runneth forth with it, & they reſt in one chanell by Barcham, Hamſeie, Malling, Lewis, Piddingburne, and ſo forth into the maine.

Sturewell.

Plimus.

The nert riuer that we came vnto weſt of Brighthemſton is the Soze, which notwithſtanding I find to be called Brember water, in the ancient map of Marton colledge in Oxford: but in ſuch ſort (as I take it) as the Rother or Limen is called Appledoure ſtreame, becauſe of the ſaid towne that ſtandeth thervpon. But to proceed, it is a pleaſant water, & thereto if you conſider the ſituation of his armes, and branches from the higher grounds, verie much reſembling a foure ſtringed whip. Whereabout the head of this riuer is, or which of theſe branches may ſafelie be called Soza from the riſing, in good ſooth I cannot ſay. For after we had paſſed nine or ten miles thereon vp into the land, ſuddenlie the croſſe waters ſtopped vs, ſo that we were inforced to turne either eaſt or weſt, for directlie forth-right we had no waie to go. The firſt arme on the right hand as we went, riſeth out of a parke by ſouth of Alborne, and going on for a certeine ſpace toward the northweſt, it turneth ſouthward betweene Shermonburie and Twinham, and ſone after meeteth with the Bimar, not much ſouth from Shermonburie, whence they run togither almoſt two miles, till they fall into the Soze. That on the weſt ſide deſcendeth from about Billingeſhirſt, & going toward the eaſt, it croſſeth with the fourth (which riſeth a litle by weſt of Thacam) eaſt from Pulborow, and ſo they run as one into the Soze, that after this confluence hafteth it ſelfe ſouthward by Bzember, Burlois, the Combes, and yer long into the Ocean.

Soza.

Bimarus.

The Arun (of which beſide Arundell towne the caſtell and the vallie wherin it runneth is called Vallis Aruntina, or Arundale in Engliſh) is a goodlie water, and thereto increaſed with no ſmall number of excellent & pleaſant brookes. It ſpringeth vp of two heads, whereof one deſcendeth from the north not far from Gretham, and going by Lis, meeteth with the nert ſtreame (as I geſſe) about Dourſford houſe. The ſecond riſeth by weſt from the hils that lie toward the riſing of the ſunne from Eaſt maine, and runneth by Peterfield. The third commeth from Berton ward, and ioineth with the ſecond betweene Peterfield and Dourſford, after which confluence they go togither in one chanell ſtill toward the eaſt (taking a rill with them that commeth betweene Fernehirſt and S. Lukes chappell, ſouthweſt of Linchmere, and meeting with it eaſt of Loddeſworth (as I doo read, and likewiſe ſundrie other in one chanell beneath Stopham) to Waltham, Burie, Houghton, Stoke, Arundell, Tortington ford, Climping (all on the weſt ſide) and ſo into the ſea.

Arunus.

Hauing thus deſcribed the weſt ſide of Arun, let vs doo the like with the other in ſuch ſort as we beſt may. The firſt riuer that we come vnto therfore on the eaſt ſide, and alſo the ſecond, riſe of ſundrie places in S. Leonards forreſt, & ioining a little aboue Horſham, they meet with the third, which commeth from Iſield parke, not verie farre from Slinfeld. The fourth hath two heads, whereof one riſeth in Witleie parke, the other by weſt, nære vnto Heſelmere chappell, and meeting by weſt of Dourſfeld, they vnite themſelues with the chanell, growing by the confluence that I ſpake of beneath Slinfeld, a little aboue Billingſhirſt. The laſt water commeth from the hils aboue Linchemere, and runneth weſt and ſouth, and paſſing betweene Billingſhirſt and Stopham, it commeth vnto the chanell laſt mentioned, and ſo into the Arun beneath Stopham, without anie further increaſe, at the leaſt that I doo heare of.

Burne hath his iſſue in a parke nære Aldingburrie (or rather a little aboue the ſame toward the north, as I haue ſince bene informed) and running by the bottomes toward the ſouth, it falleth betweene north Berſlete and Flecham. Erin riſeth of ſundrie heads, by eaſt of Erinleie, and directing his courſe toward the ſunne riſing, it peninſulateth Seleſeie towne on the ſouthweſt and Pagham at northweſt. Deel ſpringeth about Benderton, and thence running betweene middle Lauant and eaſt Lauant, it goeth by weſt of weſt Hampnet, by eaſt of Chicheſter, or weſt of Rumbaldeſdowne, and afterward by Fiſhburne, where it meeteth with a rill comming north weſt from Funtingdon (a little beneath the towne) & then running thus in one ſtreame toward the ſea, it meeteth with another rillet comming by north of Bolham, and ſo into Auant gulfe by eaſt of Thorneie Iland.

Burne.

Elin.

Delus.

The Racon riſeth by eaſt of Racton or Racodunum (as Leland calleth it) and comming by Chidham, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Thorneie aforeſaid. The Emill commeth firſt betweene Racton and Stanſted, then downe to Emilſworth or Emmeſworth, & ſo vnto the Ocean, ſeparating Suſſex from Hamphire almoſt from the very head. Hauing in this maner paſſed along the coaſts of Suſſex, the nert water that I remember, riſeth by eaſt of the forreſt of Eſſbirie, from whence it goeth by Southwike, weſt Burhunt, Farham, and ſo into the gulfe almoſt full ſouth. Then come we to Bedenham creeke (ſo called of a village ſtanding thereby) the mouth whereof lieth almoſt directlie againſt Portcheſter caſtell, which is ſituat about three miles by water from Portesmouth towne, as Leland doth report. Then go we within halfe a mile further to Forten creeke, which either giueth or taketh name of

Racunus.

Emill.

Badunus forte.

Forten or Fordon.

Oſterpoole. a village hard by. After this we come to Oſterpoole lake, a great creeke, that goeth vp by weſt into the land, and lieth not far from a round turret of ſtone, from whence alſo there goeth a chaine to another tower on the eaſt ſide directlie ouer againſt it, the like whereof is to be ſeene in diuerſe other hauens of the weſt countrie, wherby the entrance of great veſſels into that part may be at pleaſure reſtreined.

From hence we go further to Tichefeld water, that riſeth about Eaſtmaine parke, ten or twelue miles by northeaſt or there abouts from Tichefeld. From Eaſtmaine it goeth (parting the forreſts of Waltham, and Eaſtberie by the way) to Witham or Wicombe, a prætie market towne & large throughfare, where alſo the water ſeparateth it ſelfe into two armelets, and going vnder two bridges of wood commeth yer long againe vnto one chanell. From hence it goeth three or foure miles further, to a bridge of timber by maiſter Writhoſeleies houſe (leauing Tichfeld towne on the right ſide) and a little beneath runneth vnder Ware bridge, whither the ſea floweth as hir naturall courſe inforceth. Finallie, within a mile of this bridge it goeth into the water of Hampton hauen, whervnto diuerſe ſtreames reſort, as you ſhall heare hereafter.

Tichefield.

Hamelriſh. After this we come to Hamble hauen, or Hamelriſh creeke, whoſe fall is betweene ſaint Andrewes caſtell, and Hoke. It riſeth about Shidford in Waltham forreſt, & when it is paſt Croke bridge, it meeteth with another broke, which iſſueth not farre from Biſhops Waltham, out of ſundrie ſprings in the high waie on Wincheſter, from whence it paſſeth (as I ſaid) by Biſhops Waltham, then to Budeleie or Botleie, and then ioining with the Hamble, they run togither by Prowlingſworth, Upton, Brulſill, Hamble towne, and ſo into the ſea.

Southhampton. Now come we to the hauen of Southhampton, by Ptolomie called Magnus portus, which I will briefelie deſcribe ſo neere as I can poſſiblie. The bredth or entrie of the mouth hereof (as I take it) is by eſtimation two miles from ſhore to ſhore. At the weſt point therof alſo is a ſtrong caſtell latelie builded, which is rightlie named Caldſhore, but now Calſhot, I wote not by what occaſion. On the eaſt ſide thereof alſo is a place called Hoke (afore mentioned) or Hamell hoke; wherein are not aboue three or foure fiſher houſes, not worthie to be remembred. This hauen floweth vp on the weſt ſide by the ſpace of ſeuen miles, vntill it come to Hampton towne, ſtanding on the other ſide, where it is by eſtimation a mile from land to land. Thence it goeth vp further about three miles to Redbridge, ſtill ebbing and flowing thither, and one mile further, ſo farre as my memorie doth ſerue me. Now it reſteth that I deſcribe the Alreſford ſtreame, which ſome do call the Arre or Arle, and I will proceed withall in this order following.

Alreſford. The Alreſford beginneth of diuerſe faire ſprings, about a mile or more frō Alreſford, or Alford as it is now called, and ſone after reſorting to one bottome, they become a broad lake, which for the moſt part is called Alford pond. Afterward returning againe to a narrow chanell, it goeth through a ſtone bridge at the end of Alford towne (leauing the towne it ſelfe on the left hand) toward Hichingſtocke three miles off, but yer it commeth there, it receiueth two rils in one bottome, whereof one commeth from the Forreſt in maner at hand, and by northweſt of old Alreſford, the other frō Browne Candiuer, that goeth by Northenton, Swatewotton, Aberſtone, &c: vntill we meet with the ſaid water beneath Alford towne. Being paſt Hichinſtocke, it commeth by Arington to Eſton village, and to Worthie, where it beginneth to branch, and ech arme to part it ſelfe into other that reſort to Hide and the lower ſolles by eaſt of Wincheſter, there ſeruing the ſtreets, the cloſe of S. Maries, Woluleleie, and the new college verie plentifullie with their water. But in this meane while, the great ſtreame commeth from Worthie to the eaſt bridge, and ſo to ſaint Elizabeth college, where it doth alſo part in twaine, enuironing the ſaid houſe in moſt delectable maner. After this it goeth toward S. Croſſes, leauing it a quarter of a mile on the right hand: then to Twiford (a mile lower) where it gathereth againe into one bottome, and goeth ſix miles further to Woodmill, taking the Otter broke withall on the eaſt ſide, and ſo into the ſalt creeke that leadeth downe to the hauen. Otter.

On the other ſide of Southhampton, there reſorteth into this hauen alſo both the Teſt & the Stockbridge water in one bottome, whereof I find this large deſcription inſuing. The verie head of the Stockewater, is ſuppoſed to be ſomewhere about Baſing ſtoke, or church Hockleie, and going from thence betweene Duerton and Stenenton, it commeth at laſt by Lauerſtocke & Whitchurch, and ſone after receiuing a broke by northweſt, called the Bourne (deſcending from S. Marie Bourne, ſoutheaſt from Horſleburne) it proceedeth by Long paroch and the wood, till it meet with the Cranburne, on the eaſt ſide (a prætie riuelet riſing about Michelmeie, and going by Fullington, Barton, and to Cramburne) thence to Horwell in one bottome, beneath which it meeteth with the Andeuer water, that is increaſed yer it come there by an other broke, whoſe name I do not know. This Andeuer ſtreame riſeth in Culhamſhire forreſt, not far by north from Andeuer towne, and going to vpper Clatford, yer it touch there it receiueth the rill of which I ſpake before, which riſing alſo neer vnto Anport, goeth to Monketon, to Abbateſham, the Andeuer, and both (as I ſaid) vnto the Teſt beneath Horwell, whereof I ſpake euen now. Stocke. Bourne.

Theſe ſtreames being thus brought into one bottome, it runneth toward the ſouth vnder Stockbridge, and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe in twaine, one branch thereof goeth by Houghton, & a little beneath meeteth with a rill, that commeth from byweſt of S. Ans hill, and goeth by eaſt of vpper Wallop, weſt of nether Wallop, by Bucholt forreſt, Broughton, and called (as I haue beene informed) the Gallop, but now it is named Wallop. The other arme runneth through the parke, by north weſt of kings Somburne, and vniting themſelues againe, they go forth by Mottelhunt, and then receiue the Teſt, a prætie water riſing in Clarendun parke, that goeth by weſt Deane, and eaſt Deane, ſo to Mottelhunt, and finallie to the aforeſaid water, which from thencefoorth is called the Teſt, euen vnto the ſea. But to proceed. After this confluence, it taketh the gate to Kimbebridge, then to Rumſeie, Longbridge, and beneath the ſame receiueth a concourſe of two rilles whereof the one commeth from Sherefield, the other from the new Forreſt, and ioining in Wadeleie parke, they beat vpon the Teſt, not verie farre from Purſeling. From thence the Teſt goeth vnder a prætie bridge, before it come at Redbridge, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the hauen. Galopius. Teſt.

The next riuer that runneth into this port, ſpringeth in the new Forreſt, and commeth thereinto about Eling, not paſſing one mile by weſt of the fall of Teſt. From hence caſting about againe into the maine ſea, and leauing Calde ſhore caſtell on the right hand, we directed our courſe toward the ſouthweſt, vnto Beaulieu hauen, whereinto the Mineie deſcendeth. The Mineie riſeth not far from Mineiſtéd, a village in the north part of the new Forreſt; and going by Beaulieu, it falleth into the ſea ſouth- Eling. Mineie.

weſt (as I take it) of Erburie, a village ſtanding vpon the ſhoꝛe.

Limen. Being paſt the Mineie, we croſſed the Limen as it is now called, whoſe head is in the verie hart of the new Foꝛreſt (ſometime conuerted into a place of nouriſhment foꝛ déere by William Rufus, buieng his pleaſure with the ruine of manie townes and villages, as diuerſe haue incloſed oꝛ inlarged their parks by the ſpoile of better occupiengs) & running ſouthweſt of Lindhirſt & the parke, it goeth by eaſt of Bꝛokenhirſt, weſt of Bulder, & finallie into the ſea ſouth and by eaſt of Lemington. I take this not to be the pꝛoper name of the water, but of the hauen, foꝛ Limen in Gréeke is an hauen: ſo that Limendune is nothing elſe, but a downe oꝛ higher plot of ground lieng on the hauen: neuertheleſſe, ſith this denomination of the riuer hath now hir fꝛée paſſage, I think it not conuenient to ſéeke out any other name that ſhould be giuen vnto it. The next fall that we paſſed by is nameleſſe, except it be called Bure, & as it deſcendeth from new Foꝛreſt, ſo the nert vnto it hight Bure. Mile, as I haue heard in Engliſh. Certes the head thereof is alſo in the ſouthweſt part of the ſaid Foꝛreſt, & the fall not far from Milford bꝛidge, beyond the which I find a narrow going oꝛ ſtrictland leading fꝛo the point to Hirſt caſtell which ſtandeth into the ſea, as if it hong by a thꝛed, from the maine of the Iland, readie to be waſhed awaie by the continuall woꝛking and dailie beating of the waues. Mills.

The next riuer that we came vnto of anie name is Auon. the Auon, which (as Leland ſaith) riſeth by noꝛtheaſt, and not far from Woolfehall in Wiltſhire, ſuppoſed to be the ſame which Ptolomie called Halenus. The firſt notable bꝛidge that it runneth vnto, is at Vphauen, thence foure miles further it goeth to little Ambꝛeſburie, and there is another bꝛidge, from thence to Wodford village, ſtanding at the right hand banke, and Newton village on the left. The biſhops of Sarum had a pꝛoper manoꝛ place at Wodford, which biſhop Sharton pulled downe altogither, bicauſe it was ſomewhat in ruine. Thence it goeth to Fiſherton bꝛidge, to Cranebꝛidge, old Saliſburie, new Saliſburie, and finallie to Harnham, which is a ſtatelie bꝛidge of ſtone, of ſix arches at the leaſt. There is at the weſt end of the ſaid bꝛidge, a little Iland, that lieth betwixt this and another bꝛidge, of foure pꝛetie arches, and vnder this later runneth a good round ſtreame, which (as I take it) is a bꝛanch of Auon, that bꝛeaketh out a little aboue, & ſone after it reuniteth it ſelfe againe: oꝛ elſe that Wilton water hath there his entrie into the Auon, which I cannot yet determine. From Harneham bꝛidge it goeth to Dounton, that is about foure miles, and ſo much in like ſoꝛt from thence to Foꝛdingbꝛidge, to Kingwood bꝛidge fiue miles, to Chꝛiſtes church Twinham fiue miles, and ſtreight into the ſea; and hitherto Leland of this ſtreame, which foꝛ the woꝛthineſſe thereof (in mine opinion) is not ſufficientlie deſcribed. Wherefoꝛe I thinke good to deliuer a ſecond receiued of another, which in moꝛe particular maner doth exhibit his courſe vnto vs.

Certes this Auon is a goodlie riuer, riſing (as I ſaid befoꝛe néere) vnto Wolfe hall; although he that will ſéeke moꝛe ſcrupulouſlie foꝛ the head in déed, muſt loke foꝛ the ſame about the boꝛders of the foꝛreſt of Sauernake (that is Soure oke) which lieth as if it were imbꝛaced betwéene the firſt armes thereof, as I haue bœne infoꝛmed. Theſe heads alſo do make a confluence by eaſt of Martinſhall hill, and weſt of Wilcotton. From whence it goeth to Milton, Powleie, Manningfield abbeie, Manningfield croſſe, and beneath Newington taketh in one rill weſt from Rudboꝛow, and another a little lower that riſeth alſo weſt of Alcanninges, and runneth into the ſame by Patneie, Perden, Wilfoꝛd, Charleton, and Ruſhall. Being therefoꝛe paſt Newington, it goeth to Vphauen (whereof Leland ſpeaketh) to Cheſilburie, Compton, Abbington, little Alnſburie, Darntford, Wodford, old Saliſburie, and ſo to new Saliſburie, where it receiueth one notable riuer from by noꝛthweſt, & another from noꝛth eaſt, which two I will firſt deſcribe, leauing the Auon at Saliſburie foꝛ a while.

The firſt of theſe is called the Wilugh, whereof the whole ſhire doth take hir name, and not of the great plentie of willowes growing therein, as ſome fantaſticall heads do imagine: whereof alſo there is moꝛe plentie in that countrie than is to be found in other places. It riſeth among the Deuerels, and running thence by hill Deuerell, & Deuerell long bꝛidge, it goeth toward Biſhops ſtraw, taking in one rill by weſt & another from Vpton by Werminſter at noꝛthweſt. From Biſhops ſtraw it goeth to Noꝛton, Upton, Badhampton, Steplinfoꝛd, and Staplefoꝛd, where it mæteth with the Winterburie water from by noꝛth, deſcending from Maddenton by Winterburne. From Staplefoꝛd it haſteth to Wiſhfoꝛd, Newton, Chilhampton, Wilton: and thither commeth a water vnto it from ſouthweſt, which riſeth of two heads aboue Duerdonet. After this it goeth by Woꝛdcaſtell, to Tiſburie, and there receiueth a water on eche ſide, whereof one commeth from Funthill, the other from two iſſues (of which one riſeth at Auſtie, the other at Swalodiſe) and ſo keeping on ſtill with his courſe, our Wilugh runneth nert of all by Sutton. Thence it goeth to Fouant, Boberſtocke, Southburcombe, Wilton (where it taketh in the Fomington oꝛ Nader water) Weſtharnam, Saliſburie, and Eaſtharnam: and this is the race of Wilugh. Wilugh. Nader becke.

The other is a naked arme oꝛ ſtreame without anie bꝛanches. It riſeth aboue Colingburne Kingſton in the hils, and thence it goeth to Colingburne, the Tidwoꝛths (whereof the moꝛe ſoutherlie is in Wiltſhire) Shipton, Cholterton, Newton, Coneie, Idmerſon, Poꝛton, the Winterburns, Lauerſtocke, and ſo into Auon eaſt of Saliſburie. And thus is the confluence made of the afoꝛeſaid waters, with this our ſecond Auon, whereinto another water falleth (called Becquithes bꝛooke) a mile beneath Harneham bꝛidge, whoſe head is fiue miles from Sarum, and three miles aboue Becquithes bꝛidge, as Leland doth remember, who noteth the Chalkeburne water to haue his due recourſe alſo at this place into the afoꝛeſaid riuer. Certes it is a pꝛetie bꝛooke, and riſeth ſix miles from Shaftesburie, and in the waie toward Saliſburie in a bottome on the right hand, thence it commeth by Knighton and Fernihꝛatford, to Honington, that is about twelue miles from the head, and about two miles and an halfe from Honington beneath Doſtocke, goeth into the Auon, a mile lower than Harnham bꝛidge, except he foꝛget himſelfe. This Harnham, whereof I now intreat, was ſometime a pꝛetie village befoꝛe the erection of new Saliſburie, and had a church of S. Martine belonging vnto it, but now in ſtead of this church, there is onelie a barne ſtanding in a verie low mead on the noꝛthſide of S. Michaels hoſpitall. The cauſe of the relinquiſhing of it was the moiſtneſſe of the ſoile, verie oft ouerflowne. And whereas the kings high waie late ſometime thꝛough Wilton, licence was obteined of the king and Richard biſhop of Saliſburie, to remoue that paſſage vnto new Saliſburie in like maner, and vpon this occaſion was the maine bꝛidge made ouer Auon at Harneham. By this exchange of the waie alſo old Saliſburie fell into vtter decaie, & Wilton which was befoꝛe the head towne of the ſhire, and furniſhed with twelue pariſh churches, grew to be but a poꝛe village, and of ſmall reputation. Howbeit, this was not the onelie cauſe of the Becquith bꝛooke. Chalkeburne. Three townes decaied by changing one waie.

the ruine of old Saliſburie, ſith I read of two other, whereof the firſt was a ſalue vnto the latter, as I take it. For whereas it was giuen out, that the townelmen wanted water in old Saliſburie, it is flat otherwiſe; ſith that hill is verie plentifullie ſerued with ſpringes and wels of verie ſweet water. The truth of the matter therefore is this.

In the time of ciuill warres, the ſouldiors of the caſtell and chanons of old Sarum fell at ods, inſomuch that after often braules, they fell at laſt to ſad blowes. It happened therefore in a rogation weeke that the cleargie going in ſolemne proceſſion, a controuerſie fell betweene them about certeine walkes and limits, which the one ſide claimed and the other denied. Such alſo was the hot intertainment on ech part, that at the laſt the Caſtellanes eſpieng their time, gate betweene the cleargie and the towne, and ſo coiled them as they returned homeward, that they feared anie more to gang about their bounds for the yeare. Hereupon the people milling their bellie cheare (for they were wont to haue banketing at euerie ſtation, a thing commonlie practiſed by the religious in old time, wherewith to linke in the commons vnto them, whom anie man may lead whither he will by the bellie, or as Latimer ſaid, with beefe, bread and beere) they conceiued forthwith a deadlie hatred againſt the Caſtellans. But not being able to cope with them by force of armes, they conſulted with Richard Poore their biſhop, and he with them ſo effectuallie, that it was not long yer they, I meane the chanons, began a new church vpon a peece of their owne ground called Mirifield, pretending to ſerue God there in better ſafetie, and with far more quietneſſe than they could do before. This church was begun 1219, the nine and twentith of Aprill, and finiſhed with the expenſes of 42000 marks, in the yeare 1260, and fiue & twentith of March, whereby it appeareth that it was aboue fortie yeers in hand, although the clearks were tranſlated to the new towne 1220, or the third yeere after the graie. The people alſo ſeeing the diligence of the chanons, and reputing their harmes for their owne inconuenience, were as earneſt on the other ſide to be neere vnto theſe prelats, and therefore euerie man brought his houſe vnto that place, & thus became old Sarum in few yeares vtterlie deſolate, and new Saliſburie raiſed vp in ſtead thereof, to the great decaie alſo of Harnham and Wilton, whereof I ſpake of late. Neuertheleſſe it ſhould ſeeme to me that this new citie is not altogither void of ſome great hinderances now and then by water: for in the ſecond of Edward the ſecond (who held a parlement there) there was a ſudden thaw after a great froſt, which cauſed the waters ſo faſt to ariſe, that euen at high maſſe time the water came into the minſter, and not onelie ouerflowed the nether part of the ſame, but came vp all to the kings pauſe where he ſate, whereby he became wet ſhod, and in the end inforced to leaue the church, as the executour did his maſſe, leaſt they ſhould all haue beene drowned: and this rage indured there for the ſpace of two daies, whereupon no ſeruice could be ſaid in the ſaid minſter.

An holie conflict.

New Saliſburie begun.

Now to returne againe from whence I thus digreſſed. Our Auon therefore departing from Saliſburie, goeth by Burtford, Longford, and taking in the waters afore mentioned by the waie, it goeth by Stanleie, Dunketon, Crailford, Burgate, Fordingbridge, Kingwood, Auon, Chriſtes church; and finallie into the ſea. But yer it come all there & a litle beneth Chriſtes church, it crolleth the Stoure or Sture, a verie faire ſtreame, whoſe courſe is ſuch as may not be left vntouched. It riſeth of ſix heads, whereof three lie on the north ſide of the parke at Stowton within the pale, the other riſe without the parke; & of this riuer the towne and baronie of Sturton doth take his name as I geſſe, for except my memorie do to much faile me, the lord Sturton giueth the ſix heads of the ſaid water in his armes. But to proceed. After theſe branches are conioined in one bottome, it goeth to long Laime mill, Stilton, Milton, and beneath Gillingham receiueth a water that deſcendeth from Mere. Thence the Sture goeth to Bugleie, Stoure, Weſtouer bridge, Stoure prouoſt, and yer long it taketh in the Cale water, from Pen that commeth downe by Wickhampton to Mozeland, & ſo to Stapleford, ſeuen miles from Wickhampton, paſſing in the ſaid voiage, by Wine Caunton, and the fiue bridges. After this confluence, it runneth to Hinton Parues, and ſone after croſſeth the Lidden and Deuilis waters all in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth in Blackemore vale, and goeth to the biſhops Caundell: the ſecond in the hils ſouth of Pulham, and ſo runneth to Lidlinch; the third water iſſueth neere Ibberton, and going by Fifehed to Lidlington, and there meeting with the Lidden, they receiue the Blackewater aboue Bagburne, and ſo go into the Stoure.

Cale. Lidden. Deuilis. Iber. Blackewater.

After this the Stoure runneth on to Stoureton minſter, Fitleford, Hammond, and ſone after taking in one water that commeth from Hargraue by weſt Orchard, and a ſecond from Funtmill, it goeth on to Chele, Ankeford, Handford, Durweſton, Knighton, Brainſton, Blandford, Charleton: and croſſing yer long a rill that riſeth about Tarrent, and goeth to Launſton, Munketon, Caunſton, Tarrant, it proceedeth forth by Shepwyc, and by and by receiuing another brooke on the right hand, that riſeth about Striccland, and goeth by Quarleſton, Whitchurch, Anderſton, and Winterburne, it hasteth forward to Stoureminſter, Berford lake, Alen bridge, Winburne, *alias* Twinburne minſter, whither commeth a water called Alen (from Knolton, Wilkehampton, Eſſambridge, Hinton, Barnſleie) which hath two heads, whereof one riſeth ſhort of Woodcotes, and eaſt of Farneham, named Terig, the other at Munketon aboue S. Giles Winburne, and going thence to S. Giles Athleie, it taketh in the Horton becke, as the Horton doth the Cranburne. Finallie, meeting with the Terig aboue Knolton, they run on vnder the name of Alen to the Stoure, which goeth to the Canfords, Preſton, Kingſton, Perleie, and Polneſt: but yer it come at Polneſt it taketh in two brookes in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Woodland parke by Holt parke, and Holt, another from aboue vpper Winburne, by Edmondeſham, Uertwod, and Pannington, and ſoining about S. Leonards, they go to Hornebridge, and ſo into Stoure. After which confluence, the ſaid Stoure runneth by Iuor bridge, and ſo into Auon, leauing Chriſts church aboue the meeting of the ſaid waters (as I haue ſaid before.)

This Stoure aboundeth with pike, perch, roch, dace, gudgeon and eeles.

Hauing in this maner paſſed Chriſtes church head we come to the fall of the Burne, which is a little brooke running from Stourefield heath, without branches; from whence we proceeded: & the next fall that we come vnto is Poole, from whoſe mouth vpon the ſhore, by ſouthweſt in a baie of three miles off, is a pore fiſher towne called Sandwich, where we ſaw a peere and a little freſh brooke. The verie vtter part of ſaint Adelmes point, is fiue miles from Sandwich. In another baie lieth weſt Lillewoth, where (as I heare) is ſome profitable harborough for ſhips. The towne of Poole is from Winburne about foure miles, and it ſtandeth almoſt as an Ile in the hauen. The hauen it ſelfe alſo, if a man ſhould meaſure it by the circuit, wanteth little of twentie miles, as I did geſſe by the view.

Burne. Poole.

Going therefore into the ſame, betweene the north and

and the ſouth points, to ſée what waters were there, we left Bzunkeſeie Iland, and the caſtell on the left hand within the ſaid points; and paſſing about by Pole, and leauing that créeke, bicauſe it hath no freſh, we came by Holton and Keſworth, where we beheld two falles, of which one was called the north, the other the ſouth waters. The north ſtreame hight Piddle as I heare. It riſeth about Alton, and goeth from thence to Piddle trench head, Piddle hinton, Walterſtow, and yer it come at Birſtam, receiueth Deuils bzoke that commeth thither from Bzugham and Melcombe by Deuilish towne. Thence it goeth to Tow piddle, Aſhe piddle, Turners piddle (taking in yer it come there, a water that runneth from Yelton by Piddleton, Milburne & Biere) then to Hide, and ſo into Pole hauen, and of this water Marianns Scotus ſpeaketh, except I be deceiued. The ſouth water is properlie called Frome for Frame. It riſeth néere vnto Euerſhot, and going downe by Fromequitaine, Chelmington, and Catſtocke, it receiueth there a rill from beſide Rowlham, and Wrarehall. After this it goeth on to Chilfrome, and thence to Maden Newton, where it méeteth with the Dwke, that riſeth either two miles aboue Yoke parke at Benford, or in the great pond within Yoke parke, and going by the Tollards, falleth into the Frome about Maden Newton, & ſo go as one from thence to Fromebauchirch, Crokewaie, Frampton, and Puckilford, and receiueth néere vnto the ſame a rill from aboue Upſidling by S. Nicholas Sidling, and Grimſton. From hence it goeth on by Stratton and Bzadford Peuerell, and beneath this Bzadford, it croſſeth the Silleie *alias* Winterne and Cherne bzoks both in one chanell: whereof the firſt riſeth in vpper Cherne pariſh, the other at Winterne, and méeting aboue middle Cherne, they go by nether Cherne, Forſton, Godmanſton, and aboue Charneminſter into Frome. In the meane time alſo our Frome bzancheth and leaueth an Iland aboue Charneminſter, and ioining againe néere Dorcheſter, it goeth by Dorcheſter, and Forthington; but yet it come at Beckington, it méeteth with another Becke that runneth thereinto from Winterburne, Stapleton, Martinſtow, Heringſtow, Caine and Staffard, and from thence goeth without anie further increaſe as yet to Beckington, Knighton, Tinkleton, Horton, Woll, Windon, Stoke, & beneath Stoke receiueth the iſſue of the Luckeford lake, from whence alſo it paſſeth by Eaſtholme, Warham, and ſo into the Bate. From this fall we went about the arme point by Slepe, where we ſaw a litle créeke, then by Dwre, where we beheld an other, & then comming againe toward the entrance by ſaint Helens, and Furleie caſtell, we went abzoad into the maine, and found our ſelues at libertie.

When we were paſt Pole hauen, we left the Handfaſt point, the Peuerell point, S. Adelmes chappell, and came at laſt to Lughpzt hauen, whereby and alſo the Luckeford lake, all this pzotion of ground laſt remembzed, is left in maner of a byland oz peninſula, and called the Ile of Burbecke, wherein is good ſtoze of alum and hard ſtone. In like ſozt going ſtill weſterlie, we came to Sutton points, where is a créeke. Then vnto Waie oz Wilemouth, by kings Welcombe, which is twentie miles from Pole, and whoſe head is not full foure miles aboue the hauen by northweſt at Uphill in the ſide of a great hill. Hereinto when we were entred, we ſaw thzée falles, whereof the firſt and greateſt commeth from Upweie by Bzadweie, and Radipole, receiuing afterward the ſecond that ran from eaſt Chekerell, and likewiſe the third that maketh the ground betweéne Weimouth and Smalmouth paſſage almoſt an Iland. There is a little barre of ſand at the hauen mouth, and a great arme of the ſea runneth vp by the right hand; and ſcant a mile aboue the hauen mouth on the ſhoze, is a right goodlie and warlike caſtell made, which hath one open barbicane. This arme runneth vp alſo further by a mile as in a baie, to a point of land where a paſſage is into Pozrland, by a little courſe of pibble ſand. It goeth vp alſo from the ſaid paſſage vnto Abbatſbirie about ſeauen miles off, where a litle freſh rondell reſozteth to the ſea. And ſomewhat aboue this, is the head oz point of the Cheſill lieng northweſt, which ſtretcheth vp from thence about ſeauen miles, as a maine narrow banke, by a right line vnto the ſoutheaſt, and there abutteth vpon Pozrland ſcant a quarter of a mile aboue the Newcaſtle there. The nature of this banke is ſuch, that ſo often as the wind bloweth vehementlie at ſoutheaſt, ſo often the ſea beateth in, and loſing the banke ſoketh thzough it: ſo that if this wind ſhould blow from that cozner anie long time togither, Pozrland ſhould be left an Iland as it hath béene before. But as the ſouthweſt wind doth appaire this banke, ſo a northweſt doth barre it vp againe. It is pzetie to note of the Townelet of Waimouth, which lieth ſtreight againſt Milton on the other ſide, and of this place where the water of the hauen is but of ſmall bzeadth, that a rope is commonlie tied from one ſide of the ſhoze to another, whereby the ferrie men do guide their botes without anie helpe of Ozes. But to pzoceed with our purpoſe. Into the mouth of this riuer do ſhips often come foz ſuccour.

Going by Pozrland and the point thereof called the Raſe, we ſailed along by the Shingle, till we came by ſaint Katharins chappell, where we ſaw the fall of a water that came downe from Blackdéene Beaconward, by Pozrtham and Abbatſburie. Thence we went to another that fell into the ſea, néere Birton, and deſcended from Litton by Chilcombe, then vnto the Bzide oz Bzute pozt, a pzetie hauen, and the riuer it ſelfe ſerued with ſundzie waters. It riſeth halfe a mile oz moze aboue Bemiſter, and ſo goeth from Bemiſter to Netherburie by Parneham, then to Melplaſh, and ſo to Bzitepozt, where it taketh in two waters from by eaſt in one chanell, of which one riſeth eaſt of Nettlecourt, and goeth by Pozrſtoke and Milton, the other at Aſkerwell, and runneth by Longlether. From hence alſo our Bzide going toward the ſea, taketh the Simen on the weſt that commeth by Simenſburge into the ſame, the whole ſtreame ſone after falling into the ſea, and leauing a pzetie hauenet.

The nert pozt is the Chare, ſerued with two rils in one confluence, beneath Charemouth. The cheefe head of this riuer is (as Leland ſaith) in Marſhwood parke, and commeth downe by Whitechurch: the other runneth by weſt of Wotton, and méeting beneath Charemouth towne (as I ſaid) doth fall into the ſea. Then came we to the Cobbe, and beheld the Lime water, which the townelmen call the Buddle, which commeth about thzée miles by north of Lime, from the hils, fleeting vpon Rotkie ſoile, and ſo falleth into the ſea. Certes, there is no hauen héere that I could ſée, but a quarter of a mile by weſt ſouthweſt of the towne, is a great and coſtlie tuttie in the ſea foz ſuccour of ſhips. The towne is diſtant from Coliton, about fiue miles. And héere we ended our voiage from the Auon, which conteineth the whole coaſt of Dorceſter, oz Dorcetſhire, ſo that next we muſt enter into Summerſet countie, and ſée what waters are there.

The firſt water that we méet withall in Summerſetſhire is the Are, which riſeth in a place called Are knoll, longing to ſir Giles Strangwaie, néere vnto Cheddington in Dozſetſhire, from whence it runneth to Poſterne, Febozdw, Clarton, Weſford bzidge,

Piddle.
Deuils.
Frome.
Deuis.
Silleie.
Winterne, Cherne.
Luckford.
Séeke moze foz wilie bzoke that goeth by weſt burie to Pole hauen.
Cheſill.
Bzide.
Nature hath ſet the mouth of this riuer in maner betwixt two hils, ſo that a little coſt would make an hauē there.
Simen.
Chare.
Buddle.
Are.

bridge, Winſham ford, and receiuing one rill from the eaſt by Hawkechurch, and ſone after another comming from northweſt by Churchſtoke, from Wainbroke, it goeth to Areminſter, beneath which it croſſeth the Pare, that commeth from about Buckland, by Whitſtaunton, Parecombe, Long bridge, Stockeland, Kilmington bridge (where it receiueth a broke from by ſouth, that runneth by Dalwood) and ſo into the Are. From hence our Are goeth to Drake, Pulburie, Culliford: but yer it come altogither at Culliford, it méeteth with a water that riſeth aboue Cotleie, and goeth from thence by Widworthie, Culliton, and there receiuing a rill alſo, proceedeth on after the confluence aboue Culliford bridge, into the Are, and from thence hold on togither into the maine ſea, whereinto they fall vnder the rots of the winter cliffes, the points of them being almoſt a mile in ſunder. The moſt weſterlie of them called Berewood, lieth within halfe a mile of Seton.

Pare alias Arte.

But the other toward the eaſt is named Whitecliffe, of which I ſaie no more, but that in the time of Athelſtane, the greateſt nauie that euer aduentured into this Iland, arriued at Seton in Deuonſhire, being replenished with aliens that ſought the conqueſt of this Iland, but Athelſtane met and incountered with them in the field, where he ouerthrew ſir thouſand of his aforeſaid enimies. Not one of them alſo that remained aliue, eſcaped from the battell without ſome deadlie or verie grieuous wound. In this conflict moreouer were ſlaine fiue kings, which were interred in the churchyard of Areminſter, and of the part of the king of England were killed eight earles of the cheefe of his nobilitie, and they alſo buried in the churchyard aforeſaid. Hereunto it addeth how the biſhop of Shireburne was in like ſort ſlaine in this battell, that began at Brunedunne neere to Coliton, and indured euen to Are minſter, which then was called Brunberie or Brunburg. The ſame daie that this thing happened the ſunne loſt his light, and ſo continued without anie brightneſſe, vntill the ſetting of that planet, though otherwiſe the ſeaſon was cleere and nothing cloudie.

As for the hauen which in times paſt as I haue heard, hath béene at Sidmouth (ſo called of Sidde a rillet that runneth thereto) and likewiſe at Seton, I paſſe it ouer, ſith now there is none at all. Yet hath there béene ſometime a notable one, albeit, that at this preſent betweene the two points of the old hauen, there lieth a mightie bar of pibble ſtones, in the verie mouth of it, and the riuer Are is driuen to the verie eaſt point of the hauen called White cliffe. Thereat alſo a verie little gull goeth into the ſea, whither ſmall fiſherbotes do oft reſort for ſuccour. The men of Seton began of late to ſtake and make a maine wall within the hauen to haue changed the courſe of the Are, and (almoſt in the middle of the old hauen) to haue trenched through the Cheſill, thereby to haue iet out the Are, & to haue taken in the maine ſea, but I heare of none effect that this attempt did come vnto. From Seton weſtward lieth Coliton, about two miles by weſt northweſt, whereof riſeth the riuer Colie, which going by the aforeſaid towne, paſſeth by Colecombe parke, and afterward falleth betweene Are bridge and Are mouth towne into the Are riuer.

Sidde. Seton. Colie.

By weſt of Berewoorth point lieth a creeke, ſerued (ſo farre as I remember) with a freſh water that commeth from the hilles ſouth of Southleie or Branscombe. Sidmouth hauen is the next, and thither commeth a freſh water by S. Maries from the ſaid hils, that goeth from S. Maries aforeſaid to Sidburie, & betweene Saltcombe & Sidmouth into the maine ſea. By weſt of Auterton point alſo lieth another hauen, and thither commeth a prettie riueret, whoſe head is in the Hackpendon hilles, and commeth downe firſt by Upauter, then by a parke ſide to Mohuns Auter, Munketon, Yonniton, Buckewell, and north of Autrie receiueth a rill called Tale, that riſeth northweſt of Brodemburie in a wood, and from whence it commeth by Pehemburie, Ainniton, and making a confluence with the other, they go as one betweene Cadde and Autrie, to Yerford, Luton, Collaton, Auterton, Budeleie, and ſo into the ſea. On the weſt ſide of this hauen is Budeleie almoſt directly againſt Otterton. It is eaſie to be ſeene alſo, that within leſſe ſpace than one hundred yeers, ſhips did vſe this hauen, but now it is barred vp. Some call it Budeleie hauen of Budeleie towne, others Salterne port, of a little creeke comming out of the maine hauen vnto Salterne village, that hath in time paſt béene a towne of great eſtimation.

Sid. Autrie alias Otterete. Tale.

The Exe riſeth in Exemore in Summerſetſhire, Exe. neere vnto Exe croſſe, and goeth from thence vnto Exeford, Winſford, and Exton, where it receiueth a water comming from Cutcombe, by north. After this confluence it goeth on toward the ſouth, till it méet with a prettie broke riſing northeaſt of Whettell (going by Brunton Regis) increaſed at the leaſt with three rilles which come all from by north. Theſe being once met, this water runneth on by weſt of the beacon that beareth the name of Haddon, & ſone after taketh in the Barleie, that receiueth in like ſort the Done at Hawkbridge, and from hence goeth by Dauerton, and Combe, and then doth méet with the Exe, almoſt in the verie confines betweene Dorſet & Summerſet ſhires. Being paſt this coniunction, our Exe paſſeth betweene Bruſhford and Purbath, and then to Exe bridge, where it taketh in (as I heare) a water by weſt from eaſt Auſtie: and after this likewiſe another on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Dirford, and Baunton, the other called Woodburne, ſomewhat by eaſt of Okeford. From theſe meetings it goeth to Caue and through the forreſt and woods to Hatherland and Walkfields, vntill it come to Tiuerton, and here it receiueth the Lomund water that riſeth aboue Alhbrittle, & commeth downe by Hockworthie, vpper Loman, and ſo to Tiuerton that ſtandeth almoſt euen in the verie confluence. Some call this Lomund the Stimming broke or Sunnings bath. After this our Exe goeth to Bickleie, Theuerten (taking in a rill by weſt) nether Exe, Bramford beneath which it ioineth with the Columbe that riſeth of one head northeaſt of Clarie Haidon, and of another ſouth of Shildon, and meeting beneath Columbe ſtocke, goeth by Columbe and Bradfeld, and there croſſing a rill that commeth by Alhford, it runneth ſouth to Wood, More haies, Columbton, Brandnicke, Beare, Columbe John, Horham, and ioining (as I ſaid) with the Exe at Bramford, paſſing vnder but one bridge, yer it meet with another water by weſt, growing of the Forten and Cride waters (except it be ſo that I do iudge amiſſe.) The Cride riſeth aboue Wolleſworthie, and neere vnto Upton: after it is paſt Dewliſh, croſſeth a rill from betweene Puggill and Stockeleie by Stocke Engliſh, &c. From hence it goeth to Fulford, where it méeteth with the Forten, whereof one branch commeth by Caldbroke, the other from S. Marie Tedburne, and ioining aboue Crediton, the chanell goeth on to the Cride, (which yer long alſo receiueth another from by north, comming by Stockeleie and Combe) then betweene Haine and Newton Shres, to Pines, and ſo into the Exe, which ſtaieth not vntill it come to Exceſter. From Exceſter (whither the burgeſſes in time paſt laboured to bring the ſame, but in vaine) it runneth to Were, there taking in a rill from by weſt, and an other lower by Erminſter, next of all vnto Toppeſham; beneath which towne the Clive entreth thereinto, Wodburne. Barleie. Done alias Done ſtroke. Columbe. Cride. Forten. Clivus.

into, which riſing about Plumtree, goeth by Cliſt Haidon, Cliſt Laurence, Brode Cliſt, Yoniton, Seuton, Biſhops Cliſt, S. Marie Cliſt, Cliſt ſaint George, and then into the Exe, that runneth forward by Notwell court, Limſton and Ponderham caſtell.

Ken. Here (as I heare) it taketh in the Ken, or Kenton brooke (as Leland calleth it) comming from Holcombe parke, by Dunkdike, Shillingford, Kenford, Ken, Kenton, and ſo into Exe hauen, at whoſe mouth lie certeine rocks which they call the Checkſtones, except I be deceiued. The next fall, whereof Leland ſaith nothing at all, commeth by Aſhcombe and Dulſh, and hath his head in the hilles thereby.

Teigne. The Teigne mouth is the next fall that we came to, & it is a goodlie port foure miles from Exemouth. The head of this water is twentie miles from the ſea at Teigne head in Dartmore among the Gidleie hilles. From whence it goeth to Gidleie towne, Teignton drue, where it receiueth the Crokerne comming from by north, and likewiſe an other weſt of Fulford parke. Then it goeth to Dufford, Bridford, Kirſtowe, Chidleie, Knighton, and beneath the bridge there receiueth the Bouie, whoſe courſe is to north Bouie, Lilleie, and Bouitracie. Thence it runneth to kings Teignton, taking in Eidis, a brooke beneath Preſton that commeth from Edeford by the waie. And when it is paſt this confluence, at kings Teignton, it croſſeth the Leman, which commeth from Saddleton rocke by Beckington, and Newton Bulhels: and ſone after the Aller that riſeth betweene Danburie and Marog well, afterward falling into the ſea by Biſhops Teignton, ſouth of Teignmouth towne.

Crokerne. Bouie. Eidis. Leman. Aller.

The verie vtter weſt point of the land, at the mouth of Teigne is called the Neſſe, and is a verie high red cliffe. The eaſt part of the hauen is named the Poles, a low ſandie ground, either caſt vp by the ſpuing of the ſand out of the Teigne, or elſe throwne vp from the ſhore by the rage of wind and water. This ſand occupieth now a great quantitie of the ground betweene the hauen where the ſand riſeth, and Teignmouth towne, which towne (ſurnamed Regis) hath in time paſt been ſore defaced by the Danes, and of late time by the French.

From Teignemouth we came to Tor baie, whereof the weſt point is called Birie, and the eaſt Perritorie, betweene which is little aboue foure miles. From Tor baie alſo to Dartmouth is ſir miles, where (ſaith Leland) I marked diuerſe things. Firſt of all vpon the eaſt ſide of the hauen a great hillie point called Downeſend, and betwixt Downeſend, and a pointlet named Wereford is a little baie. Were it ſelfe, in like ſort, is not full a mile from Downeſend vpward into the hauen. Kingſwere towne ſtandeth out as another pointlet, and betwixt it & Wereford is the ſecond baie. Somewhat moreouer aboue Kingſwere towne goeth a little creke vp into the land from the maine ſtreame of the hauen called Waterhead, and this is a verie fit place for veſſels to be made in. In like ſort halfe a mile beyond this into the landward goeth another longer creke, and aboue that alſo a greater than either of theſe called Gawnſton, whoſe head is here not halfe a mile from the maine ſea, by the compaſſing thereof, as it runneth in Tor baie.

Dart. The riuer of Dart or Darent (for I read Derenta mouth for Dartmouth) commeth out of Dartmore fifteene miles aboue Totneſſe, in a verie large plot, and ſuch another wild mouſhy & foreſtie ground as Ermore is. Of it ſelfe moreouer this water is verie ſwift, and through occaſion of tin-workes whereby it paſſeth, it carrieth much ſand to Totneſſe bridge, and ſo choketh the depth of the riuer downeward, that the hauen it ſelfe is almoſt ſpoiled by the ſame. The mariners of Dartmouth accompt this to be about a kenning from Plimmouth. The Darent therefore proceeding from the place of his vpriſing, goeth on to Buckland, from whence it goeth to Buckland hole; and ſone after taking in the Aſhburne water on the one ſide that runneth from Sadleton rocke by north, and the Buckfaſtlich that commeth from north weſt, it runneth to Staunton, Darington, Hemſton, and there alſo croſſing a rill on ech ſide paſſeth forth to Totneſſe, Bowden, and aboue Gabriell Stoke meeteth with the Hartburne that runneth vnder Roſt bridge, two miles aboue Totnes, or (as another ſaith) by Ratter, Harberton, Painesford, and Aſprempton into Darent, which yer long alſo commeth to Cornewothie, Grenewaie, Ditſham, Darntmouth towne (whervnto king John gaue ſometimes a maior, as he did vnto Totneſſe) from thence betweene the caſtelles, and finallie into ſea.

Aſhburne. Buckfaſtlich. Hartburne.

From hence we went by Stokeflemming to another water, which commeth from blacke Auton, then to the ſecond that falleth in eaſt of Slapton, and ſo coaſting out of this baie by the Start point, we ſaile almoſt directlie weſt, till we come to Saltcombe hauen. Certes this port hath verie little freſh water comming to it, and therefore no meruell though it be barred; yet the head of it (ſuch as it is) riſeth nere Buckland, and goeth to Dudbrooke, which ſtandeth betweene two creekes. Thence it hieth to Charleton, where it taketh in a rill, whoſe head commeth from ſouth and north of Shereford. Finallie, it hath another creke that runneth vp by Ilton: and the laſt of all that falleth in north of Portlemouth, whoſe head is ſo nere the baie laſt afore remembred, that it maketh it a ſorie peninſula (as I haue heard it ſaid.)

Then come we to the Awne, whoſe head is in the hils farre aboue Brent towne, from whence it goeth to Dirford wood, Loddewell, Hache, Aunton, Thorleſton, and ſo into the ſea ouer againſt a rocke called S. Michaels burrow. Arme riſeth aboue Harford, thence to Stoford, Iuie bridge, Armington bridge, Fleet, Orchardton, Downewell, and ſo vnto the ſea, which is full of flats and rocks, ſo that no ſhip commeth thither in anie tempeſt, except it be forced therto, through the vttermoſt extremitie and deſperat hazard of the fearefull mariners. King Philip of Caſtile loſt two ſhips here in the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, when he was driuen to land in the weſt countrie by the rage of weather. Yalme goeth by Cornewood, Slade, Stratleie, Yalmeton, Collaton, Newton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea, about foure miles by ſouth eaſt from the maine ſtreame of Plimmouth. Being paſt theſe portlets, then next of all we come to Plimmouth hauen, a verie buſie peece to deſcribe, becauſe of the numbers of waters that reſort vnto it, & ſmall helpe that I haue for the knowledge of their courſes; yet will I do what I may in this, as in the reſt, and ſo much I hope by Gods grace to performe, as ſhall ſuffice my purpoſe in this behalfe.

Awne. Arme. See Hen. 7. pag. 792, 793, 794. Yalme. Plim.

The Plimne or Plim, is the verie ſame water that giueth name to Plimpton towne. The mouth of this gulfe, wherein the ſhips do ride, is walled on ech ſide and chained ouer in time of neceſſitie, and on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a blocke houſe vpon a rockie hill: but as touching the riuer it ſelfe, it riſeth in the hils weſt of Cornewood, and commeth downe a ſhort courſe of three miles to Newenham after it be iſſued out of the ground. From Newenham alſo it runneth to Plimpton, and ſone after into the Stoure, which Stoure ariſeth northweſt of Shepſtour, & goeth from thence to Wemchurch, Yele, Shane, Bickleie, and ſo to Eford, where taking in the Plim, it runneth downe as one vnder the name of Plim, vntill

Plim. Stoure alias Catwater.

vntill it go pas Plimmouth, and fall into the hauen south east of Plimmouth aforesaid. I haue oftentimes trauelled to find out the cause whie so manie riuers in England are called by this name Stoure, and at the first supposing that it was growne by the corruption of Dour, the Brittish word for a streame, I rested therupon as resolued for a season: but afterward finding the word to be meere Saxon, and that Stouremare is a prouince subiect to the duke of Saxonie, I yelded to another opinion: whereby I conceiue that the said name was first deriued from the Saxons. But to returne to our purpose.

Plimmouth it selfe standeth betweene two creeks, not serued with anie backewater, therefore passing ouer these two, we enter into the Thamar that dischargeth it selfe into the aforsaid hauen. Going therfore vp that streame, which for the most part parteth Deuonshire from Cornewall, the first riueret that I met withall on the east side is called Tauie, the head whereof is among the mounteins foure miles aboue Peters Tauie, beneath which it meeteth with another water from by west, so that these two waters include Marie Tauie betweene them, though nothing neere the confluence. From hence the Taue or Tauie runneth to Tauistocke, aboue which it taketh in a rill from by west, and another aboue north Buckland, whose head is in Dartmore, and commeth therevnto by Sandford and Yarrow bridge. From hence it goeth into Thamar, by north Buckland, monks Buckland, Beare, and Tamerton folie. Hauing thus dispatched the Tauie, the next that falleth in on the east side vpwards is the Lidde, which rising in the hils aboue Lidford, runneth downe by Curriton and Siddenham, and so to Lidstone, aboue which it receiueth the Trushell brooke, which rising north east of Bredikon, goeth by Trusholton to Ibaine, where it receiueth a rill that commeth by Bradwood from Germanswike, and after the confluence runneth to Lifton, and from thence into the Thamar. The next aboue this is the Corewater, this ariseth somewhere about Elwell or Yelwell, and going by Virginston, runneth on by saint Giles without anie increase vntill it come to Thamar. Next of all it taketh in two brookes not much distant in sunder, whereof the one commeth in by Glanton, the other from Holsworthie, and both east of Tamerton, which standeth on the further banke, & other side of the Thamar, and west northwest of Tedcote, except the quarter deceiue me.

Taue or Tauie.

Lidde.

Trushell.

Core.

Thamar.

Certes, the Thamar it selfe riseth in Summersetshire, about three miles northeast of Hartland, and in maner so crosseth ouer the whole west countrie betweene sea and sea, that it leaueth Cornewall, a byland or peninsula. Being therefore descended from the head, by a tract of sir miles, it commeth to Denborow, Pancrase well, Bridge Reuell, Tamerton, Tetcote, Luffencote, Boiton, and Wirrington, where it meeteth with a water on the west side called Arteie, that riseth short of Jacobstow. Two miles in like sort frō this confluence, we met with the Kenseie, whose head is short of Warpeston by south east: from whence it goeth by Treneglos, Tremone, Tresmure, Trewen, Lanston, and so into the Thamar, that runneth from hence by Lowhitton vnto Bradston, and going on toward Dunterton, taketh in a rill from south Pitherwie, and by Lesant; beneath Dunterton also it crosseth the Enian. This riuer riseth at Dauidston, and directeth his race by saint Clethir, Lancast, and Trelaske first; and then vnder sundrie bridges, vntill it meet with the Thamar. From hence also the Thamar goeth by Siddenham to Calstocke bridge, Calstocke towne, Clifton, Cargreue (there abouts taking in a creeke aboue Landilip) and running on from thence, hasteth toward Saltash, where it receiueth the Liuer water. The head of Liuer is about Bromwellie hill, from whence it goeth on to North hill, Lekenhorne, South hill, and taking in a rill by east (from aboue Kellington) it runneth on to Newton, Pillaton, Wotton, Blosseming, saint Erne, and beneath this village crosseth a rillet that runneth thither from Bricton by Muthiocke, saint Germans, and Sheuiocke. But to proceed. After the confluence, it goeth betweene Erlie and Fro Martine castell, and sone after taking in a rill from by north, that passeth west of saint Steuens, it is not long yer it fall into the Thamar, which after this (receiuing the Milbrooke creeke) goeth on by Edgecombe, and betweene saint Michaels Ile and Ridden point into the maine sea. And thus haue I finished the description of Plimmouth water, and all such falles as are betweene Newston rocke on the east side, and the Ram head on the other.

Enian.

Liuer.

After this we proceeded on with our iournie toward the west, and passing by Longstone, we came sone after to Sothan baie, where we crossed the Seton water, whose head is about Liscard, & his course by Winheniet, Chafrench, Tregowike, Sutton, and so into the sea. Then came we to Low, and going in betweene it and Mount Ile, we find that it had a branched course, and thereto the confluence aboue Low. The chiefe head riseth in the hils, as it were two miles aboue Gaine, and going by that towne, it ceaseth not to continue his course east of Dulo, till it come a little aboue Low, where it crosseth and ioineth with the Brodoke water that runneth from Brodokes by Trewargo, and so into the sea. Next vnto these are two other rils, of which one is called Polpir, before we come at Foy, or Fawy.

Sutton.

Low.

Foy or Fawy riuer riseth in Fawy more, on the side of an hill in Fawy more, from whence it runneth by certeine bridges, till it met with the Glin water west of Glin towne, which rising aboue Temple, & meeting with a rill that commeth in from S. Neotes, doth fall into Fawy a mile and more aboue Respin from by east. After this confluence then, it goeth to Respin bridge, Lestermen castell, Lostwithiell bridge, Pill, saint Kingtons, saint Winnow, and Golant, and here also receiueth the Lerine water out of a parke, that taketh his waie into the maine streame by Biconke, Tethe, and the Fining house. Being thus vnited, it proceedeth vnto Fawy towne, taking in a rill or creeke from aboue it on the one side, and another beneath it south of Halling on the other: of which two this latter is the longest of course, sith it runneth three good miles before it come at the Foy. Leland writing of this riuer addeth verie largelie vnto it after this maner. The Fawy riseth in Fawy more (about two miles from Camilford by south, and sirteene miles from Fawy towne) in a verie quaue mire on the side of an hill. From hence it goeth to Drainesbridge, to Clobham bridge, Lergen bridge, New bridge, Respin bridge, and Lostwithiell bridge, where it meeteth with a little brooke, and neere therevnto parteth it selfe in twaine. Of these two armes therefore one goeth to a bridge of stone, the other to another of timber, and sone after ioining againe, the maine riuer goeth to saint Gwinnowes, from thence also to the point of saint Gwinnowes wood, which is about halfe a mile from thence, except my memorie doth faile me. Here goeth in a salt creeke halfe a mile on the east side of the hauen, and at the head of it is a bridge called Lerine bridge; the creeke it selfe in like maner bearing the same denomination.

Polpir.

Fawie.

Glin.

Lerinus.

Faw.

From Lerine creeke, to S. Caracs pill or creeke, is about halfe a mile, and lower on the east side of the said hauen: it goeth vp also not aboue a mile and

In the middle of this creeke was a cell of S. Ch-

an

ret in an Iſlet longing ſometime to Mountegew a priorie.

an halfe into the land. From Caracs creeke to Poulmorland a mile, and this likewiſe goeth vp ſcant a quarter of a mile into the land, yet at the head it parteth it ſelfe in twaine. From Poulmorland ſweto Bodnecke village halfe a mile, where the paſſage and repaſſage is commonlie to Fawy. From Bodnecke to Pelene point (where a creeke goeth vp not fullie a thouſand paces into the land) a mile, thence to Poulruan a quarter of a mile, and at this Poulruan is a tower of force, marching againſt the tower on Fawy ſide, betweene which (as I doo heare) a chaine hath ſometime beene ſtretched, and likelie inough; for the hauen there is hardly two bow ſhot ouer. The verie point of land at the eaſt ſide of the mouth of this hauen, is called Pontus croſſe, but now Panuche croſſe. It ſhall not be amiſſe in this place ſomewhat to intreat of the towne of Fawy, which is called in Cornish Comthath, and being ſituat on the northſide of the hauen, is ſet hanging on a maine rockie hill, being in length about one quarter of a mile, except my memorie deceiue me.

Comwhath.

The renowme of Fawy roſe by the wars vnder king Edward the firſt, Edward the third, and Henrie the fift, partlie by feats of armes, and partlie by plaine piracie. Finallie, the townesmen feeling themſelues ſomwhat at eaſe and ſtrong in their purſes, they fell to merchandize, and ſo they proſpered in this their new deuiſe, that as they trauelled into all places, ſo merchants from all countries made reſort to them, whereby within a while they grew to be exceeding rich. The ſhips of Fawy ſailing on a time by Rhie and Winchelſeie in the time of king Edward the third, refuſed ſtoutlie to vale anie bonet there, although warning was giuen them ſo to doo by the portgreues or rulers of thoſe townes. Herevpon the Rhie and Winchelſeie men made out vpon them with cut and long taile: but ſo hardlie were they interteined by the Fawy pirates (I ſhould ſaie aduenturers) that they were driuen home againe with no ſmall loſſe and hinderance. Such fauour found the Fawy men alſo immediatlie vpon this bickering, that in token of their victorie ouer their winching aduerſaries, and riding ripiers (as they called them in mockerie) they altered their armes and compounded for new, wherein the ſcutchion of Rhie and Winchelſeie is quartered with theirs, and beſide this the Foyens were called the gallants of Fawy or Foy, whereof they not a little reioiſed, and more peraduenture than for ſome greater bootie. And thus much of Fawy towne, wherein we ſee what great ſucceſſe often commeth of witleſſe and raſh aduentures. But to returne againe to our purpoſe from whence we haue digreſſed, and as hauing ſome deſire to finiſh vp this our votage, we will leaue the Fawmouth & go forward on our iournie.

Gallants of Foy or Fawy.

Being therefore paſt this hauen, we come into Trewardith bais, which lieth into the land betweene Canualle and the Blacke head point, and hereabout Leland placeth *Vrctoum promontorium*. In this we ſaw the fall of two ſmall brookes, not one verie far diſtant from another. The firſt of them entring weſt of Trewardith, the other eaſt of ſaint Blaies, and both directlie againſt Curwarder rocke, except I miſtake my compaſſe. Neither of them are of anie great courſe, and the longeſt not full three miles and an halfe. Wherfore ſith they are neither branched nor of anie great quantitie, what ſhould I make long harneſt of a little corne, and ſpend more time than may well be ſpared about them?

When we were paſt the Blacke head, we came to Anſtell brooke, which is increaſed with a water that commeth from aboue Newan, and within a mile after the confluence, they fall into the ſea at Pentozen, from whence we went by the Blacke rocke, and about the Dudman point, till we came to Chate haies, where falleth in a prettie water, whoſe head is two miles aboue ſaint Dues. Thence we went by here and there a mere ſalt creeke, till we paſſed the Graſe rocke, in Gyuindzaith baie, and S. Anthonies point, where Leland maketh his accompt to enter into Falamouth hauen.

Anſtell.

Chare.

The Fala riſeth a little by north of Penuenton towne, and going weſtward till it come downwards toward ſaint Dioniſe it goeth from thence to Melaver, ſaint Stevens Grampont, Goldon, Creue, Cornelele, Tregue, Pozam, Tregomman, it falleth into the hauen with a good indifferent force: and this is the courſe of Fala. But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to omit thoſe creekes that are betweene this and S. Anthonies point, I will go a little backe againe, and fetch in ſo manie of them, as come now to my remembrance. Entring therefore into the port, we haue a creeke that runneth vp by ſaint Anthonies toward ſaint Gereus, then another that goeth into the land by eaſt of ſaint Maries caſtell, with a forked head, paſſing in the meane time by a great rocke that lieth in the verie midſt of the hauen, in maner of the third point of a triangle, betweene ſaint Maries caſtell and Pendinant.

Fala.

Thence we caſt about by the ſaid caſtell, and came by another creeke that falleth in by eaſt, then the ſecond aboue ſaint Juſtus, the third at Ardenoza, the fourth at Kilan. And hauing as it were viſited all theſe in order, we come backe againe about by Tregomman, and then going vpward betweene it and Taluerne, till we came to Fentangolan, we found the confluence of two great creekes beneath ſaint Clements, whereof one hath a freſh water comming downe by S. Merther, the other another from Truro, increaſed with ſundrie branches, though not one of them of anie greatneſſe, and therefore vnworthie to be handled. Pole hole ſtandeth vpon the head almoſt of the moſt eaſterlie of them. S. Kenwen and Truro ſtand aboue the confluence of other two. The fourth falleth in by weſt from certeine hils: as for the firſt and firt, as they be little creeks and no freſh, ſo haue I leſſe language and talke to ſpend about them.

Of ſaint Cate, and ſaint Feokes creeke, whoſe iſſue is betweene Keſſronget and creeke of Truro, I ſee no cauſe to make anie long ſpeech; yet I remember that the towne of S. Feoke ſtandeth betweene them both. That alſo called after this ſaint, riſing aboue Perannarwothill, and comming thence by Kirklo, falleth into Falamouth, northeaſt of Piloz, which ſtandeth vpon the point betweene it and Piloz creeke. Piloz creeke is next Keſſronget: ſome call it Piloz pole, from whence we went by Trefuſis point, and there found an other great fall from Perin, which being branched in the top, hath Perin towne almoſt in the verie confluence. And thus much by my collection of the fall. But for ſomuch as Leland hath taken ſome paines in the deſcription of this riuer, I will not ſuffer it to periſh, ſith there is other matter conteined therein worthie remembrance, although not deliuered in ſuch order as the thing it ſelfe requireth.

S. Cate. S. Feoke Piloz.

The verie point (ſaith he) of the hauen mouth (being an hill whereon the king hath builded a caſtell) is called Pendinant. It is about a mile in compaſſe, almoſt inuironed with the ſea: and where the ſea couereth not, the ground is ſo low that it were a ſmall matter to make Pendinant an Iland. Furthermore, there lieth a cape or foreland within the hauen a mile and a halfe, and betwixt this and maiſter Killigrewes houſe one great arme of the hauen runneth vp to Penrine towne, which is three miles from the verie entrie of Falamouth hauen, and two good

Fala.

miles

Leuine. miles from Penſulis. Moreouer, there is Leuine, Priſelo, betwixt ſaint Budocus and Pendinas, which were a good hauen but for the barre of ſand. But to proceed.

The firſt creeke or arme that calleth on the north-weſt ſide of Falemouth hauen, goeth vp to Perin, and at the end it breaketh into two armes, whereof the leſſe runneth to Glaſcnith, *viridis nidus*, the greene neſt, or Wlagmeere at Penrine: the other to ſaint Gluuias the pariſh church of Penrine. In like ſort out of each ſide of Penrine creeke, breaketh an arme yer it come to Penrine. This I vnderſtand alſo that ſtakes and foundations of ſtone haue beene ſet in the creeke at Penrine a litle lower than the wharfe, where it breaketh into armes: but howſoeuer this ſtandeth, betwixt the point of Trefulis and the point of Reſtronget is Wilor creeke, which goeth vp a mile into the land, and by the church is a good rode for ſhips. The next creeke beyond the point of Reſtronget wood, is called Reſtronget, which going two miles vp into the maine, breaketh into two armes. In like order betwixt Reſtronget and the creeke of Trurie be two creekes; one called ſaint Feokes, the other ſaint Caie, next vnto which is Trurie creeke that goeth vp about two miles creeking from the principall ſtreame, and breaketh within halfe a mile of Trurie, calling in a branch weſtward euen hard by Newham wood.

Wilor. Reſtronget. S. Feokes. S. Caie.

Truriecreeke This creeke of Trurie is diuided into two parts before the towne of Trurie, and each of them hauing a bridge comming downe and a bridge, the towne of Trurie ſtandeth betwixt them both. In like ſort Kenwen ſtreet is ſeuered from the ſaid towne with this arme, and Clements ſtreet by eaſt with the other. Out of the bodie alſo of Trurie creeke breaketh another eaſtward a mile from Trurie, and goeth vp a mile and a halfe to Treſilian bridge of ſtone. At the verie entrie and mouth of this creeke is a rode of ſhips called Maples rode: and here fought not long ſince eightéene ſhips of Spaniſh merchants, with foure ſhips of warre of Dieppe, but the Spaniards draue the Frenchmen all into this harborow. A mile and an halfe aboue the mouth of Trurie creeke, is another named Lhan Moran of S. Morans church at hand. This creeke goeth vp a quarter of a mile from the maine ſtreame into the hauen, as the maine ſtreame goeth vp two miles aboue Moran creeke ebbing and flowing: and a quarter of a mile higher is the towne of Cregowie, where we found a bridge of ſtone vpon the Fala riuer. Fala it ſelfe riſeth a mile or more weſt of Roche hill, and goeth by Graund pont, where I ſaw a bridge of ſtone.

Moran.

Graund pont. This Graund pont is foure miles from Roche hill, and two little miles from Cregowie, betwixt which the Fala taketh his courſe. From Cregowie to paſſe downe by the bodie of the hauen of Falamouth to the mouth of Lanie horne pill or creeke, on the ſouth ſide of the hauen is a mile, and (as I remember) it goeth vp halfe a mile from the principall ſtreame of the hauen. From Lanihorne pill alſo is a place or point of ſand about a mile waie of fortie acres or thereabout (as a peninſula) called Ardeuerauter. As for the water or creeke that runneth into the ſouth ſoutheaſt part, it is but a little thing of halfe a mile vp into the land, and the creeke that hemmeth in this peninſula, of both doth ſeeme to be the greater. From the mouth of the weſt creeke of this peninſula, vnto ſaint Juſtes creeke, is foure miles or more.

In like maner from ſaint Juſtes pill or creeke (for both ſignifie one thing) to ſaint Mawes creeke is a mile and a halfe, and the point betweene them both is called Pendinas. The creeke of ſaint Mawes goeth vp a two miles by eaſt northeaſt into the land, and beſide that it ebbeth and floweth ſo farre, there is a mill driuen with a freſh creeke that reſorteth to the ſame. Halfe a mile from the head of this downeward to the hauen, is a creeke in maner of a pole, whereon is a mill alſo that grindeth with the tide. And a mile beneath that on the ſouth ſide entereth a creeke (about halfe a mile into the countrie) which is barred from the maine ſea by a ſmall ſandie banke, and another mile yet lower, is an other little creekelet. But how ſo euer theſe creekes do run, certeine it is that the bankes of them that belong to Fala are meruellouſlie well wooded. And hitherto Leland, whoſe words I dare not alter, for feare of corruption and alteration of his iudgement. Being paſt Falmouth hauen therefore (as it were a quarter of a mile beyond Arwennach, maiſter Killegrewes place which ſtandeth on the brimme or ſhore within Falmouth) we came to a little hauen which ran vp betweene two hilles, but it was barred: wherefore we could not learne whether it were ſerued with anie backe freſh water or not.

S. Iuſtus. S. Mawes.

From thence we went by Polwitherall creeke (parted into two armes) then to the Polpenrith, wherevnto a riueret falleth that riſeth not farre from thence, and ſo goeth to the maine ſtreame of the hauen at the laſt, whither the creeke reſorteth about three miles and more from the mouth of the hauen, and into which the water that goeth vnder Gare and Mogun bridges, do fall in one bottome (as Leland hath reported.) Vnto this hauen alſo repaireth the Penkeſtell, the Callous, the Cheilow, and the Gilling, although this latter lieth againſt ſaint Mawnons on the hither ſide hard without the hauen mouth (if I haue done aright.) For ſo motheaten, mouldie, & rotten are thoſe bookes of Leland which I haue, and beſide that, his annotations are ſuch and ſo confounded, as no man can (in a maner) picke out anie ſenſe from them by a leaſe togither. Wherefore I ſuppoſe that he diſperſed and made his notes intricate of ſet purpoſe: or elſe he was loth that anie man ſhould eaſilie come to that knowledge by reading, which he with his great charge & no leſſe trauell atteined vnto by experience. Thus leauing Fala hauen, as more troubleſome for me to deſcribe, than profitable for ſeafaring men, without good aduiſe to enter into, we left the rocke on our left hand, and came ſtraight ſouthweſt to Helford hauen, whoſe water commeth downe from Mreeke (where is a confluence of two ſmall rilles whereof that rill conſiſteth) by Pawgan and Trelawarren, and then it receiueth a rill on the north ripe from Conſtantine, after whoſe confluence it goeth a maine vntill it come to the Ocean, where the mouth is ſpoiled by ſand comming from the tinworks. See Leland in the life of S. Breaca. Beneath this alſo is another rill comming from S. Partyns, by whoſe courſe, and another ouer againſt it on the weſt ſide that falleth into the ſea by Winniton, all Menage is left almoſt in maner of an Iland. From hence we go ſouth to the Manacle point, then ſouthweſt to Liſard, and ſo north and by weſt to Predannocke points, beyond which we meet with the fall of the ſaid water, that riſeth in the edge of Menag, and goeth into the ſea by Melien on the north, and Winniton on the ſouth. By north alſo of Winniton is the Curie water that runneth ſhort of Magan, and toucheth with the Ocean ſouth of Pengwenian point.

Polwitherall. Polpenrith. Mogun. Penkeſtell. Callous. Cheilow. Gilling. Haile. Curie. Lo.

From hence we ſailed to the Lo mouth, which ſome call Lopole, becauſe it is narrower at the fall into the ſea, than it is betweene the ſea and Hailſton. It riſeth aboue S. Sethians, and comming downe by Wendron, it haſteth to Hailſton or Helſton, from whence onelie it is called Lo: but betweene Helſton and the head, men call it commonlie Cohor. Of this riuer Leland ſaith thus: The Lopole is two miles in

length, and betwixt it and the maine Ocean is but a barre of ſand that once in three or foure yéeres, what by weight of the freſh water, and working of the ſea breaketh out, at which time it maketh a wonderfull noiſe: but ſone after the mouth of it is barred vp againe. At all other times the ſuperfluitie of the water of Lopole (which is full of trout and éele) draineth out through the ſandie barre into the open ſea: certes if this barre could alwaies be kept open, it would make a goodlie hauen vp vnto Hailetton towne, where coinage of tin is alſo vſed, as at Truric and Loſkwithiell, for the quéenes aduantage.

Being paſſed the Lo, I came to another water that deſcendeth without anie increaſe from Crowan by Simneie, whoſe whole courſe is not aboue three miles in all. Then going by the Cuddan point, we entered the mounts Baie, and going ſtreight north (leauing S. Michaels mount a little vpon the left hand) we came to the Lid, which riſing ſhort of Tewidnacke, deſcendeth by Lidgenan, and ſo into the ſea. Certes the courſe of theſe waters cannot be long, ſith in this verie place the breadth of land is not aboue foure miles, and not more than fiue at the verie lands end. There is alſo a rill eaſt of Bozugie, and Gulnall, and another weſt of the ſame hard at hand, and likewiſe the third eaſt of Penſants: and not a full quarter of a mile from the ſecond, ſouthweſt of Penſants alſo lieth the fourth that commeth from Sancrete ward by Newlin, from whence going ſouthweſt out of the baie by Mouſhole Ile, that lieth ſouth of Mouſhole towne, we come to a water that entreth into the Ocean betwixt Remels & Lamorleie point. Trulie the one head thereof commeth from by weſt of Sancrete, the other from by weſt of an hill that ſtandeth betweene them both, and ioining aboue Remels, it is not long yer they ſalute their grandame. After this, and before we come at Roſecaſtell, there are two other créekes, whereof one is called Boſkennie, that riſeth ſouth of ſaint Buriens, and another ſomewhat longer than the firſt, that iſſueth by weſt of the aforeſaid towne, wherein is to be noted, that our cards made heretofore do appoint S. Buriens to be at the very lands end of Cornewall, but experience now teacheth vs, that it commeth not néere the lands end by three miles. This latter rill alſo is the laſt that I do reade of on the ſouth ſide, and likewiſe on the weſt and north, till we haue ſailed to S. Jes baie, which is full ten miles from the lands end, or Bzeſan Ile eaſtward, & rather more, if you reckon to the fall of the Haile, which lieth in the very middeſt and higheſt part of the baie of the ſame. The ſoile alſo is verie hillie here, as for ſaint Jes towne, it is almoſt (as I ſaid) a byland, and yet is it well watered with ſundrie rilles that come from thoſe hilles vnto the ſame.

The Haile riſeth in ſuch maner, and from ſo manie heads, as I haue before ſaid: howbeit I will adde ſomewhat more vnto it, for the benefit of my readers. Certes the chéefe head of Haile riſeth by weſt of Godalfin hilles, and going downe toward ſaint Erthes, it receiueth the ſecond, and beſt of the other three rilles from Godalfin towne: finallie, comming to ſaint Erthes, and ſo vnto the maine baie, it taketh in the Clowart water from Guimer, ſouth of Phelacke, which hath two heads, the ſaid village ſtanding directlie betwixt them both.

The Caine riſeth ſoutheaſt of Caineburne towne a mile and more, from whence it goeth without increaſe by weſt of Gwethian, and ſo into the ſea weſt of Nara Darwaie. From hence we coaſted about the point, & left the baie till we came to a water that riſeth of two heads from thoſe hilles that lie by ſouth of the ſame: one of them alſo runneth by ſaint Uni, another by Redreuth, and méeting within a mile, they fall into the Ocean beneath Luggam or Tuggan. A mile and a halfe from this fall we come vnto another ſmall rill, and likewiſe two other créekes, betwixt which the towne of ſaint Agnes ſtandeth; and likewiſe the fourth halfe a mile beyond the moſt eaſterlie of theſe, whoſe head is almoſt three miles within the land in a towne called ſaint Alin. Thence going by the Manrocke, and weſt of ſaint Piran in the ſand, we find a courſe of three miles and more from the head, and hauing a forked branch, the parts do méet at weſt aboue ſaint Kibbard, and ſo go into the ſea. I take this to be ſaint Pirans créeke, for the next is Carantocke pill or créeke, whoſe head is at Guſwarth, from whence it goeth vnto Treriſe, and ſone after taking in a rill from by weſt, it runneth into the ſea coaſt of ſaint Carantakes. Beyond this is another créeke that riſeth aboue little ſaint Colan, and goeth by leſſe ſaint Colombe: and eaſt and by north hereof commeth downe one more whoſe head is almoſt ſouth of the Nine ſtones, & going from thence to great ſaint Columbes, it paſſeth by Lamberne, and ſo into the ſea. S. Merous créeke is but a little one, riſing weſt of Padſtow, and falling in almoſt ouer againſt the Gull rocke. Then turning betwéene the point and the blacke rocke, we entred into Padſtow hauen three miles lower than port Iſſec, and a mile from port Gwin, whoſe waters remaine next of all to be deſcribed.

The Alan ariſeth flat eaſt from the hauen mouth of Padſtow, well néere eight or nine miles about Dauidſtone, néere vnto which the Eniam alſo iſſueth, that runneth into the Thamar. Going therefore from hence it paſſeth to Camelford, ſaint Aduen, ſaint Bernard (both Cornith ſaints) and ſone after receiueth a rill at northeaſt, deſcending from Rowters hill. Thence it goeth to Bliſeland, and Helham, the firſt bridge of name that ſtandeth vpon Alin. Yer long alſo it taketh in one rill by ſouth from Bodman, another from ſaint Laurence, the third by weſt of this, and the fourth that commeth by Wethiell, no one of them exceeding the courſe of three miles, and all by ſouth. From hence it goeth toward Igleſaleward, and there receiueth a water on the eaſt ſide, which commeth about two miles from ſaint Teath, by Michelſton, ſaint Tuchoe, ſaint Maben (mo Cornith patrons) and finallie ſouth of Igleſall, méeteth with the Alen that goeth from thence by S. Breaca to Woodbridge. Hereabout I find, that into our Alein or Alen, there ſhould fall two riuerets, whereof the one is called Carneſeie, the other Laine, and comming in the end to full notice of the matter, I ſée them to iſſue on ſeuerall ſides beneath Woodbridge almoſt directlie the one againſt the other. That which deſcendeth from northweſt, and riſeth about ſaint Kew, is named Carneſeie, as I heare: the other that commeth in on the ſouthweſt banke hight Laine, and noted by Leland to riſe two miles aboue S. Eſſe. But howſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, there are two other créekes on ech ſide alſo, beneath theſe, as Pethrike créeke, and Hinner créeke (ſo called of the Cornith ſaints) for that ſoile bred manie, wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Alen, or (as ſome call it) Dunmere, and other Padſtow water.

From Padſtow hauen alſo they ſaile out full weſt to Waterford in Ireland. There are likewiſe two rockes, which lie in the eaſt ſide of the hauen, ſecretlie hidden at full ſea, as two pads in the ſtraw, whereof I thinke it taketh the name. Yet I remember how I haue read that Padſtow is a corrupted word for Adelſtow, and ſhould ſignifie ſo much as *Adhelſtani locus*, as it may well be. For it is euident that they had in time paſt ſundrie charters of priuilege from Athelſtane, although at this preſent it be well ſtored with Iriſhmen. But to our purpoſe. Le-

land

Luggam.
S. Pirans créeke.
Carantocke.
Padſtow.
Locus butonis.
Plannus.
Eniam.
Carneſeie.
Laine.
Pethrike.
Hinner.
Dunmere.

land ſuppoſeth this riuer to be the ſame Camblan, where Arthur fought his laſt and fatall conflict: for to this daie men that dw eare the ground there, dw oft plow vp bones of a large ſize, and great ſtore of armour, or elſe it may be (as I rather coniecture) that the Romans had ſome field (or Caſtra) thereabout, for not long ſince (and in the remembrance of man) a braſſe pot full of Romane coine was found there, as I haue often heard. Being thus paſſed Padſtow hauen, and after we had gone three miles from hence, we came to Portgwin a poore fiſher towne, where I find a broke and a peere. Then I came to Portilleć *alias* Cunilus two miles further, and found there a broke, a peere, and ſome ſuccor for fiſher boats. Next of all vnto a broke that ran from ſouth eaſt, directlie north into the Sauerne ſea, and within halfe a mile of the ſame laie a great blacke rocke like an Iland. From this water to Treuenni is about a mile, where the paroch church is dedicated to ſaint Simphorian, and in which paroch alſo Tintagell or Dundagle caſtell ſtandeth, which is a thing inexpugnable for the ſituation, and would be made with little reparations one of the ſtrongeſt things in England. For it ſtandeth on a great high terrible crag inuironed with the ſea. There is a chappell yet ſtanding in the dungeon thereof, dedicated to ſaint Vlet. Tintagell towne and Treuenni are not a mile in ſunder.

The next creke is called Boſinni, which is a mile from Tintagell, and to the ſame Tredwie water reſorteth, and ſo they go to the ſea betwixt two hils, whereof that on the one ſide lieth out like an arme or cape, and maketh the faſhion of an hauenet or peere, whither chiplets ſometime dw reſort for ſuccour. A frier of late daies toke vpon him to make an hauen at this place, but in vaine. There lie alſo two blacke rocks as Ilets, at the weſt northweſt point, or ſide of this creke, the one (ſauing that a little gut doth part them) ioining with the other, and in theſe by all likelihod is great ſtore of gulles. I can not tell whether this be the water that runneth by Boſcaſtell or not, but if it be not, then haue I this deſcription of the latter. Boſcaſtell creke that lieth eaſt of Tintagell, is but a ſmall thing, running at the moſt not aboue two miles into the land, yet it paſſeth by foure townes, whereof the firſt is called Leſneth, the ſecond ſaint Juliet, the third Minſter, and the fourth Boſcaſtell or Buſhcaſtell, as ſome men dw pronounce it.

Tredwie.

Boſcaſtell.

In Bede baie I find the Bedewater, whoſe chiefe head is not farre from Norton. Thence running to Stratton, it receiueth the Lancels rill before it come at Northam. And here alſo it croſſeth another whoſe head is eaſt of ſaint Marie wyke, from whence it runneth by Wolfton and Whaleſborow, and thence into the ſea betweene Elford and Plough hill. And thus much of the waters chiefly betweene the point of Cornewall, and the Hartland head vpon the north ſide of Cornewall. Now let vs dw the like with thoſe that remaine of Deuonſhire, whereof the ſaid Hartland is the verie firſt point in this our poeticall voiage. Hauing therefore brought Hartland point on our backs, we come next of all to Barſtable bar, and ſo into the hauen, whereinto two principall ſtreams dw perpetuallie vnburden their chanels.

Bede.

Lancels.

The firſt and more weſterlie of theſe is called Ocus, whoſe head is not farre weſt of the head of Darnt, and doth in Darntmore. Riſing therefore in the aforeſaid place, it runneth northweſt to Snorton, and ſo to Okehampton, beneath which towne it meeteth with an other water comming from ſoutheaſt, & riſeth not much weſt from the head of Taiwe. From hence it goeth to Stow Erborne, Monke Okington, & Iddeſleie, where it taketh in the Tanridge a verie prętie ſtreamelet, whoſe iſſue is not full a mile by eaſt from the head of Thamar, three miles by north eaſt from Hartland. Comming therefore by weſt and eaſt Putford, Bulworthie, Bockington, Newton, and Shebbor, it receiueth a forked rill that runneth from ech ſide of Bradworthie by Sutcombe, Treborow, Milton, & ſo to Thornebirie, where meeting with an other forked water (whereof one head comming from Dunſland, ioineth with the other north of Cockbirie) it goeth with ſpeed into the Tanridge water. After this confluence it runneth on to Sheepewalh (by weſt whereof falleth in the Buckland water from by north) thence to high Hainton, and ſo to Haitherlaie, north wherof it taketh in a rill from by ſouth, and endeth his race at Iddeſleie, by ioining with the Oke. Hence then the Ocus haſteth to Dowland, and betweene it and Doulton, receiueth one rill from by eaſt, as it doth an other betweene Doulton and Harton from by weſt, and ſo proceeding on with his courſe, it commeth eaſt of Torrington the leſſe, and taking in a water at eaſt, that runneth from three heads (by Wollie parke) betweene which Combe and Roughborow are ſituat, it deſcendeth to Torington the more, and meeting with the Langtree water on the one ſide, and the Ware broke on the other, it proceedeth to Bedifor, croſſing a rill by the waie that commeth vnto it betweene Annarie & Littham. From Bedifor bridge it goeth without anie increaſe to Weſtleie, Norham, Appledoure, and ſo into the hauen.

Ocus.

Buckland.

Langtree.

Were or Ware.

Tanridge.

Torrege.

The Taw of both is the more noble water, notwithſtanding that his hauen be barred with ſand; and thereby dangerous, and hath moſt rils deſcending into his chanell. Howbeit, by theſe two is all the hart of Deuonſhire well watered on the northſide of the mores. The Tawy riſeth directlie at ſouth weſt of Throwleie, and north of the head of Darnt, or (as Leland ſaith) in Ermore ſouth eaſt from Barſtable. From thence alſo it runneth to Sele, South Taueton, Cockatre, Bath, Northtaueton, Athridge, Colridge, and ſone after receiueth the Bowmill creke, whereof one head riſeth at Bow, the other at Mill, and meeting beneth Biſhops Morchard, they fall into the Taw north of Nimeth Rowland, as I haue beene informed. From hence then it runneth by Edgeforth, to Chimligh, by ſouth whereof it meeteth with a rill comming downe of two heads from about Rakenford, by Wetheridge and Chawleie. Thence it goeth to Burrington, and Chilſenholtwood, and there taketh in the Poulebraie water conſiſting of two in one chanell, wherof the Moll doth riſe aboue north Poulton, and comming to Poulton receiueth another rill running from Molland, and ſone after the ſecond that growing by two brokes (the head of one being at Knawſton, and of the other weſt of Crokeham, and both vniting themſelues beneath Mariſton) doth fall into the ſame yer long alſo, and ſo go togither till it croſſe the Braie, which (being the ſecond of the two that maketh the Poulbraie) riſeth at Braie, commeth by Buckland, and ſouth of Holtwood doth make his confluence with Taw. Being paſt the wood, it goeth on to Brightleie hall, Taueton, Taueſtocke, & Barſtable, ſometime a prętie walled towne with foure gates, but now a little thing; and ſuch in deed, as that the ſuburbes thereof are greater than it ſelfe. I ſuppoſe that the name of this towne in the Britiſh ſpeach was Abertaw, becauſe it ſtood toward the mouth of Taw, and Berdneſſe pronounced ſhort (as I geſſe) for Abernelle. As for Staple, it is an addition for a market, & therefore hath nothing to dw in the proper name of the towne. King Athelſtane is taken here for the chiefe priuileger of the towne. This is alſo worthie to be noted hereof, that the houſes there are

Barſtable.

Woulebraie.

Braie.

of ſtone, as moſt are in all the good townes thereabout.

But to proceed with our purpoſe. Beneath this towne there falleth in a water that hath one head neere about Challacombe, & another at eaſt Downe, whereof this deſcending by Stoke riuer, and the other by Sherwell, they vnite themſelues within three miles of Berkaple. Soone after alſo it taketh in another that deſcendeth from Bitenden by Alhford, and the laſt of all eaſt of ſaint Anthonies chappell, named Doneham. the Doneham, becauſe one head is at weſt Done, and the other at Ham, both of them meeting weſt of Aſh. And thus is Taue deſcribed, which is no great water nor quicke ſtreame, as may appeere in Low water marke at Berkable, and yet is it a pretie riueret. This alſo is worthie to be noted thereof, that it receiueth no brooke from by weſt, whereof I would ſomewhat maruell, if Taurige were not at hand.

Being paſt the Taue, Cride baie and Bugpoint aliàs Bagpoint, we go by Poze baie, Pozſtone aliàs Pozſtone, and then toward the northeaſt, till we come by a creekelet to Ilfare combe, & ſo to Combe Paradine. Parton, whereat (I meane ech of them) are ſundrie creekes of ſalt water, but not ſerued with anie freſh that I as yet do heare of. Marrie there is betweene Partinbow & Trenſow, a creeke that hath a backewater, which deſcendeth from Parracombe (ſo farre as I call to mind named Parradine becke) but the greateſt of all is betweene Linton and Conniſberie called Oze, which riſeth in Summerſetſhire Orus. in Exmoze (eaſt of Hoze oke, moze than a mile) and going by Oze, falleth into the ſea betweene Linton and Conniſberie, ſo that the whole race thereof amounteth in and out to an eight miles, as I haue heard repoꝛted. Thus haue I finiſhed the diſcourſe of the waters of Deuonſhire, whoſe breadth in this The breadth of Deuonſhire & Cornewall. place from hence ouerthwart to the Checkſtones in the mouth of Ex, on the ſouth ſide of the Ile, is eight and thirtie miles or vnder fortie, and ſo much likewiſe is it from Plimmouth to Hartland point, but the broadeſt part there commeth to ſix and thirtie miles, whereas the broadeſt part of Cornewall doth want two miles of fortie.

Loch. Being paſt the aforeſaid limits of the counties we came to Portloch baie, whither commeth a water named Loch that deſcendeth from Stokepero, Lucham and Portloch without increaſe. Thence to Durus. Dunkeir brooke, which runneth from about Wotton, and Courtneie by Tunbercombe and Dunkeir, then to another that commeth weſt of Old Cliffe, leauing a parke on the weſt ſide, next of all to Watchet water, whereof one head commeth from the Vacetus. Quantocke hils ſouth of Bickualer by Weſtquantocke head, and almoſt at Donifoꝛd, receiueth the Williton. Williton becke, then to eaſt Quantocke brooke (omitting a creeket) & next of all to Doddington Doddington. water, that goeth by Holford, Alforton, and afterward into the ſea. From hence we go by Botteſall point, to Stert point, where two noble riuers do make their confluence, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, as to my purpoſe apperteineth.

Iuelus. The firſt of theſe is called the Iuell, or (as I find it in an ancient writer) Yo, who ſaith that the riuer Yo doth runne from Ilcheſter to Bridgewater, and ſo into the ſea. It riſeth aboue Oburne, and at Shirburne receiueth a water, whereof Leland ſaith thus. The ſeuen ſiſters. There are ſeuen ſpꝛings in an hill called the ſeuen ſiſters, north eaſt from Shireburne, which gather into one bottome, & come into the Pere. Another brooke likewiſe commeth by Heidon from Puſcandell, three miles from thence by flat eaſt, betwixt the parke and the Pere ſtill ſo great as the ſtreame of the Pere, and ioining at the lower mill of Shireburne, with the Pere water, it is not long yer it fall into the Euill. Thence our Euill goeth on towards Glaſen Bradford, and yer it come there taketh in a forked rill from by ſouth, deſcending from about weſt Chelburie and Chetnall in Dorſetſhire, beneath which towne the other head falleth into the ſame, ſo that they run forth by Bearhaggard and Thorneford (till they meet with the Iuell) and ſo to Cliſton, Euill a proper market towne, Trent, Putford, Alhinton, and eaſt of Limminton it meeteth with the Cade Cade. that runneth from Parlington, by north Cadbirie, and ſoone after crolling a rill alſo from by eaſt, that commeth from Blackeford by Compton, it haſteth to ſouth Cadbirie, Sparkeford, Quenes Camell, weſt Camell, and ſo into Iuell, which runneth on to Kimmington, Ilcheſter, Ilbridge, long Sutton, and yer it come at Langport, taketh in two famous waters in one chanell, next of all to be remembred before I go anie further. The firſt of all theſe riſeth ſoutheaſt betweene the Parrets (where it is called Parret. Parret water) and goeth to Crokehorne, and at Merlot taketh in a brooke from the eaſt, which conſiſteth of two courſes vnited at Bowbridge, whereof the one deſcendeth from Pen by Haſilburie, the other from aboue the three Chenocks, as I do vnderſtand.

From hence alſo they go as one with the Parret water, toward ſouth Pederton (taking in at eaſt a becke comming from Hamden hill) thence to Pederton, Lambroke, Thornete bridge, and Puchelneie where it meeteth with the ſecond called Ill or Ilus, Ill. whoſe head is aboue Chellington, & comming downe from thence by Cadworth, before it come at Dunniet, it taketh in a rill that runneth by Chalcombe and Knoll. Thence leauing Ilmiſter on the eaſt ſide, it meeteth with another from by eaſt, deſcending from about Whitlakington. Then it goeth to Po- Ilton. kington (where it croſſeth the Ilton water by weſt) next to Ilbruers, and there it ioineth with a rillet that riſeth by weſt at Staple, and runneth by Bicknell and Abbats Ilie, and after this confluence goeth on toward Langport. And here after ſome mens opinion, the Iuell loſeth his name, and is called Parret: but this coniecture cannot hold, ſith in the old writers it is called Iuell, till it fall into the ſea. Neuertheleſſe, how ſoeuer this matter ſtandeth, being paſt Langport, it goeth by Awber toward ſaint Anthonies, where it meeteth with the Tone next of all to be deſcribed.

The Tone iſſueth at Clatworthie, and goeth by Tone. weſt of Wiuelſcombe, to Stawleie, Kitford, Runton, Wellington and Bradford, beneath which it taketh in a faire water coming from Sanford Combe, Elworthie, Bruntrake, Pilnerton, Ohe and Hilfarens. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Helebridge, and there below meeteth with one water that runneth by Hawſe, Heathford and Norton, then another from Crokeham by biſhops Sledard, and the third & fourth at Taunton, that deſcendeth from Kingſton by north, and another by ſouth that riſeth about Pidminſter. And thus is the Tone increaſed, which goeth from Taunton to Kilton, Crech, Northcurrie, Ling, and ſo by Anthonie into the Iuell, that after this confluence meeteth yer long with the Chare, a pretie riuer that commeth by eaſt from Chare or Northbrow, by Carleton, Badcare, Litecare, Somerton, Higham, Audrie more, Audrie, and Pitchellbrow. From whence going on betweene Quenes more and North more, it receiueth one brooke called Peder from by ſouthweſt, that runneth through Pe- Peder. derton parke and North more, and likewiſe another that paſſeth by Durleie, yer it do come at Bridgewater. From Bridgewater it goeth by Chilton directlie northweſt, and then turning flat weſt, it goeth northward towards the ſea, taking in two wa-

ters

ters by the waie, whereof one runneth by Corpole & Camington, and beareth the name of Camington, the other by Siddington and Comage, and then receiuing the Bzier before it come at Start point, they fall as one into the Ocean, whereof let this ſuffice for the deſcription of the Iuell, whoſe ſtreame doth water all the weſt part of Summerſetſhire and leaueth it verie fruitfull.

Camington. Bzier.

Bzier.

Leland writeth the firſt Brieuelus and the ſecond Mellodunus of the Milton water.

Dulis.

Sowaie or Stowaie.

Cos.

Milton. Golafer.

Axe.

The Cheder-bzooke, bzingeth twelue miles within a quarter of a mile of his head.

Bane.

Artro.

Sotteſpill.

The Bzier, Bzuer, or Bzéer, riſeth of two waters, whereof one is in Selwood forreſt, & commeth downe by Bzuecombe, Bzuham, and Bzuton. The other which Leland nameth Mellos, is northeſt of Staffordell towne, and going by the ſame, it runneth by Redlinch, to Wike; where it méeteth with the other head, and thence go on as one to Awnſford, Alford (where it taketh in a water called Dulis from by north that riſeth néere Dolting, and commeth by Euerchurch parke) then to the Lidfords, Balborow wood, the Corhill, Pont perilous (whereinto they fable that Arthur being wounded to death did throw Calibur his ſword) by Glaſtenburie and ſo into the Péere. Beſide this riuer there are two other alſo that fall into the ſaid Péere, whereof the one called Sowaie commeth from Créechurch parke, and Pulton by Hartlacke bzidge, the other named Cos or the Coſcombe water, from aboue Shepton, Mallet (which eaſt of Wike taketh in a water comming from Welles) by Wike, Gedneie, and ſo into the Péere. Finallie, returning all into one chanell, it runneth to Burtlehouſe, and ſone after diuiding it ſelfe, one arme goeth by Baſtian aliàs Bzent bzidge, to High bzidge, leauing Huntſpill a market towne by ſouthweſt, the other by Parke to Rokes bzidge, Hebbes paſſage, and ſo into the ſea, leauing a faire Iland, wherin beſide Bzentmarſh are ſeuen or eight townes, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge.

Now as touching the water that commeth from Welles, which falleth (as I ſaid) into the Coſcombe water on the right hand of the Cawleie; you ſhall vnderſtand that as manie ſpzings are in Wels, ſo the chiefe of them is named Andzes well, which riſeth in a medow plat not farre from the eaſt end of the cathedzall church, and afterward goeth into the Coſcombe, in ſuch place as I haue noted. Leland ſpeaketh of the Milton & Golafer waters, which ſhould fall likewiſe into the Bzier: but whether thoſe be they whereof the one riſeth aboue Staffordell, and in the deſcent runneth by Shipton, Pitcombe, and ſo to Awnſford on the one ſide, as the other doth riſe betwéene Batcombe and Upton noble on the other halfe; or vnto whether of them either of theſe names are ſeuerallie to be attributed: as yet I do not read.

The ſecond Axe which commeth by Axe towne in old time called Uera, iſſueth out of Dwkie hole, from whence it goeth by Dwkie towne, afterward méeting with the Cheder bzooke that commeth from the Cheder rocks, wherein is an hole in old time called Carcer Æoli, whereof much hath béene written & ſurmiſed paſt credit. It runneth by Were, Ratcliffe, and after a little compaſſe into the northeaſt bzanch of the aforeſaid riuer laſt deſcribed, betwéene Rokes bzidge and Hebbes paſſage, as I haue béene informed. From the fall of Axe we come to an other called Bane, northeaſt of Woodſpzing, whoſe head is about Banwell parke, or elſe in Smaldon wood. Then to an other, and to the third, called Artro, which riſeth about Litton, and going by the Artroes, Abbeie, Perribzidge (receiuing a rill yer it come thither from by ſouth) beneath Cungelbirie, or (as I learne) betwéene Kingſton and Laurence Wike, it méeteth with the ſea.

Sotteſpill water riſeth betwéene Cheueleie and Nalleleie, howbeit it hath no increaſe before it come into the ſea at Sotteſpill, more than the next vnto it, which is named Cleueden water, of a certeine towne nére to the fall thereof. It riſeth ſoutheaſt of Barrow, goeth by Burton Nalleleie, and ſo vnto Cleuedon. The Auon, commonlie called the third Auon, is a goodlie water, and growne to be verie famous by ſundzie occaſions, to be particularlie touched in our deſcription of Bziſtow. Yet thus much will I note héere thereof as a rare accident, how that in king Edgars daies, the verie ſame yeare that the old monaſterie of Euetham fell downe by it ſelfe, a porpaſſe was taken therein nére to the ſaid monaſterie, and neuer anie before or ſince that time heard of to haue béene found in that ſtreame. And euen ſo not manie yeares before I firſt wrote this treatiſe, a ſturgion was taken aliue in Rochester ſtreame, which the biſhop gaue vnto your honor, and you would as gladlie haue ſent it to the quéenes maieſtie, if ſhe might haue béene preſented withall aliue as it was taken. Certes both theſe rare occurrents gaue no leſſe occaſion of ſtrange ſurmiſes to the inhabitants of both places, than the blockes of Bzerton, when they appeare, do vnto that familie; of which the report goeth that they are neuer ſéene but againſt ſome miſchéefe or other to befall vnto that houſe. But how farre am I gone from my purpoſe?

Cleueden.

Auon.

Sturgion taken in Rochester water.

The Auon therefore riſeth in the verie edge of Tetburie, and goeth by long Newton to Bzokenton, Whitchurch, and Malmſburie, where it receiueth two waters, that is to ſaie, one from by weſt comming by Foreleie and Bzomleham, which runneth ſo nére to the Auon in the weſt ſuburbe of Malmſburie, that the towne thereby is almoſt made an Iland. Another from Okeſete parke by Hankerton, Charleton, and Gareſden. After this confluence it haſteth to Cole parke, then goeth it toward the ſoutheaſt, till it méet with a water comming from ſouthweſt (betwéene Hullauington and Bzadfield) by Aſton: and ſone after with another at the northſide from Binall by Wotton Baſſet (through the parke to Gretenham, and Idouer bzidges) and after the confluence to Dauntſeie, Segar, Sutton, Chziſtmalford, Auon, Calwaies houſe, and then to weſt Tetherton. Beneath this towne alſo it taketh in a water increaſed by two bzookes, whereof one comming from Cleue by Hilmarton, Whitleie houſe and Bzamble (and there receiuing another that commeth by Calne) palleth on by Stanlie into the Auon, which from thenceforth goeth to Chipenham, Rowdon, Lekham, and then receiuing Colham water, goeth to Lacocke, Pelham, and yer it come at Whaddon, croſſeth two other in one chanell, whereof one riſeth about Bzumham houſe, and goeth to Sene, the other about the Diuizes, and from thence runneth to Potterne wood, Creke wood, Wozton, Paſſon, Bucklington, and ioining with the other aboue Litleton, they run by Semmington, and north of Whaddon aforeſaid into the maine ſtreame, whereof I now intreat. From hence our Auon runneth to Stauerton, and ſouthweſt of that towne méeteth with the Were that commeth from Upton by Dilton, Bzoke parke (there croſſing a rill called Biſſe from Weſtbirie vnder the plaine) then to north Bzadleie, Trubzidge, and ſo into Auon that goeth from thence to Bzadford, & within a mile or thereabouts, before it come at Freſhford, it méeteth with the Frome, whoſe deſcription doth inſue.

Colham.

Were.

Weſtbirie vnder ỹ plaine, neuer without a theefe or twaine.

The Frome riſeth in the eaſt part of Mendip hils, and from thence runneth by Aſtwiſe, the Cole pits, Lie vnder Mendip, Whateleie, Elmeſbzidge, and ſone after taketh in the Nonneie water, comming from Nonneie caſtell, thence to Walles and Ozcharleie bzidge, where it receiueth a pzetie bzooke

Frome.

Nonneie.

deſcending from Frome Selwood weſt of Brackleie, increaſed with ſundrie rils, whereof two come out of Selwood foreſt (and one of them from the Fratrie) another out of Long lead parke, from Horningham, and the fourth from Coſleie. Hence our Frome goeth to Lullington, Beckington, Farleie caſtell, Bord and Freſh ford, and taking in the Silling broke, falleth into the Auon beneath Bradford, and eaſt of Freſhford. From thence going beneath Stoke, it receiueth on the left hand a water comming from ſouthweſt, increaſed by ſundrie brookes, whereof one commeth from Camelet by Litleton, and Dankerton, the other from Stone Eſton, Midſummer Norton, by Welſton, Rodſtocke, Wrigleton, Folcot, and Wellow, and there (taking in a rill from Phillips Norton) it goeth by Clauerton to Hampton, and there it meeteth with another water comming from Barthford, whoſe head is at Litleton from whence it runneth by weſt Kineton to Caſtell combe (where it ioineth with a rill riſing by north from Litleton diue) and thence commeth ſouth to Slaughtenford, Haſelburie, Box, Baithford, and ſo into the Auon, which turning plaine weſt, haſteth to Baithwic, and (meeting with another in his paſſage from Caldaſton) to Bath, the Tiuertons, and Coſton.

Silling.

Heere alſo it taketh in a rill by the waie from Parkeſburie by Wilmerton and Newton, and then going on to Sawford, it meeteth with one rill ſome weſt of Northſtocke, named Swinford, and another by Witton, from Durhain by Wilke, and ſo proceedeth ſtill holding on his way to Caimſham, a towne in Summerſet ſhire (ſo called of Caim an Engliſh ſaint, by whoſe praiers, as the countrie once beleeued, all the adders, ſnakes and ſerpents were turned into ſtone, their formes reſerued, and for a certeine ſpace of ground about the ſaid towne, and whereof ſome ſtore as yet is to be found in thoſe quaries. But this miracle is ſo true as the hiſtorie of Hilda, or that S. Patrike ſhould chaſe all venemous creatures out of Italie with his ſtaffe; or that maid Radegund ſhould driue the crowes to the pound, which did annoie hir corne while ſhe went vnto a chappell to heare & ſee a maſſe) where it croſſeth the Chute, which iſſueth at Winford, and goeth by biſhops Chue to Penford, and there receiueth the Clue comming from Cluton, and from thence to Chute, & ſo into the Auon. The Auon likewiſe after all theſe confluences goeth to Biſelton, and ſo to Biſſlow, beneath which it receiueth a rill on each ſide (whereof one commeth from about Stoke lodge in Glocеſterſhire, being a faire water and running by Acton, Frampton, Hambroch, Stapleton, and through Biſſlow, the other by ſouth from Mundreie hill and towne, by Biſport and Bedminſter) and ſo deſcending yet lower, goeth to Kawneham paſſage and Clifton, then by S. Vincents rocke and Laie, nert of all to Crocampill, and finallie into the ſea, whither all waters by nature do reſort.

Swinford.

Swinford parteth Summerſet & Glocеſterſhires in ſunder.

Beſide this water, Leland maketh mention of Alderleie broke, which in ſome ancient records is alſo called Auon, and runneth by Barkeleie. In like maner he talketh of Doureſleie becke, whoſe principall head is in Doureſleie towne: howbeit he ſaith no thing of it more, than that it ſerueth ſundrie tucking lucking milles, and goeth by Tortworth or foure miles further, before it come at the Sauerne. Finallie, making mention of an excellent quarrie of hard ſtone about Doureſleie, he telleth of the Tortworth becke, that runneth within a flight ſhot of Barkeleie towne, and falleth on the left hand into Sauerne marches, taking with all the Alderleie or Auon, except I miſtake his meaning, which may ſone be done among his confuſed notes.

Alderleie.
Doureſleie.

Tortworth.

The deſcription of the Sauerne, & ſuch waters as diſcharge themſelues into the ſame.

Chap. 13.

THe Sauerne which Ptolomie calleth Sabriana, Tacitus Sabrina, diuideth England or that part of the Iland, which ſometime was called Lhoegres from Cambria, ſo called of Camber, the ſecond ſonne of Brute, as our hiſtories do report. But now that region hight Wales, of the Germane word Walth, whereby that nation doth vſe to call all ſtrangers without reſpect of countrie. This riuer toke the name of a certeine ladie, called Habren or Hafren, baſe daughter to Locrinus begotten vpon Eſtrildis daughter to Humber otherwiſe called Cumbrus or Umar, and for which ſome write Chonibrus king of Scithia, that ſometime inuaded this Iland, and was ouerthrowne here in the daies of this Locrinus, as ſhall be ſhewed at hand: although I ſuppoſe rather that this ladie was called Ine, and that the word Sabrina is compounded of Aber and Ine, and the letter S added *Propter euphoniam*: for the mouth or fall of euerie riuer in the Britiſh ſpech is called Aber, whereby Aber Ine is ſo much to ſaie as, the fall of Ine. But let vs returne againe to our diſcourſe of Humber or Umar, which is worthie to be remembred.

Sauerne.

For after the death of Locrinus, it came to paſſe that Guendolena his wife ruled the kingdome in the nonage of hir ſonne: and then getting the ſaid Eſtrildis and Habren hir daughter into hir hands, ſhe drowned them both in this riuer. And in perpetuall remembrance of hir huſbands diſloialtie towards hir, ſhe cauſed the ſtreame to be called Habren of the yoong ladie, for which the Romans in proceſſe of time for readineſſe and mildneſſe of pronunciation, wrote Sabrina, and we at this time do pronounce the Sauerne. Of the drowning of the ſaid Abren alſo I find theſe verſes inſuing:

In fluuium præcipitatur Abren,
Nomen Abren, fluuio de virgine, nomen eidem
Nomine corrupto deinde Sabrina datur.

But to returne to our Sauerne. It falleth into the maine ſea betweene Wales and Cornewall, which is and ſhall be called the Sauerne ſea, ſo long as the riuer doth keepe hir name. But as the ſaid ſtreame in length of courſe, bountie of water, and depth of chanell commeth farre behind the Thames: ſo for other commodities, as trade of merchandize, plentie of cariage, & ſtore of all kind of fiſh, as ſalmon, trouts, breames, piberell, tench, perch, &c: it is nothing at all inferiour or ſecond to the ſame. Finallie, there is nothing to be diſcommended in this riuer, but the openneſſe thereof in manie places to the weather, whereby ſundrie perils oft ouertake ſuch as fiſh or ſaile in ſmall veſſels on the ſame.

The head of this noble ſtreame is found in the high mounteines of ſouth Wales called Helennith or Plim limmon: in Engliſh, the blacke mounteins, or more heads, from whence alſo the Wie and the Rhidoll do proceed: and therefore theſe three waters are commonlie called the three ſiſters, and haue in latitude two and fiftie degrees ten minutes, in longitude fifteene and fiftie, as the deſcription inferreth. So ſone as it is out of the ground, it goeth ſoutheaſtward, till it come within a mile of Laundlos, where it receiueth a chanell from by ſouth ſouthweſt, called the Dulas, which commeth thereinto on the ſouth ſide, & ſouthweſt of Lan Idlos. It riſeth (as it ſhould ſeeme) of diuerſe heads in the edge of Radnorſhire,

and

and taking in ſundrie ſmall rilles, it mæteth at the laſt with the Bruenham bꝛoke, and ſo they go togither till they fall into the Sauerne. Beneath Lan Idlos it taketh in the Clewdogh from noꝛthweſt, a water pꝛoducted by the influence of foure pꝛetie bꝛookes, whereof one is called Bacho, another Dungum comming out of lin Glaſlin, the third Lhoid riſing in lin Begilin, and the moſt ſoutherlie called Bigga. After which confluence our Sauerne pꝛoceedeth on by Berhlaid toward Landiman, taking in by the waie, on the eaſt ſide the Couine, thence to Cairfuſe caſtell, where it mæteth with the Carnon, and the Caran both in one chanell, and going not far from the aforeſaid foꝛtreſſe. After this it croſſeth the Hawes on the noꝛth halfe beneath Aberhawes, next of all the Duleſſe that riſeth in the edge of Radnoꝛ ſhire, and mæteth with it before it come at Newton in Powiſie, otherwiſe called Trenewith, as I find in Britiſh language. Being come to Trenewith, I cannot eſchue (right honoꝛable) to giue one note, as by the waie, touching the oꝛiginall of my ladie your bedfellowes anceſtrie, which came from hence, & were ſurnamed Newtons onelie, foꝛ that the grandfather of ſir John Newton either dwelled oꝛ was boꝛne there: otherwiſe the right name is Caradoc, foꝛ which ſome doo coꝛruptlie wꝛite Cradocke, reſpecting rather the ſhoꝛtneſſe of pꝛonuntiation, than the true oꝛthographie and wꝛiting of the woꝛd. Certes the Caradockes haue bæne, and yet are a linage of great honoꝛ, antiquitie, and ſeruice; their lands alſo ſometime belonged (foꝛ the moſt part) to the noble Gonoanies of Summerſetſhire: but in what oꝛder they deſcended to the Newtons, in good ſooth I cannot tell. But to pꝛoceed with our riuer, which being paſt Newton, runneth foꝛth by Landilouarne, and ſo foꝛth on till it come to the fall of the Yule, whoſe head is in the edge of Radnoꝛ alſo, and thereto his paſſage by Kerie and Lanmereiwie. After this alſo it pꝛoceedeth further till it mæt with the Kenlet oꝛ the Camalet, which taketh in alſo the Tate oꝛ Tadbꝛoke water riſing out of the hilles a mile from Biſhops towne, the whole courſe thereof being about ſeauen miles from the head (as I haue often heard.) Of this alſo I find two deſcriptions, whereof one I boꝛrow out of Leland, who ſaith that it is a pꝛetie bꝛoke, running in the vale by Mountgomerie, and comming within halfe a mile of the place where Chirbirie pꝛioꝛie ſtood, it falleth into the Sauerne about a mile from thence. Of the rilles (ſaith he) that run from the hilles thoꝛough Mountgomerie, which are a mile from the Sauerne ſhoꝛe, and likewiſe of the Lan Idlos bꝛoke that mæteth withall within foure miles of the head, I ſpeake not, but thinke it ſufficient to touch thoſe of ſome eſtimation, onelie leauing the reſt to ſuch as maie hereafter deale with things moꝛe particularlie as time and trauell maie reueale the truth to them. And hitherto Leland, whoſe woꝛds I dare not alter. But another noteth this Camalet oꝛ Kenlet to run by Moꝛe, Liddiom, Sned, Churchſtocke, Chirbirie, Walcote, and Winſbirie, and ſo into the Sauerne.

From hence then, and after this confluence it goeth on by Foꝛdon, Leighton, and Landbꝛeuie toward Peluerleie, and there it mæteth with ſundꝛie waters in one chanell, whereof the one called the Tanet is a verie pꝛetie water (whereinto the Peuereie oꝛ Purneweie doth fall, which deſcendeth from the hilles by weſt of Matrafall not farre from Lhan Filin) the other Auernie, and ioining beneath Abertannoth, oꝛ aboue Lannamonach nære vnto the ditch of Offa, it is not long yer they mæt with the Moꝛdant bꝛoke, and there loſe their names ſo ſone as they ioine and mir their waters with it. The head of the Moꝛdant iſſueth out of the Lanuerdan hilles, where diuerſe ſaie, that the pariſh church of croſſe Oſwald oꝛ Oſweſter ſometimes ſtood. Certes, Oſweſter is thirtæne miles noꝛthweſt from Shꝛewſburie, and conteineth a mile within the walles. It hath in like ſoꝛt foure ſuburbs oꝛ great ſtrætes, of which one is called Stratlan, another Wuliho, the third Beterich, wherein are one hundꝛed and foꝛtie barns ſtanding on a row belonging to the citizens oꝛ burgeſſes, and the fourth named the Blackegate ſtræt, in which are thirtie barns mainteined foꝛ coꝛne & haie. There is alſo a bꝛoke running thoꝛough the towne by the croſſe, comming from Simons well, a bow ſhote without the wall; & going vnder the ſame betweene Thoꝛowgate & Newgate, running vnder the Blacke gate. There is another, ouer whoſe courſe the Baperikes oꝛ Bederich gate ſtandeth, and therefoꝛe called Bederich bꝛoke. The third palleth by the Williegate oꝛ Newgate, & theſe fall all togither with the Croſſe bꝛoke, a mile lower by ſouth into the Moꝛdant that runneth (as I ſaid) by Oſweſter. From hence alſo it goeth to Moꝛdant towne, and betweene Landbꝛeuie and Peluerleie doth fall into the Sauerne. After this our pꝛincipall ſtreame goeth to Sheauerdon caſtell, Mountfoꝛd, and Bicton chappell: and here it receiueth a water on the left hand, that riſeth of two heads, whereof one is aboue Yerton, the other at Eliſmere, and ioining betweene Woodhouſes & Bagleie, the confluence runneth on by Radnall, Halton, Teddeſmer, Roiton, Baſchurch, Walfoꝛd, Grafton, Pitton, and ſo into the Sauerne. From hence it runneth to Fitz, Eton, oꝛ Leiton, Barwiie, vpper Roſſall, Shelton, and ſo to Shꝛewſburie, where it croſſeth the Yele water, whoſe head (as I heare) is ſaid to be in Weſton.

The Yele therefoꝛe riſing at Weſton, goeth by Bꝛocton, Woꝛthen, Aſton Pigot, Weſtleie, Afferleie, and at Lea it mæteth with the Haberleie water that commeth downe by Pontelfoꝛd and Aunſton. After this confluence alſo it runneth to Newenham & Crokemele, there taking in a rill on the other ſide that deſcendeth by Weſtburie and Stretton, & thence going on to Hanwood, Noball, Pulleie, Bꝛacemele, and Shꝛewelburie, it falleth (as I ſaid) into the open Sauerne. From hence our Sauerne haſteth to Uffington, Pꝛeſton, and betweene Chilton and Bꝛampton taketh in the Terne, a faire ſtreame and woꝛthie to be well handled; if it laie in me to perfoꝛme it. This riuer riſeth in a mere beſide Welbꝛidge parke, neere vnto Ternemere village in Staffoꝛdſhire. From whence it runneth by the parkes ſide to Knighton, Moꝛton, Betton, and at Dꝛaiton Hales croſſeth with a water comming from about Adbaſton (where maiſter Bꝛodocke dwelleth) and runneth by Chipenham and Amming: ſo that the Terne on the one ſide, and this bꝛoke on the other, doo incloſe a great part of * Bloꝛe heath, where a noble battell was ſometime purpoſed betweene king Henrie the firſt, and the duke of Noꝛke: but it wanted execution.

But to pꝛoceed. After this confluence, it runneth to Dꝛaiton Hales, Ternehill bꝛidge: and yer long taking in a rill from Sandfoꝛd by Blechleie, it goeth to Stoke Allerton, Peplaw, and Eaton, where it croſſeth with a bꝛoke that riſeth about Bꝛinton, and going by Higham, Moꝛton, the great Mere, Foꝛton, Pilſon, Pickſtocke, Reinton, Tibberton, and Bolas, it ioineth with the ſaid Terne not farre from Water Upton. Thence paſſing to Crogenton, it mæteth with another bꝛoke that commeth from Chaltwen Aſton, by Newpoꝛt, Longfoꝛd, Aldneie, and ſo through the Wilde moꝛe to Kinſleie & Sleepe, and finallie into the Terne, which haſteth from thence to Eſton bꝛidge, and nere vnto Walcote taketh in the Roden. This water riſeth at Halton in Cumbermere lake: and comming to Duenleie, croſſeth a rill from Cowlemere by Lentall. Thence it goeth to Hoꝛton,

Bꝛucham. Clewdogh. Bacho. Dungum. Lhoid. Bigga. Couine. Carnon. Caran. Hawes. Duleſſe. 2. Yule. Lenlet. Camalet. Tate. Lan Idlos. Tanet. Peuereie oꝛ Purneweie. Auernele. Moꝛdant. Simons becke. Bederich. Yele. Haberleie. Terne. * Sée Hen. 6. pag. 649. Roden.

Horton, and (ioining with another rill beneath Nonlaie that commeth from Wdle) runneth on to Wen, Alton, there croſſing a rill beneath Lacon hall from Prées ward, and ſo to Lée, Bekford, Stanton, Morton, Shabrée, Painton, Roden, Rodington, and then into Terne, that runneth from thence by Charlton, Upton, Morton, Barwyc, Acham, and ſo into the Sauerne two miles beneath Shrewesburie (as I wéene.)

Thus haue I deſcribed the Terne in ſuch wiſe as my ſimple ſkill is able to performe. Now it reſteth that I proceed on (as I maie) with the Sauerne ſtreame, with which, after this former confluence, it goeth vnto Korater or Korceſter, Brampton, Eaton vpon Sauerne, Draiton, where it ioineth with the Enerne that runneth from Frodeleieward by Withiall and Pitchford, Creſſedge, Garneſton, Leighton, and betwéene the two Bildaſſes croſſeth the Rhe or Wenlocke water, and ſo goeth on to Browſleie and Hwrd parke, where it vniteth it ſelfe with another broke to be deſcribed in this place, whileſt the Sauerne reſts, and recreates it ſelfe hereamong the pleſant bottoms.

Enerne.

Wenlocke or Rhe.

This water ariſeth aboue Tongcaſtell, and yet it haue run anie great diſtance from the head, it méeteth with a rill comming by Sheriffe Hales, and Staunton. Thence it goeth on to Hatton, Roiton, and there croſſing another from Woodhouſes, comming by Haughton and Euelin, it proceedeth to Beckebirie and Higford, and not omitting here to croſſe the Worſe (ſometime a great ſtreame that runneth vnto it out of Snowdon pole) and ſo paſſeth forth to Badger, Acleton, Worſſield: a litle from whence (about Wickin) it taketh in another broke into it called Churle, & ſo goeth on to Kindleford, and then into Sauerne ſomwhat aboue Bridgenorth at Penſton mill (except mine information deceiue me.) From Bridgenorth our Sauerne deſcendeth to Woodburie, Quatford, and there taking in the Parbroke beneath Eaton that riſeth aboue Collaton, and goeth by Morill & Underton, it runneth by Didmanſton, Hempton, Aueleie, & beneath in the waie to Bargate, croſſeth with a broke comming from Upton parke, by Chetton, Billingleie, and Highleie, which being admitted, it holdeth on to Areleie, Clarnewod parke, Hawbach and Dowleſſe. Here alſo it méeteth with the Dowleſſe water, a prettie broke iſſuing out of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, verie high to loke vpon, and three miles or thereabouts from Ludlow, which runneth through Clebirie parke in Wire forreſt, & taking withall the Lempe, doth fall into the Sauerne not far from Bewdleie.

Worſe.

Marbroke.

Dowleſſe.

Lempe.

But to proceed. From Bewdleie our Sauerne haſteth directlie to Ribford, Areleie and Redſon, and here it méeteth with a water called Stoure, deſcending from Elie, or out of the ponds of Hales Owen in Worceſterſhire, where it receiueth a rill from the left hand, and another from the right, and then goeth on to Sturbridge (taking in there the third water per long running from Sturton caſtell) then to Kniuer Whittenton, Querleie and Kidermiſter, aboue which it croſſeth one brokelet that commeth thither by Church hill, and another beneath it that runneth by Belbrow, betwixt which two waters lieth an od peece of Staffordſhire included, and alſo the Cle hill. From hence the aforeſaid Sauerne haſteth by Redſon to Shrawleie; and aboue this towne receiueth the Aſſleie water, as beneath the ſame it doth another. From Witleie then it goeth on to Holt caſtell, and ſo to Grimleie, taking in thereabout with the Doure, and Snlwaie waters, whereof this riſeth at Chadſwyc, and runneth by Stoke prioꝛie, & Drayton, the other aboue Chaddeſleie, and commeth by Dourdale. After this it goeth forth vnto Worceſter, in old time called Cair Brangon, or Cair Frangon, where it méeteth with the Tiber, or Tiberton water, on the right hand aboue that citie, and beneth it nære vnto Powyc with the Temde, whoſe deſcription ſhall be ſet downe before I proceed or go anie further with the Sauerne.

Stoure.

Aſſleie.

Doure. Snlwaie.

Tiber.

The Temde, or (as ſome name it) the Tame riſeth vp in Radnorſhire, out of the Welenth hilles, and ſone after his iſſue, méeting with a water from Wilthall, it runneth to Begeldie, Lanuerwaterden, and ſo to Knighton, which is fiue or ſix miles (as I heare) from his originall. From Knighton it goeth ouer the ditch of Offa vnto Standiſh, and croſſing a rill that commeth from betwéene the parke named Clude, (and is a bound of Radnorſhire) it goeth to Buckton, Walford, and Lanuarden, where it méeteth with the Bardwell or Berfield, and the Clun, both in one chanell, of which I find theſe deſcriptions here folowing word for word in Leland. The Bardwell or Barfield riſeth aboue New Chappell, in the honour of Clun, hard by the ditch of Offa, and goeth by Bucknell. The Clun iſſueth out of the ground betwéene Lhan Uehan and Maiſton, and going on by Bucton, Cluncaſtell, Clundon, Purſlaw, and Clunbirie, it croſſeth with a broke that runneth along by Kempton and Brampton. Thence going forth by Clunbirie, Brome, Abcot and Marlow, it méeteth with the Bardwell, and ſo in the Temde, not verie far from Temderton. I ſuppoſe that Leland calleth the Bardwell by the name of Dwke, but I will not abide by it bicauſe I am not ſure of it. After theſe confluences therefore, our Temde goeth by Tripleton, Dounton, Burrington, and Bromefield, where it méeteth with the Dneie, which is an indifferent ſtreame, and increaſed with ſundrie waters, whereof I ſaie as followeth.

Temde.

Clude.

Barfield Clun.

Dwke.

Dneie.

The firſt of all is called the Bow. It riſeth (as I learne) in the hilles betwéene Hillington and Shelue, and from thence commeth downe by Lindleie and Hardwyc, where it croſſeth the Warren that iſſueth out of the ground about Rotlie chappell, and runneth by Adſton and Wentnor. After the confluence alſo going on by Choulton and Cheintes, it taketh in the Queneie and Strabroke both in one chanell, wherof the firſt riſeth at Lebotwod, and commeth downe by the Strettons, till it paſſe by Fellanton. The ſecond mounteth about Longuill, and goeth by Rushburie, Newhall, Harton, and Alcaſter, from whence it is not long yer it fall into the Queneie, and ſo by Stratford into the Dneie, which hath borne that name ſince the confluence of the Bow and Warren at Hardwyc, whereof I ſpake before. Finallie, the Dneie which ſome call the Somergill being thus increaſed, it runneth on to Halford chappell, Dneibirie, Bromefield, and ſo into Temde, and next of all to Ludlow. The Temde being thus brought to Ludlow, méeteth with the Corue, which commeth thorough Coruedale from aboue Broton by Morehouſes, Shipton, Hungerford, and a little beneath taking in a rill that commeth by Tugford, and Brencoſt caſtell, goeth on to Corſham caſtell, and there croſſing another from ſaint Margarets Clée, it hieth to Stanton Lacie, and ſo likewiſe to Ludlow.

Warren.

Queneie and Strabroke.

Somergill.

Corue.

From Ludlow in like ſort it goeth to Ludford, the Aſhfordes, little Hereford, Burrington, and at Burkford vniteth it ſelfe with the Ladwich that commeth beneath Milburne ſtoke, from betwéene Browne, Clée hill, and Stittertons hill, to Middleton, Henleie, Ladwich, Conam, and ſo into Temde, which beneath Temdbirie receiueth another rill on the other ſide, and the ſecond on the left hand called Rhe, that commeth from aboue Ricton, Staterton, Hound, Nene, Clebirie, Knighton, and then into the Temde. From hence the Temde doeth goe by Alham,

Ladwich.

Rhe.

Alſham, Lingridge, Shelleie Welch, Cliſton, Whitburne (and croſſing a water that commeth from the Sapies) to Knightwic and Bradwaies. Hereabout againe it interteineth a rill that deſcendeth from about Kidburie on the right hand, and goeth by Collomatherne, Credcleie, Auſtike, and ſo into Temde, and then proceeding forward, the ſaid ſtreame runneth to Braunford, and yer long (taking in the Langherne that riſeth about Partleie, and paſſeth by Kengewic) it goeth to Powic, and ſo into the Sauerne before it come at Wlickeceſter.

Langherne.

Thus haue I brought all ſuch ſtreames before me that fall into the Sauerne from the head, vntill I come to Powic, wherof (as you may eaſily perceiue) the Temde is the moſt excellent. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the reſt of the diſcourſe intended concerning this our riuer. Certes, from Powic mils which are about halfe a mile beneth Worceſter, the Sauerne runneth on to Kempſeie and Cleueld, whence after it hath croſſed a broke comming from Cowleie, it halſeth firſt to Stoke, and ſo to Upton, which is eleuen or twelue miles from Gloceſter, whither it floweth manie times at high tides, but yer it come there, it drowneth another fall deſcending from Malуerne hilles by Blackemore parke, & ſome after the third growing by two branches, wherof one commeth alſo from Malуerne hils by little Malуerne and Welland, the other from Elderford by Pendocke and Longdon. After theſe confluences in like ſort, it runneth to Buſhelleie, and Tewkeſburie, where it receiueth the Auon, that followeth next of all in order to be deſcribed, before I proceed anie further in my diſcourſe of Sauerne.

The Auon riſeth at Mauelbie in the borders of Northhamptonſhire, a little ſide hand of Gilleſborow and fot of the hils whereon Mauelbie ſtandeth, and euen out of the church yard of the ſaid village. From hence it goeth to Welford, Stamford, Lilburne, Cliſton, and Rugbie, by north whereof it croſſeth a water called Swift, which commeth from aboue Kimcote, to Lutterworth, Browne ouer and Colſford. From thence alſo it goeth to Newbold, Wolſton, Ruington, and betweene the Stonlies taketh in the Sow. This Sow is a prettie water comming from aboue Calendon to Whitleie, and ſome after meeting with a riueret from Couentrie, which ſome do call Shirburne water, it goeth thence to Bagginton, where it taketh in a rill called Kinell, as I haue red from Kenelſworth, from whence it runneth to Stonleie, & ſo into the Auon. After this confluence the Auon proceedeth on to Stonleie abbeie, Alhebow, Piluerton, Edmonds cote, and apace to Warwic.

Auon 4.

Swiuerhus.

Souus.

Kinell.

But yer it come there, it meeteth from ſouth eaſt with two waters in one chanell, whereof the leaſt commeth to Parton from Biſhops Itchington, by Herburbirie and Thorpe, where it croſſeth a rill from Southam. The other is called Leame, or Lime that deſcendeth from about Helladon, or neere vnto Cateſbie in Northamptonſhire, and going by Duencote, Braunſton, Lemington and Pertun, it ioineth with the other; and then go from thence togither vnder the name of Leame, to Hunnington, Cobbington, and ſo into the Auon, as I gaue notice before. At Warwike alſo the Auon taketh in a water running northweſt from Groue parke. Thence it goeth on to Bereford, and there croſſing another from Shirburne, it paſſeth forth to Biſhops Hampton, meeting finallie with the third, from Kineton that runneth by Walton and Charlecote. After this laſt rehearſed confluence, it halſeth to Stretford vpon Auon, and then to Luddington ward, where it taketh in the Stoure that riſeth aboue Cherington, & whoſe courſe from thence is ſuch, as that being once paſt the head, it goeth by Weſton, and yer long croſſing a water from Campden, hanging Aſton, & Todnam, it runneth to Barcheſton, Aldermaſton, Clifford, & ſo into the Auon.

Leame.

Stoure.

From hence then the ſaid Auon goeth to Luddington, Burton, Bitford, and Cleue, and being parted from the ſaid towne, yer it come at Salford, it receiueth the Arow or Aur, which riſing in the blacke hils in Worcheſterſhire, commeth by Alchurch, Beleie parke, Ypleie, Studleie, and then taking in another rill called Alne, out of Feckham foreſt, and going by Coughton parke, it halſeth to Alceſter, Arow, Ragleie, Wheteleie, Bouington, Standford, and ſo into Auon, which after this conjunction goeth to Affenton & then to Couesholme: but yer it come there it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth about Willerſeie, the other nere to Buckland, and ioining beneath Badleie, they fall into Auon, vnder the name of Pludor broke, before it come to Couesholme.

Arow.

Alne.

Pludor.

Being paſt Couesholme it croſſeth the Aincell, which riſing out of the hils ſomewhere about Sudleie, runneth two miles further to Winchelcombe, and Gretton, and taking in a rill by the waie from Hailes, proceedeth on (going within one quarter of a mile of Hailes abbaie) to Tuddington, or Doddington, beneath which when it hath croſſed another rill that commeth from Stanwaie, it goeth to Warmington, Sedgeborow, and receiuing there the laſt on the right hand alſo (as all aboue rehearſed) it falleth into the Auon, when it is come by Hinton, vnto a towne called Hampton, or (as ſome do write it) Ampton. After this confluence the Auon goeth to Charleton, to Crapthorne (and there taking in a rill on the left hand) to Fladbirie wike, and almoſt at Perſore bridge, meeteth with a branched water that commeth by Piddle, whereof one head is at Alberton, an other at Piddle. From Perſore it goeth to Birlingham, and ſome after carrieng a broke withall deſcending from Fakenham, by Bradleie, Himbleton, Huddenton, Crowleie, Churchhill, Pibleton, Belleford and Delleford, it fleeteth to Eckington, Bredon, Twining, Pitton, and Tewkeſburie, where it ioineth with the Sauerne.

Vincélus.

Piddle.

Now to reſume the courſe of the Sauerne, you ſhall vnderſtand, that from Tewkeſburie it goeth to Derehirſt, the How paſſage, and ſome after receiuing the Chiltenham water that commeth thither by Bodenton, Sawton, and Norton, it runneth to Athelworth, Sainthirſt; and here it parteth it ſelfe till it come to Gloceſter, where it vniteth it ſelfe againe. But in the meane time the eaſterlie branch receiueth a forked chanell, whereof one head is not far from Leke Hampton, the other about Witcombe, from whence it goeth to Brockworth. The other branch or arme taketh in the Leadon that commeth downe by Preſton, Dimmocke, Pantleie vpper Leadon, Leadon court, and there taking in one rill that commeth from Linton by Areknoll, and another beneath it from Tainton by Rudford, it falleth into the ſaid branch on the right ſide, before it come at Gloceſter.

Chilus.

Leadon.

The Sauerne therefore being paſt Gloceſter, it meeteth with a litle rill on the right hand, and thence holding on his courſe by Elmore, Minſterworth, Longneie, to Framilode, it receiueth yer it come at this latter the Strowd broke, which riſing not farre from Side, goeth by Pallade, Edgeworth, Frampton, Strowd, and receiuing there a water that commeth from Panneſwic Lodge, by Pitteſcombe on the one ſide, and another from Radbridge on the other, it proſecuteth his voiage to Stone houſe, Eſlington, white Piſen, & ſo toward Framilode, where the ſaid Strowd doth fall into the Sauerne. After

Strowd.

the

the fall of Strowd, the Sauerne goeth from thence to Newenham, and Arlingham, and ſome after receiuing a water on each ſide, whereof one commeth from Vleie by Cham and Chambridge, the other by Blackneie and Catcombe, it goeth forth till it meet with another water on ech ſide, whereof that on the Engliſh halfe is forked, ſo that one head thereof is to be found about Borwell, the other at Horton, and meeting aboue Tortworthie, they run by Stone and Barkeleie caſtell, and ſo into the Sauerne. That on the Welſh halfe is named Newarne, which cõmeth from the forreſt of Deane, and ſo into the Sauerne.

Newarne.

Of ſuch waters as fall into the ſea in compaſſe of the Iland, betweene the Sauerne and the Humber.

Chap. 14.

THe Sauerne being thus deſcribed, it reſteth that I go forward with the names of thoſe that lie vpon the coaſt of Southwales, making my entrie at the ferrie ouer betweene Auſt in Glocеſterſhire, and a village on the further banke of Sauerne, not farre from Tarendacus chappell, in the mouth of the riuer Wie, which ferrie is about three miles ouer (ſaith Leland) or elſe my memorie doth faile me. This riuer Guie or Wie beginneth (as I ſaid before) on the ſide of the hilles where the Sauerne doth ariſe, and paſſing through Wencel and, that is, ſoutheaſt by Kaiader Guie to Buelt (where the Irwon meeteth withall) it goeth to Glaſburie, Hereford, Monmouth, and finallie into the Sauerne ſea at Chepſtow: for ſo they call Monhafren, which ſeuereth Wales from Summerſetſhire, Deuonſhire, Cornewall: as for the Rhidoll which is the third ſiluer, it hath the ſhorteſt courſe of all, for it runneth northward, and into the ſea at Aberiſtwith, which is not farre off, as the writers doo report.

wie mouth.

Guie alias Wie.

Leland writing of this riuer Guie or Wie ſaith thus: The Wie goeth thorough all Herefordſhire by Bradwarden caſtell, belonging to ſir Richard Vehan, and ſo to Hereford eaſt, thence eight miles to Rolle, a market towne in Herefordſhire: and in this riuer be vmbers, otherwiſe called graylings. It is alſo found by common experience, that the ſalmon of this riuer is in ſeaſon, when the like fiſh to be found in all other riuers is abandoned and out of vſe; wherof we of the eaſt parts doo not a little maruell. But let vs not ſtaie vpon theſe deſcriptions, ſith an other is come to my hand more exact than either of theſe.

Vmber a fiſh oneſie in the Wie.

The Guie therefore riſeth out of the blacke mountaines of Wales, out of which the Sauerne ſpringeth in Radnorſhire, and comming by Lhangerike, and Kaiadargoie, it receiueth one rill from the weſt called Darnoll, and another from by northeaſt comming by ſaint Harmon. Thence it goeth to Lhanuthell, and in the waie betwixt Kaiader and Lhanuthell, it ioineth with the Elland, whoſe head is neere to Comerillwith, and taketh likewiſe into him the Clardwen that diuideth for a ſeaſon Radnorſhire from Brecknoch, which Clardwen is likewiſe increaſed by the Clarthie within three miles of his head and leſſe, hauing his courſe from ſouthweſt & hillie ſoile adiacent. From Lhanuthell it goeth weſt of Diſſart, where it receiueth the Ithan, a riuer riſing aboue Lhanibiſter, and from whence it runneth to Landwie, and Lambaderne bawr: beneath which it croſſeth a water on ech ſide, whereof that on the right hand conſiſteth on the Duleſſe and the Cluedoch, after their confluence: the other hight Lomaron, whoſe head is aboue Lanihangle, and in the forreſt of Blethwag. After theſe confluences, it runneth on crinkeling in ſtrange manner, vnder the name of Ithon, till it come to Diſſart, taking in the Hawie on the left ſide yer it come there, and then into the Wie on the north ſide, which directeth his courſe further to Bealt, where it receiueth the Irwon, a notable ſtreame, deſcending from the hilles aboue Lanihangle Abergweſſen, and thence comming downe by Lanurid Lang marſh, Lanauan, Uechan, Langantan, and ſo to Beth or Bealt, being inlarged by the waie with ſundrie faire waters, as the Weuereie, whoſe head is about Lanauan more, the Dulaſſe, or (as ſome call it) the Dowlaſſe, that commeth from the hilles weſt of the head of Weuereie. The Comarch whoſe head and courſe is weſt of the Dowlaſſe on the north ſide, and likewiſe by two other on the ſouthweſt, and Dilaſſe from by ſouthweſt, which laſt rehearſed falleth into him halfe a mile and more aboue the influence of the Comarch which lieth on the other ſide. After this our Irwon goeth to Lhanuareth, where it croſſeth the Dehon on the ſouthweſt ſide, then to Aberedwie, and there receiueth the Edwie on the northeaſt, which ariſeth in the hilles aboue Botins chappell, and commeth downe by Crigend and Lanhaderne, thence the Guie goeth on to Lanſtephan, and there (or a little aboue) taketh in the Machaweie that commeth by caſtell Paine, and ſo going on in proceſſe of time with the Leuenni, whereof Leland in his commentaries doth write as here inſueth.

Lamaron. Hawie. Irwon. Weuereie. Dulaſſe. Comarch. Duleſſe. Dehon. Edwie. Machaweie. Leuenni.

The Leuenni, otherwiſe called the Euer or Euerie, is a farre ſtreame riſing in Welch Talgarth hard by Blaine Leuenni, among the Atteriſt hilles, from whence it goeth to Brecknoch mere, which is two miles long, and a mile broad, and where men doo fiſh in Vniligneis or botes of one peare, as they doo in Lhin Seuathan, which is foure miles from Brecknoch. Finallie, bringing great ſtore of red ſand withall, and there with the Brennich water (that hath his originall iſſue at Mennithgader, and is increaſed with the Trufrin) it falleth into the Wie aboue Gleſbirie three miles from Haie, at a place that of the oneſie fall of this brooke is named Aberleuenni, after this the Guie. Being come to Haie, a pretie towne where much Romane coine is found, which they call Iewes monie: and after it hath paſſed or croſſed a little brooke, which commeth from Lanigon, it meeteth with the Duleſſe that commeth alſo from the Atteriſt by Kerſop, and from thence goeth to Clifford caſtell (being now entred into Herefordſhire, and leauing Radnor, whereunto it hath for a long courſe beene march) then to the Whitneies, Winferton, Letton, Bradwarden, Broberie, Moningtõ, Biford, Bridgeſalers, Eaton, Brinton, and Hereford, without anie influence of riuer worthie of memorie, and yet with manie windleſſes, & there meeteth with a water riſing short of Wormeleie, which goeth by Haunſell, Lacie, Brinſop, Crowenell, Stretton, and Huntington, and ſone after into the Wie, beſide a little rill that runneth betweene them both euen into Hereford towne. From hence in like ſort the Wie hasteth to Kotheras church, Hampton, and Bodeford, where it taketh in ſundrie waters in one chanell, of which the Lug or Luie is the principall, and next of all to be deſcribed, before I go anie further with the courſe of the Wie, whereinto it diſchargeth the chanell. It riſeth in the edge of the forreſt of Kemples aboue Langunlo: from whence it goeth to Mononacht, Pilleth Whitton, Fulbrooke, Preſtaine, ſo into Herefordſhire, where betweene Boriſe & Beton, or Bitton, it receiueth in the Somergill, whoſe crotched head being march

Darnoll. Elland. Clardwen. Ithan. Duleſſe. Cluedoch. Lug.

to

to Radnor forreſt, directeth his ſtreame betweene the new and old Radnors, to Knill, to Nash, and ſo into the Lug, which preſentlie paſſeth by Kinsham, Shirleie, Ailmiſter, Kingſland, Eaton chappell, and ſo into Leomiſter, where it croſſeth the Oneie (a ſtreamelet riſing short of Shobden, and going by Chorleſter) a little before it come to the weſt ſide of the towne.

At Leomiſter it ſelfe in like ſort three waters do meet, and almoſt inuiron the towne, that is to ſaie, the Lug, the Pinſulleie or Pinſell (a riueret riſing at Kingſland two miles from Leomiſter) & the Kenbrooke, which commeth out of the blacke mounteins, from Leomiſter, otherwiſe called Leofminſter, of the builder, and alſo Leonminſter, the Lug or Luie goeth on to Eaton, and there taketh in a rill beneath Hampton, and aboue Hope, whereof one head is betweene Hatfield and Bickleton, another neere vnto Marſton, and meeting of both at Humber. From Hampton it goeth to Bodenham, Wellington, Horton, Sutton, Shelwie, Lugwardin, and Longward, where it croſſeth the Fromeie or Frome, a prettie water, and worthie to be remembred. It riſeth about Wolferelaw, from whence it commeth downe toward the ſouthweſt by Edwinſloch to Bromyard, Auenburie, Biſhops Frome, Caſtell Frome, Can Frome, to Stretton vpon Frome, and there taking in a water called Loden, comming from aboue Biſhops Grendon, by Pencombe, Colwarne, Stoke Lacie, Colwarne, and Engleton, our Frome goeth on to Barkeleie, Dormington, and Longward, and ſo into the Lug, betweene Longward and Sutton, which runneth forthwith to Mordford, or Morthford, and there into the Wie, vnto whoſe deſcription I now returne againe.

Being come therefore vnto Mordford, it goeth to Fawnehope, Hamlacie, Ballingham, Capull *regis*, where it receiueth a water called Treſke, from little Berch by Treſke, Fawleie, Holw, Capull Inkeſton, Foie, Brampton, Bridſtow, Wilton caſtell, the Roſſe, and there a rill from Biſhops Uptonward by Rudhall, Were ſend, Ham, Glewſton, Godderich, here in like ſort meeting with another that commeth from Eccleſwall in the confines of Glocesterſhire, by Peniard caſtell & Coughton, to Welch Bicknor, Engliſh Bicknor, Huntelham, including a parcell of Monmouthſhire, being an outliggand, as ye may find in that parcell of Herefordſhire which butteth vpon Glocesterſhire (as you ſhall find the like peece of Herefordſhire in the confines of Salop and Worceſter, wherein Rochford ſtandeth, beſide manie other which I haue elſewhere ſpoken of) Whitchurch, where it taketh in Gainar water that commeth from Much Birch, by Lanwarne, Michaell church, and at Langarran croſſeth the Garran brooke, that riſeth in Gregwod, ſhort of Arcop, ſix miles from Monemouth by northwell: after which theſe two do runne as one to Marſton, and almoſt Whitchurch, and ſo into the Wie, which goeth from thence to Gunnarew, S. Michaell, Dirton, and Monemouth, where I will ſtaie a while, till I haue deſcribed the Mone, next of all to be remembred here.

The Mona or Monbecke, riſeth in the forreſt of Dene, twentie miles from Monemouth by weſt in Cirlland, and going by Creſwell, or Craſwall chappell not farre from the marches of Brecknocke, and northeaſt of Hatuill hils, which after it hath run a good diſtance from the head receiueth firſt the Eſkle, and paſſeth by Lanthangle and the old Court, from northweaſt, then the Oleon, from ſouthweſt, which meeteth withall neere Cledoll or Knedoch, & paſſing by the old towne, it hatheth to Altrinis, where it becommeth march betweene Hereford and Monemouth ſhires, and taketh in a water comming by Trewin, & likewiſe the Hordwie or Hodneie which riſeth in Brecknocke among the Saterelles, & runneth by Capell a fin, Lantonie, Comroie, Michaell church in Monemouthſhire, and ioineth with our Mona at Altrinis, which after this confluence hatheth to Walderſtone, Lanſillo Langua, betweene which and Kinechurch it ioineth with the Doure that riſeth about the Bache aboue Dourſton, which is ſix miles aboue Doure abbie, ſo that it runneth through the Gilden dale, by Peterchurch, Folwchurch, Morehampton, Newcourt, Doure, and beneath Doure taketh in the Duleſſe, from ſouthweſt and Lanthangle, by Harleſwas caſtell on the one ſide, and per long the Wormeſbecke, deſcending from aboue Beuernall by Didleie, Deueror, Worke bridge, and Kenderchurch on the other, and ſo running all in one chanell vnto Mona, that riuer goeth on to Kinech church, Griſmond, Cardwaie, Skenfrith, Warnethall, Perthire, and ſo to Monemouth, where it meeteth with the Wie, ouer each of which riuers Monemuth towne hath his particular bridge.

The Guie or Wie therefore being increaſed with thus manie brookes and waters, paſſeth on from hence, and going toward Landogo, it meeteth with the Trollie becke, whoſe head is aboue Lannam ferrie in the north part of Monemouth ſhire, and goeth from thence by Lhantellio, Lanthangle, Gracedieu, Diggeſtow, Wonaſtow, Troie, and ſo into Wie, that runneth alſo by Wies wod chaſe, taking in there the Elwie that commeth from aboue Landelwie by Langowen, Lanniſſen, Penclaſe, Triſlegh, and Langogo, where meeting with the aforeſaid ſtreame, the Wie directeth his courſe from thence by Tinterne abbeie (where it croſſeth a rill from Trile grange) Chapell hill, Parcaſicke, Penterie chapell, Lancante, Chepſtowe, and ſo into the ſea, leauing the Treacle (a chappell ſtanding on a rocke) on the hand betweene it & Sauerne, ouer againſt the point that lieth ſouth of Betteſtie. Next vnto the Wie, I find a rill of no great courſe, comming downe from Mounton chappell, by a place of the biſhops of Landaffe. Thence paſſing by Charſton rocke, and the point whereon Trinitie chappell ſtandeth, I come vnto the fall of Trogie, which riſeth short of Trogie caſtell, and runneth toward the ſea, by Landuair, Dewſton, Calicot, and ſo into the Ocean, ouer againſt the Charſton rocke. The next fall is of a water that commeth from aboue Penho by ſaint Brides, north and by weſt of Dennie Iland, which lieth midwaie betweene that fall & Porthot point, and before I touch at Goldcliffe point, I croſſe another fall of a freſh brooke, whoſe head is aboue Landneigo in Wencewood, and courſe by Lhanbed, Langſton, Lhanwarne, and through the More to Wilſton.

Next vnto this is the Aberwith, or Wiſke, in Latine Oſca, whereon Caerleon ſtandeth, ſometime called Cheſter and Ciuitas legionum, becauſe the Romans ſojourned there, as did afterward Arthur the great, who alſo held a noble parlement in the ſame, whereof Galfride maketh mention Lib. 7. cap. 4. affirming thereto, that in thoſe dates the maieſtie thereof was ſuch, as that all the forefronts of their houſes were in maner laid ouer with gold, according to the Romane vſage. There was in the ſame in like ſort a famous vniuerſitie, wherein were 200 philoſophers; alſo two goodlie churches erected in the remembrance of Julius and Aaron, two Britiſh martyrs, whereby it might well be reputed for the third metropoliticall ſee in Britaine. But to our water, whereof I read that it is furthermore one of the greateſt in Southwales, and huge ſhips might well come to the towne of Caerleon, as they did in the time of the Romans, if Newport bridge were not a let vnto them; neuertheleſſe, big botes come thereto. It is eight Welſh or twelue Engliſh miles from

Chepſtow

Pinſell. Kenbrooke.

Fromeie.

Loden alias Aron.

Treſke.

Gainar.

Garran.

Mona.

Eſkon. Eſkill.

Hodneie.

Doure.

Duleſſe.

Worme ſbecke

Trollie.

Elwie.

Trogie.

Dennie Iland in the middeſt of the Sauerne, and likewiſe another little one called Beuerage.

Wiſke.

Chepſtow or Striguil, and of ſome thought to be in baſe Wenceland, though other be of the contrarie opinion. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this riuer is taken to be the bounds of Brechnockſhire, as Kenni is middle to Wenceland & Glamorganſhire. But to leaue theſe by-matters, and come to the deſcription of the water.

Vſke. You ſhall vnderſtand that the Vſke or Wiſke, in Latin Oſca riſeth in the blacke mounteins ten miles aboue Brechnocke toward Carmardine, the hill being properlie called Pminidh Duy out of which it falleth, and ſituate in the verie confines betweene Brechnocke and Carmardine ſhires, from whence winding into the northeaſt, it commeth to Trecaſtle, and in the waie betweene it and Capell Kidburne, it taketh in the Craie broke, on the right hand before it come to Kidburne chappell. Going alſo from thence toward Deuinocke, it croſſeth the Senneie on the ſame ſide (which riſeth aboue Capell Senneie) nert of all the Camblas, & at Aberbraine, the Brane, or the Bremich, whoſe head is three miles from Brechnocke, and running by Lanihangle, it meeteth I ſaie with the Vſke, about maſter Awbrics manor. Beneath Aber Yſter, it receiueth the Yſter, which riſeth northweſt aboue Partyr Kinoch, and commeth by Battell chappell, and going from thence by Lanſpithed and Newton, it runneth in the end to Brechnocke, where it taketh in the Hodneie or Honthie on the one ſide, whoſe head is in Blaine Honeie, and comming downe from thence by Defrune chappell, Lanihangle and Landiuilog, it meeteth with the Vſke or Brechnocke townes end, which of the fall of this water was ſometime called Aberhodni, as I haue beene informed: on the other halfe likewiſe it receiueth the Tertarith that riſeth among the Bane hils, fiue miles from Brechnocke, and commeth likewiſe into the verie ſuburbs of the towne, beneath Trenewith, or new Troie, whereby it taketh the courſe.

Craie. Senneie. Camblas. Brane. Yſter. Hodneie. Tertarith.

After theſe confluences, the Vſke proceedeth on toward Aberkinnrike, or the fall of a water whoſe head is in the roots of Penuchdennie hill, and paſſage by Cantreſſe. Thence it goeth by Lanhamlaghe, Penkethleie caſtell, Lanſanſreid, Landettie, Langonider, and ſone after receiuing the Riangall (which riſeth about the hill whereon Dinas caſtell ſtandeth, and runneth by Lanihangle and Tretoure) it paſſeth betweene Laugattocke and Cerighhowell, to Langroinie, and there about croſſeth the Groinie broke, that deſcendeth from Monegather, Arthur hill, by Peter church, as I find. When the Vſke is paſt this broke, it taketh in three other ſhort rils, from by ſouth within a little diſtance, whereof the firſt hight Cledoch Vaur, the ſecond Fidan, and the third Cledochdehan. Of theſe alſo the laſt falleth in nere to Lanwenarth. From hence the Vſke runneth to Abergeuenni towne, where it meeteth with the Kebbie water from by north, that riſeth ſhort of Bettus chappell aboue the towne, and the Geuennie that deſcendeth from aboue Landilobartholl beneath not farre from Colbroke, and ſo goeth on to Hardwyc, beneath which it croſſeth three nameleſſe rilles, on the right hand or ſouthweſt ſide before it come at Lanihangle vpon Vſke, of whoſe courſes I know not anie more than that they are not of anie length, nor the chanell of ſufficient greatneſſe ſeuerallie to intreat of. Betweene Kemmeis and Troſſreie it meeteth with ſuch an other rill that commeth downe by Bettus Newith. Thence it goeth to Caer Vſke or Brenbigeie (whoſe bridge, I mene that of Vſke, was ouerthrowne by rage of this riuer, in the ſir and twentith yeare of king Henrie the eight, vpon ſaint Hughes daie after a great ſnow) but yer it come there, it receiueth the Birthin on the right hand, which is a pretie water, deſcending from two heads, whereof the firſt is northweſt of Panthilot, as the other is of Lanihangle and Pentmorell.

Kinuricke. Riangall. Groini. Cledoch vaur. Fidan. Cledochdehā. Kebbie. Geuenni.

Birthin. Caer vſke ſtandeth on one ſide of Vſke, and Caerleon on the other, but Caer vſke by diuerſe miles further into the land.

Next vnto this it ioineth with the Elwie aboue Lanbadocke, whoſe head is eaſt of Penclaſe, and running weſtwards by Penclaſe, Laniſſen, Langowen (and beneath Landewie taking in a broket from Ragland caſtell, that commeth downe thither by Ragland parke) it bendeth ſouthweſt, vntill it come at the Vſke, which crinkling towards the ſouth, and going by Lanhowell, meeteth with three rilles before it come to Marthenie chappell, whereof the firſt lieth on the right hand, and the other on the left: the midlemoſt falling into the ſame, not farre from Lantreſſen, as I haue beene informed. From the mouth of the Romeneie to the mouth of the Taffe are two miles. Certes the Taffe is the greateſt riuer in all Glamorganſhire, called (by Ptolomie Rhatoſtadhybius, as I geſſe) and the citie Taffe it ſelfe of good countenance, ſith it is indued with the cathedrall ſee of a biſhop. The courſe of the water in like maner is verie ſwift, and bringeth oft ſuch logs and bodies of trees withall from the woddie hilles, that they do not ſeldome cruſh the bridge in peces, but for ſo much as it is made with timber it is repaired with lighter coſt, whereas if it were of hard ſtone, all the countrie about would hardlie be able to amend it. It riſeth in Brechnockſhire among the woddie hilles, from two heads, whereof one is in Penuchdenie, the other weſt of that mounteine, of which the firſt called Taffe vaure, goeth by Capell Ian vehan, Mainor, and Morlais, the other by Capell Mantie, and ioining at ſouthweſt beneath Morlais caſtle, they go to Partyr Tiduill, and toward Lannabor, but by the waie it taketh in from northweſt a broke called Cunnon, which commeth out of Brechnockſhire by Abardare, and afterward the Rodneie coming out of the ſame quarter (but not out of the ſame ſhire) which runneth by Eſtridinodoch, a crotched broke, & therefore diuided into Rodneie vaure, & Rodneie vehan, that being ioined with the Taffe, doth run on withall to Egleſilian, caſtle Coch, Whitchurch, Landaffe, Cardiffe, and ſo into the ſea, not far from Pennarth point, where alſo the Laie doth bid him welcome vnto his chanell or ſtreame. Furthermore, from Marthellie it haſteth to Kemmeis, and yer it come at Caerleon or Chelter in the ſouth, taketh in two waters on the right hand, of which the firſt commeth downe from the north betweene Landgwie, Landgweth, and by Lhan Henoch, without anie further increaſe: but the other is a more beautifull ſtreame, called Auon, and thus deſcribed as I find it among my pamphlets. The Auon riſeth in the hilles that ſeeme to part Monemouth and Brechenocke ſhires in ſunder, and after a rill receiued from Blorench hill on the northſide of the ſame, running downe from thence by Capell Newith and Triuethin, it receiueth a water from by ſouth almoſt of equall courſe, and from that quarter of the countrie, and in proceſſe of time another little one from the ſame ſide, yer it come to Lanurgwaie and Lanihangle, from whence it goeth to Cuennocke and Penroſe, & ſo in Vſke before it go by Caerleon. But here you muſt note, that the courſe of this ſtreame ioining beneath Quenocke chappell, with the other which deſcendeth (as I ſaid) from the hilles about foure miles aboue Landgwaie and Langweth, doth make an Iland aboue Caerleon, where Penroſe ſtandeth, & much Romane coine is found of all ſorts, ſo that the influence of the one into the other ſeemeth to me to be but a draine deuiſed by man, to keepe the citie from the violence of ſuch water as otherwiſe would oft annoie the ſame.

Auon.

Being paſt Caerleon it runneth to Crindie, where maiſter

maiſter Harbert dwelleth, and there carieng another broke withall, that riſeth north of Comberlow hill, and deſcendeth by Henlis and Bettus chappell, it runneth forth to Newport (in Welch caſtle Newith) and from thence vnder a bridge, after three or foure miles courſe to the ſea, taking the Ebowith water withall, which meeteth with the ſame almoſt in the verie mouth or fall, and riſeth in the edge of Breckenoch ſhire, or (as Leland ſaith) high Winceland, from two heads, of which one is called Eberith Uchan, the other Eberith Mawr, as I haue beene informed. The courſe of the firſt head is by Blamgrent, and after the confluence they paſſe togither by Lanhileth, and comming by weſt of Comberlow hill (croſſing a rill, from north eaſt by the waie) it taketh in thereabout the Serowie, that runneth by Treſtrent, & is of leſſe race hitherto than the Ebowith, and from that ſame quarter. After this confluence it goeth to Killeie, Rochellon caſtell, nert of all thorough a parke, and ſo by Greenefield caſtell, and is not long yer it fall into the ſea, being the laſt iſſue that I dow find in the countie, which beareth the name of Monemouth, and was in old time a part of the region of the Silures.

Ebowith. Serowie.

Romeneie. The Romeneie or (as ſome corruptlie call it) the Monneie, is a goodlie water, and from the head a march betweene Monemouth & Glamorgan ſhires. The head hereof is about Egglins Tider vap Hoell otherwiſe called Fanum Theodori, or the church of Theodorus, whence commeth manie ſprings, & taking one bottome, the water is called Canoch and not Romeneie till it be come to Romeneie. It receiueth no water on the eaſt ſide, but on the weſt diuerſe ſmall beckes, whereof three (and one of them called Iſka) are betweene the riſing and Brathetere chappell, the fourth cõmeth in by Capell Gledis, and Kethligatre, the fift from betweene the Faldrate and Lanuabor, the firt & ſeuenth before it come to Bedwas, and the eight ouer againſt Bedwas it ſelfe from chappell Martin, Cairfillie caſtell, and Thauan, after which confluences it runneth on by Maghan, Kenen, Mableie and Romeneie, & yet long croſſing a becke at north weſt that commeth from aboue Liſuan, Lamllen and Koch, it falleth into the ſea, about ſix miles from the Wilbe, and albeit the mouth thereof be nothing profitable for ſhips, yet is it alſo a march betweene the Silures and Glamorganſhire.

Romeneie.

Laie. The Laie falleth into the ſea a mile almoſt from the Taffe, and riſeth in the hilles aboue Lantriſſent (for all the region is verie hillie.) From whence comming by Lantriſſent and Auercaſtell, it runneth by Coit Marchan parke, Lambedder, S. Brides, Lhannihangle, ſaint Fagans and Elaie, Leckwith, Landowgh, Cogampill, and ſo into the ſea, without anie maner increaſe by anie rils at all ſauing the Dunelais, which riſeth foure miles from his fall, eaſt northeaſt, and meeteth withall a little more than a quarter of a mile from Pont Uelim Uaur, and likewiſe by weſt, the Methcoid that commeth from Glinne Rodeneie, and wherein to the Pedware diſchargeth that ſmall water gathered in his chanell. Here will I ſtaie a little and breake off into a diſcourſe, which Leland left alſo as parcell of this coaſt who toucheth it after this maner.

Laie. Dunelais. Methcoid. Pedware.

Laie. From Taffe to Laie mouth or Ele riuer a mile, from Laie mouth (or rather Penarth, that ſtandeth on the weſt point of it) to the mouth of Thawan riuer (from whence is a common paſſage ouer vnto Mineheued in Summerſetſhire of 17 miles) are about ſeuen Welſh miles, which are counted after this maner. A mile and a halfe aboue Thawan is Scilleie hauenet (a pretie ſuccour for ſhips) whoſe head is in Wenno parch two miles and a halfe from the ſhore. From Scilleie mouth to Aber Barrie a mile, and thither commeth a little rill of freſh water into Sauerne, whoſe head is ſcant a mile off in plaine ground by northeaſt, and right againſt the fall of this becke lieth Barrie Iland a ſtight ſhot from the ſhore at the full ſea. Halfe a mile aboue Aber Barrie is the mouth of Come kidie, which riſeth flat north from the place where it goeth into the Sauerne, and ſerueth oft for harbour vnto ſea-farers. Thence to the mouth of Thawan are three miles, wherevnto ſhips may come at will.

Thawan. Scilleie. Barrie. This Ile went fiftie yeares agone for x. pounds. Come kidie

Two miles aboue Thawan is Colhow, whither a little rill reſorteth from Lan Iltuit, thence to the mouth of Alen foure miles, that is a mile to ſaint Dinothes caſtell, and three miles further. The Alen riſeth by northeaſt vp into the land at a place called Lhes Brolmith, or Skirpton, about foure miles aboue the plot where it commeth by it ſelfe into Sauerne. From thence to the mouth of Ogur *alias* Gur three miles. Then come they in proceſſe of time vnto the Kenſike or Colbrooke riuer, which is no great thing, ſith it riſeth not aboue three miles from the ſhore. From Kenſike to Aber Auon two miles, and herein dw ſhips moleſted with weather oftentimes ſeeke harborough. It commeth of two armes, whereof that which lieth northeaſt is called Auon Uaur, the other that lieth northweſt Auon Uchan. They meet togither at Lhanuoie Hengle, about two miles aboue Aber Auon village, which is two miles alſo from the ſea.

Colhow. Alen. Ogur. Kenſike. Auon.

From hence to the Neth is about two miles and a halfe, thereon come ſhiplets almoſt to the towne of Neth from the Sauerne. From the mouth of Neth vnto the mouth of Crimline becke is two miles, and being paſſed the ſame we come vnto the Taue, which deſcendeth from the aforeſaid hilles and falleth into the ſea by eaſt of Swanſcie. Being paſt this we come vnto the Lichwr, or Lochar mouth, and then gliding by the Wormes head, we paſſed to the Wandreſmouth, wherof I find this deſcription following in Leland. Both Uendraith Uaur and Uendraith Uchan riſe in a peece of Carmardineſhire, called Illekenen, that is to ſaie, the low quarter about Kennen riuer, and betwixt the heads of theſe two hils is another hill, wherein be ſtones of a greenith colour, whereof the inhabitants make their lime. The name of the hill that Uendraith Uaur riſeth in, is called Pennith Uaur, and therein is a pole as in a moriſh ground, named Lhintegowen, where the principall ſpring is, and this hill is eight or nine miles From Kidwellie: the hill that Uendraith Uchan ſpringeth out of, is called Pennith Uchan, and this water commeth by Kidwellie towne.

Neth. Taue. Lochar. Wandres. Uendraith Uaur, Uendraith Uchan.

But about three or foure miles yer it come thither, it receiueth a broke called Treſgirth, the courſe whereof is little aboue a mile from the place where it goeth into Uendraith, and yet it hath foure or fiue tucking milles and three corne milles vpon it. At the head of this broke is an hole in the hilles ſide, where men often enter and walke in a large ſpace. And as for the broke it ſelfe, it is one of the moſt plentifull and commodious that is to be found in Wales. All along the ſides alſo of Uendraith Uaur, you ſhall find great plentie of ſea-coles. There is a great hole by head of Uendraith Uchan, where men vſe to enter into vaults of great compaſſe, and it is ſaid, that they maie go one waie vnder the ground to Wormes head, and another waie to Cairkemen caſtell, which is three miles or more into the land. But how true theſe things are, it is not in me to determine; yet this is certeine, that there is verie good hawking at the Heron in Uendraith Uchan. There are diuerſe prints of the paſſage of certeine worms alſo in the caue, at the head of Uendraith Uchan, as the inhabitants dw fable: but I neuer heard of anie

man that ſaw anie woꝛme there, and yet it is beléeued that manie woꝛmes are there. Hitherto out of Leland. But now to returne to mine owne courſe.

Laie. Leauing the Laie, which ſome call Claie, and paſſing the Pennarth baie, that lieth betweene the Pennarth and the Lauerocke points, we left Scillie Ilet (which lieth on the mouth of Scillie hauen beꝛe deſcribed) and came vnto the Barrie, whoſe head is aboue Wrinſton caſtell, and from thence he runneth by Deinſpowis, Cadorton, Barrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Barrie.

Aberthaw Being paſt the Barrie water, we come to a fall called Aberthaw, which riſeth two oꝛ thꝛée miles aboue Lanſanoꝛ, and going by Welch Newton, it commeth at length to Cowbꝛidge, and from thence goeth to Lanblethian, Landoch, Beanpéere, Flimſton, Gilſton, and betweene the eaſt and the weſt Aberthaw, & into the Sauerne ſea. But yer it come all there it receiueth a bꝛoke called Kenſan, oꝛ Karnſan, oꝛ Kenſech, on the eaſt ſide, whoſe head is eaſt of Bolſton, & comming by Charnelhoid, Lhancaruan, & Lancadle, it falleth into the foꝛmer aboue either of the Thawans. Leland ſaith, that Kenſan hath two heads, whereof the moꝛe noꝛtherlie called Bzane, lieth in Luenlithan, and runneth ſeauen miles beꝛe it méet with the other. Leauing this water we ſailed on, calling about the Nalh point, omitting two oꝛ thꝛee ſmall waters (whereof Leland hath alreadie as ye ſée made mention) becauſe I haue nothing moꝛe to add vnto their deſcriptions, except it be, that the Colhow taketh in a rill from Lan Iltruit, of whoſe courſe (to ſaie the truth) I haue no manner of knowledge.

Kenſan.

Ogur. The Ogur oꝛ Gur, which ſome call the Ogmur, is a well faire ſtreame (as we were wont to ſaie in our old Engliſh) whoſe head is in the ſame hilles, where the Rodeneies are to be found, but much moꝛe weſterlie, and running a long courſe yer it come to anie village, it goeth at the length beneath Langutneuere oꝛ Langouodoch, to S. Bzides vpon Ogur, then to Newcaſtell, and Narthermaure, beneath which it méeteth the Wennie, halfe a mile from Ogur oꝛ Ogmur caſtell on the eaſt ſide of the banke. It riſeth fiue oꝛ ſix miles from this place, among the hilles, and comming downe at laſt by Lanharne, it croſſeth a rill yer long from noꝛtheaſt, and the confluence paſſeth foꝛth by Coitchurch, Ogur caſtell, & ſo into the Ogur. Leland wꝛiting of the waters that fall into this Ogur ſaith thus. Into the Ogur alſo reſoꝛteth the Garrow two miles aboue Lanſanfride bꝛidge, deſcending from Blaingarow. It taketh furthermoꝛe (ſaith he) another called Leuennie riſing in the parith of Glin Coꝛug, at noꝛthweſt, and then running two miles lower, vniteth it ſelfe with the Coꝛug bꝛoke, a little ſhoꝛt thing, and woꝛthie no longer ſpeach. From this confluence the Leuennie goeth ſeauen miles further yer it mæte with the Ogur on the weſt ſide, at Lanſanfride, two miles aboue Penbowt. And ſo far Leland. But I wot not what he meaneth by it.

Wennie. Garrow. Leuennie. Coꝛug.

Kenlig. Next vnto the Ogur is the Kenlig water, that commeth downe by the Pile and Kenlig caſtell, and being paſt the ſame we croſſe the Margan rill, where ſir Edward Manxell dwelt, and ſo vnto Auon, which hauing two heads (as is ſaid) the moꝛe eaſterlie of them commeth downe by Hauodapoꝛt chappell, the other by Glin Coꝛug, Michaell church, Aber Auon, and ſo into the ſea, yéelding alſo in time of néed a good harbour foꝛ ſhips to lodge and ride in. From hence we went along by the Cole pits to the mouth of the Neth. The Neth is a faire water, riſing of diuerſe heads, whereof the moꝛe eaſterlie named Nethuehan riſeth not farre from the head of the Kennon, and comming downe by Penedoꝛin to Aberpirgwin, it receiueth Nethuaur, a little aboue the towne, which riſing not farre ſoutheaſt of the head of Tauie in Bꝛecknoch ſhire (as all the reſt doo) receiueth the Trangarth, the Weltaie and the Hepſaie, all which are accounted as members of his head in one chanell, about a mile oꝛ moꝛe beꝛe it ioine with Nethuehan. Foꝛ as Trangarth riſeth eaſt of Nethuaur, ſo the Welta riſeth by eaſt of Trangarth, and ioineth with the ſame aboue Iſtrad wealthie, and a little beneath the ſame towne taketh in the Hepſaie. So that albeit their ſeuerall riſings be half oꝛ a whole mile in ſunder, yet haue they (in a maner) like diſtance from Aberpirgwin, and their finall confluence in the edge of Glamoꝛganſhire, which they directlie doo croſſe. After theſe confluences, the maine ſtreame runneth in and out by ſundꝛie miles, and thꝛough the woddie ſoiles, till it mæt with Cledaugh, which ioineth with the ſame beneath the Reſonlaie, and goeth withall to Lanikſed, where it taketh in the Duleſſe, whoſe head is aboue Chappell Krenaunt, in the marches of Bꝛecknoch. Thence it goeth to Cador towne, oꝛ betweene it and Lanniſtide, then to Neth towne, whither ſmall veſſels often come: and beneath the ſame receiuing the Cledoch that runneth by Kelebebilch (and alſo Neth abbeie where maiſter Crumwell dwelleth) it goeth on by Coitfranke foꝛreſt, Nethwood, Bꝛiton ferrie, and ſo into the ſea.

Nethuaur. Trangarth. Weltaie. Hepſaie. Duleſſe. Cledoch.

The Tauie riſeth in the thickeſt of the blacke mounteines in Bꝛecknochſhire weſt of Nethuaur, and comming downe weſt of Calwen chappell, it receiueth on the eaſt banke a rill named Coiell that runneth thither by Coielburne chappell: and being thus vnited, the chanell palleth foꝛth by Iſtradgunles, and then méeting with the Turch oꝛ Toꝛch water that cõmeth from the fot of the blacke mounteines, and is march to parcell of Caermardinſhire, it runneth to Langoge, Lanſamled, ſaint Johns, Swanſeis, and ſo into the Baie. Being paſt this, we come by another little fall, whoſe water runneth thꝛée oꝛ foure miles yer it come into Swanſeie baie, but without name. Thence we go to the Crimline becke, whoſe deſcription I neither haue, noꝛ find anie great want therof. Wherfoꝛe going about by Diſſermont caſtell, and Pumbles point, we paſſe foꝛth toward the ſouthweſt by Penmarch point, till we come to Iſkon water, whoſe head is not farre within the land; and yet as it commeth thoꝛough the woodland, and downe by Penmarch caſtell, a rill oꝛ two doth fall into the ſame. Then calling about by Dꝛwich point, we go onward there by, and ſailing flat noꝛth by the Holme (hauing paſſed the Woꝛmeſlead and S. Kennets chappell) and then noꝛtheaſt by Whitfoꝛd point, we went at length to the Lochar oꝛ Loghoꝛ, oꝛ as Lhoyd nameth it, the Lichwꝛ, whoſe indꝛaught foꝛ a certene ſpace is march betweene Caermardine and Glamoꝛgan ſhires. It riſeth aboue Gwenwie chappell, from thence it goeth to Landbea, and aboue Bettus receiueth a rill named Amond that entreth thereinto from noꝛtheaſt. Being paſt Bettus, it paſſeth by Laneddie, Arthelas bꝛidge, and ouer againſt Landilo Talabout, it croſſeth from by weſt, the Combwilie by weſt of Parkreame, and afterward the Moꝛlais aboue Langnarch on the ſame ſide. Then comming to Loghoꝛ caſtell, it taketh in on the eaſt ſide, the Lhu, whoſe courſe is not aboue fiue miles, and thence lwing the name of Lochar, it is called Burraie, as ſome geſſe, vntill it come to the ſea, where it parteth it ſelfe going on each ſide of Bachannie Iland, a ſmall thing, and not woꝛthie (foꝛ anie thing I read thereof) as yet to be particularlie deſcribed. From this water we paſſed (I ſaie) by Bachannies Ile, to the Aberlheddie water, whoſe head being in the hilles aboue Pzenacrois, it paſſeth by

Tauie. Coilus. Toꝛch. Iſkon. Lochar. Amond. Combwille. Moꝛlais. Lhu. Burraie.

by Lhanelthete, and thence into the ſea. Then went we to the Duleſſe a little rill, whoſe head is not farre from Trinſaren: thence by the Pembꝛate and Calicoit points, till we came about to the Wandꝛes oꝛ Uendꝛaith mouth, whoſe deſcription is partlie touched alreadie; but bicauſe it is not ſuch as I would wiſh it to be, I will here after my owne maner deale ſomewhat further withall. Gwendꝛath oꝛ Uendꝛaith vaur riſeth in the lower ground, oꝛ not far from the hill Kenneth Uaur, whereon caſtell Careg ſtandeth, and deſcending by a pꝛetie long courſe vnder ſundꝛie bꝛidges, commeth at the laſt to Glin, then to Capull Lanberie, and ſo vnto the ſea, being little augmented with influences by the waie. Uendꝛaith Uchan riſeth a mile higher towards the noꝛth than Uendꝛaith Uaur, but out of the ſame ſoile, & thence directing his courſe toward the ſouthweſt, it goeth by Lancharog, Langendarne, Capull Langell, Bithon, Leighdenie, Kidwillie, and ſo into the ſea, about one mile from the fall of Uendꝛaith Uaur.

Duleſſe.

Wandꝛes.

Towie. The Towie riſeth in the mounteines of Elennith foure miles by ſouthealt from Lintiue, and two from Lingonon, in a mꝛoiſh ground foure & twentie miles from Caermardine, and in a foꝛreſt called Biſhops foꝛreſt, midwaie betwixt Landwibꝛeuie & Landanuerie caſtell. Foꝛ fiſh, in my opinion, this is much better than the Taw oꝛ Tafke, whoſe head bꝛeedeth no fiſh, but if it be caſt into it, they turne vp their bellies, flote aloft, and die out of hand. It parteth Bꝛecknoch from Cardigonſhire alſo foꝛ a certeine ſeaſon, till it come by the water of Trauſnant, that falleth thereinto from by eaſt out of the confins of Bꝛecknoch, vnto Pilin capell, and ſo to Iſkrodefine, where it mæteth with the Dothæ that commeth thither from Lhinuerwin where it riſeth, and ſo thꝛough Reſcoth foꝛreſt, vniting it ſelfe by the waie with the Peſcotter, which mounting out of the ground in the edge of Cardigonſhire, runneth along as a limit and march vnto the ſame, till it ioine with the Dothæ, and both come togither beneath Iſkrodefine into Towie, which we haue now in hand. After this confluence it commeth to Lhanuair Awbꝛeie, Lanthowell, and Lanimphrie, and here it receiueth two waters in one chanell, whereof the firſt is called Bꝛane, the other Gutherꝛie (which lieth moꝛe ſoutherlie of the two) and fall (as I ſaid) into Towie, beneath Landonuereie, which runneth on till it mæt with the firſt Duleſſe that goeth by Lenurdie, then with the Mozlais, and theſe on the noꝛthweſt. Certes the Bꝛane is a pꝛetie bꝛoke riſing two oꝛ three miles aboue Capell Newith, and deſcending by Lanbꝛane and Iſkradwalter, it mæteth (I ſaie) with the Gutherꝛie, whoſe head is weſt of Tridcaſtell in Bꝛecknochſhire, and thereby it is not a little increaſed. But to pꝛoceed with the Towie, which being paſt Lanimphrie and a rill that mæteth with the ſame, deſcending from noꝛthweſt of Lanurdan, it taketh in the influences of diuerſe waters in one chanell, of which the greateſt is called Nodewie, and thereof I find this deſcription.

Towie.

Pelcotter.

Bꝛane.

Gutherꝛie.

Duleſſe.

Mozlais.

Nodewie. The Nodewie, oꝛ (as ſome pꝛonounce it) Nothewie, riſeth of two heads, which ioining aboue Lanihangle, the ſtreame runneth on till it mæt with the Cledoch on the left hand, pꝛoceeding alſo further toward Langadocke, it receiueth not far from thence the Sawthete, whoſe two heads deſcend from the blacke mounteines oꝛ eaſt edge of Carmardineſhire (as mine infoꝛmation leadeth me.) After this confluence the ſecond Duleſſe doth mæt with the Towie, whoſe head is in the hilles aboue Talthogate abbeie, noꝛthweſt from Langadocke full fiue miles: then comming downe by Landilobaur, Newton, Dinefar caſtell, and Golden groue, it receiueth the third Duleſſe from by noꝛth that commeth in by Lanihangle and Dꝛilan caſtell, and after that the Cothie, whoſe race is ſomewhat long, and therefoꝛe his deſcription not vtterlie to be paſſed ouer.

Cledoch.

Sawthete.

Duleſſe. 2.

Duleſſe. 3.

Cothie.

Not farre from the head (which is thꝛee miles from Landanbꝛeuie, vnder the hulke of Blaine Icoꝛne, a narrow paſſage, and therein manie heaps of ſtones) and ſomewhat beneath Lana Pinſent chappell, it taketh in the Turche becke that runneth thither from aboue Lanacroies: thence it goeth to Lanſawell, Abergoꝛlech, Bꝛeghuangothie, Lannigod, and ſo into Towie, which hatking foꝛward by chappell Dewie, receiueth the Rauelthie from by noꝛth, then the Gwilie from noꝛthweſt, whoſe head is aboue Lanie Pinſent, and race by Canwell, Eluert, Comewilie, and Merling hill, as I haue often heard. After this confluence with the Gwilie, the Towie goeth to Caermardine, then to Lanigang, then to Lanſtephan, S. Iſmaels, and ſo into the ſea.

Turche.

Rauelthie.

Gwilie.

Taue. Next vnto the Towie is the Taue, whoſe head is in the blacke mounteines, as at the roots of Wrenni vaur hill in Pembꝛokeſhire, from whence it runneth by Lanuurnach, Langludien, Lanualteg, and taking in the Dudderie from ſouthweſt, out of the ſame countie by Lanbederuelfraie, and Lindwie, it goeth to Egleſware chappell, beneath which it croſſeth the Marlais by noꝛth that runneth by Lanbrdie and Whitland. Thence mæting with one rill called Uenni, as I take it, that commeth thꝛough Cardith foꝛreſt on the one ſide, and the Caire on the other that runneth into it weſt of Landolwꝛor, it hatketh to S. Clares, where it taketh in the Carthkinnie, oꝛ Barthkinnie (as Leland calleth it) and the Gow oꝛ Tow both in one chanell, of which the firſt riſeth aboue Capell Bettus, from whence it runneth by Talacouthe, Kilſant, and Langinnin, the other iſſueth out of the ground aboue Trologh Bettus, by Nidꝛun, & ioining with the foꝛmer a little aboue S. Clares, they run into the Taue, and from thence to Lanihangle, and betwæne it and Abercowen, admitteth ſmallie the Gowen oꝛ Gow ſtreame, which comming likewiſe from the blacke mounteines, goeth by Ebbernant, & ſo into the Taue, who directeth his courſe by Lancharne caſtell, and then into the ſea.

Dudderie.

Marlais.

Uenni.

Caire.

Carthkinnie.

Gow.

Gowen.

The nert water that we come to is the Gwair, which is but a ſmall thing riſing aboue Lambeder Uelfraie, and going from thence by eaſt of caſtell Merhie hill, Crumaier and Argwaire, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, and ſo we leaue Cairdinſhire, and go ouer into Penbꝛoke. Then paſſed we by an other comming out of Kathe foꝛreſt called Coit Kathe, the water it ſelfe riſing about Tempeton. Thence leauing the Monkeſton rocke, we came to Tenbie oꝛ Dinbechie Pilcod, and paſſing into the poꝛt betwæne the caſtell and S. Katharines rocke, we found it ſerued with two little backe waters, of ſo ſmall countenance, that they are not woꝛthie of anie further talke to be ſpent in their deſcriptions: yet the one ſæmeth to be called Flozence bꝛoke, the other Freſto, Gunfreſton ſtanding betwæne them both, whereby their ſight cannot periſh. After this we paſſed betwæne Londie and an other Ilet oꝛ rocke lieng by noꝛthweſt of the ſame, to Ludſop point, & ſo to Abertrewent, where I found a ſillie freſh water named Trewend that riſeth a mile oꝛ thereabout within the land. From thence we went ſouthwards by Bꝛode hauen, till we came to S. Gowans point. Then gathering weſt and by noꝛth before we came at Shepe Iland, we found another freſh water, that riſeth thoꝛt of Kiriog Maharen, and running ſouth of Uggarſton, Windmill hill, oꝛ betwæne it and Caſtell Noꝛton and Cupton, it holdeth on flat weſt all the waie till it come to the Ocean.

Gwair.

Bꝛechnocke.

From Londie to Caldis thirtie miles.

Trewent.

Being paſſed this water, we caſt about toward the noꝛthweſt, by the Poptons and Pennar, till we

Pennar. came to the Pennar mouth, out of which the ſalt water iſſueth that in maner inuironneth Penbroke. From this (omitting ſundrie ſalt creekes on both ſides of the hauen, not appertinent to our purpoſe) we came to the fall of two waters in one chanell, aboue whoſe confluence Williamſton parke ſtandeth, and whereof one (a meere ſalt courſe) incloſeth three parts of Carew caſtell. The other riſing neere to Coit Rath foreſt is a freſh, & going by Geffraiſton, Creſwell & Lawrenie, it leaueth the parke on the ſouth ſide, & goeth into the hauen after confluence with the former.

Now come I to the two ſwords, or hauen of Milford, whereinto two riuers direct their courſe from the northeaſt called Dugledu or the two ſwords, and betweene them both is a rill which they call alſo Cultlell (that is to ſaie) the knife. Hereof riſeth a merrie tale of a Welſhman, that lieng in this place abroad all night in the cold weather, and peraduenture not verie well occupied, was demanded of his hoſteſſe (where he did breake his faſt the next morow) at what inne he laie in the night precedent, becauſe he came ſo ſone to hir houſe per anie of hir maids were vp: Oh good hoſteſſe (quoth he) be contented, I laie to night in a dangerous eſtate, for I ſlept betweene two ſwords with a long knife at my heart; meaning indeed that he laie betweene theſe two riuers, and his breſt towards the ſouth neere to the head of Cultlell. But to paſſe ouer theſe ieſts. Here Leland ſpeaketh of a riuer called Gwilie, but where it riſeth or falleth, he maketh no certeine report: wherefore it is requiſit that I proceed according to my purpoſe.

Dugledu. Cultlell. Gwilie.

The one of theſe ſwords is called Clotheie or Clothie, of which I find this ſhort and breefe deſcription. The Clothie riſeth at the foot of Mirennie baure hill and comming downe to Monachlodge, Langelman, Lannakeuen, and Egremond, it receiueth a rill from by northweſt before it come at Lanhaddon caſtell, which commeth from aboue the moore by Clarbaſton and Bletherſton, his head ariſing in the hill weſt of Pancloghaie, as Leland doth informe me. Per long alſo and beneath Lanhaddon it taketh in another on the eaſt ſide from Narbarth caſtell, comming by Robeſton, then going by Cunaſton, Slebach, Picton caſtell, Sikker houſes, Pinware & Parthetwie, at Riſe caſtell point weſt of Coit Renles (as I haue beene informed) it taketh in the other ſword, named Dugledie, wherof I read as followeth. The head of the Dugledie is ſomwhere at northweſt, betwixt S. Laurences & S. Dugwels, from whence it runneth to Trauegarne, Redbarton, & taking in a rill by the waie from Camroſe at the weſt, it goeth to Hauerford or Hereford weſt, and there vniteth it ſelfe with a water, which peraduenture is the ſame that Leland called Gwilie. Certes it riſeth short of Walton, and comming by S. Leonards chappell and Pendergeſt, it falleth I ſaie into the Dugledie, ouer againſt the towne of Hauerford or Herford weſt, but in Welſh Hulford, as Lhoid doth ſet it downe. Beneath Herford it taketh in another water from ſouth weſt, whoſe head is short of S. Margarets chappell, and entertance betweene Harraldſton and Herford, which Harraldſtone receiueth the name of Harrald the ſucceſſour of Edward the confeſſour as ſome call him, who was a greeuous mall vnto the Britons that remained in the time of the ſaid Edward; as I haue noted elſewhere. Then the Dugledie ſtill deſcending taketh in the Freſe ſto Freſethorpe, a rill of no great accompt, and therefore I go from it making haſt vnto Culthell, & omitting two rils betweene it and the Clotheie on the ſouthſide, of no great weight and moment. The Cultlell commeth into the Dugledie beneath Bolſton, with a ſtreight courſe from by north, of three or foure miles, riſing by weſt of Slebach, and comming by Bowlſton, after whoſe vnition with the aforeſaid water they run on as one till they meet with the Clothie, calling out by the waie ſundrie ſalt creekes, as the maine chanell doth from thence forth vntill it paſſe the Sandie hauen, the Dale rode (whither a ſillie freſh rill commeth of ſmall value) & be come about againe to the large Ocean.

Clotheie. Dugledie. Gwilie.

Hauing thus ſhewed the courſes of thoſe few freſh waters that come to Milford hauen, we caſt about by the Blockehouſe and S. Annes chappell to Gateholme Ile, that lieth betweene S. Annes and the Willocke point, directlie ouer againſt Stockeholme Iland that is ſituat further off into the ſea, toward the ſouthweſt, and is full halfe ſo great as the Scalmeie that I elſewhere deſcribed. Betweene the Willocke point alſo and the Scalmeie, directlie weſt is the Midland Ile, full ſo great as the Gateholme. As for the two rocks that lie by north and ſouth of the Scalmeie, of which the one is called the Pardland ſtone, the other Pewſtone, it ſhall not be greatlie requiſit to ſtand on their diſcourſes, ſith they are ſuch as may hardlie be taken for Ilands, and euen in like ſort we may iudge of S. Brides Ile, which is ſouthweſt of Calthrop rode, & likewiſe of the Greſholme, whereof I find this ſhort deſcription. The Greſholme lieth directlie weſt of Scalmeie, from whence if you ſaile thither on the ſouth ſide, you muſt needs paſſe by the Pewſtone rocke: if on the north of Scalmeie, you muſt leaue the Pardland ſtone on your left hand. Wherto if you note well the ſituation of theſe Ilands alreadie named, and confer them with the Ramſeis and S. Dauids land, you ſhall find them to produce as it were two dangerous points, including the Bid baie, wherein (notwithſtanding the greatneſſe) are 1000 perils, and no freſh brookes for me to deale withall. Finallie, hauing doubled the Willocke point, we thought it not good altogether to leaue that baie vnſearched, at leaſt wiſe to ſee what Ilands might there be found, & long entred into the ſame, we beheld one which the men of the countrie call S. Brides Iland, a verie little place and ſtraite neere the land, before I came at Galtrote rode. From thence we went about by the little gauen, Doluach hauen, Carnais hauen, Shirelace rocke, Carnbuddie, and Carnaie baies, Portelais, and ſo into the ſound betweene Ramſeie and the point. In this ſound likewiſe is a little Ile, almoſt annexed to the maine: but in the middeſt thereof, I meane of the ſound, is a rocke called the horſſe (a mile and more by north of Ribbie rocke, that lieth ſouth eaſt of Ramſeie) and more infortunate than ten of Sejans colts, but thanked be God I neuer came on his backe. Thence paſſing by S. Stephans, and Whiteſand baies, we ſaluted the Biſhop and his clerks, as they went in proceſſion on our left ſide (being loth to take anie ſalted holie water at their hands) and came at laſt to the point called S. Dauids head, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, except I be deceiued. But here gentle reader giue me leaue to ſtaie a while, and inſert the words of Leland touching the land called S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, whereof ſome men may peraduenture haue vſe, his words are theſe. Being therefore paſt this hauen and point of Demetia, in caſting about the coaſt we come to S. Dewies or S. Dauids land, which Ptolomie calleth *Octapitanum promontorium*, I read to be ſeparated from the reſt of the countrie much after this maner, although I grant that there may be and are diuerſe other little creekes betwixt Newgale and S. Dauids head, and betwixt S. Dauids and Fiſchard, beſide thoſe that are heere mentioned out of a regiſter of that houſe.

Gateholme Ile. Stockeholme Ile. Midland Ile, Greſholme. S. Brides Iland. A ſort of dangerous rocks lieng on a row vpon the weſt end of Southwales called the Biſhops his clerkes. S. Dewie or Dauid all one.

As we turne therefore from Milford, S. Dauids land beginneth at Newgale, a creeke ſerued with a backe freſh water. Howbeit there is a baie before this creeke betwixt it and Milford. From hence about

Salnach. bout foure miles is Salnach creke, otherwiſe called Sauerach, whither ſome freſh water reſorteth: the mouth alſo thereof is a good refcue for barkingers, as it (I meane the regiſter) ſaith. Thence go we to Portelais three miles, where is a little portlet, whither the Alen that commeth though ſaint Dewies cloſe doth run. It lieth a mile ſouthweſt from S. Dewies, ſaint Stinans Chappell alſo is betweene Portelais, and Portmaw. The next is Port Paw, where I found a great eſtuarie into the land. The Pendwie halfe a mile from that: Lhand Uehan is three miles from Pendwie, where is a ſalt creke, then to Tredine three miles, where is another creke to Langunda, foure miles, and another creke is there in like ſort where fiſhermen catch herrings. Here alſo the Gwerne riuer diuideth Penbidiane from Fiſcherdine Kemmeis land. From Langunda to Fiſchard at the Gwerne mouth foure miles, and here is a portlet or hauenet alſo for ſhips. And thus much of S. Dauids land.

Portelais. Alen. Portmaw Paw. Pendwie. Lanuehan. Tredine. Langunda. Fiſchard. Gwerne.

Beſides this alſo, Leland in a third booke talketh of lhinnes and poles, but for aſmuch as my purpoſe is not to ſpeake of lakes and lhinnes, I paſſe them ouer as halting to Teiſie, in Latine Tibius, and after Ptolomie Tuerobius or Tiuirobius, which is the next riuer that ſerueth for my purpoſe. And yet not forgetting to touch the Gwerne, for after we came from ſaint Dauids head, we coaſted along toward the ſoutheaſt, till wee came ouer againſt ſaint Catharins, where going northwards by the broad hauen, and the Strombles head, we ſailed thence northeaſt, and by north, to Langlas head, then flat ſouth by the Cow and Calfe (two cruell rockes) which we left on the left hand, & ſo coaſted ouer to Abergwin or Fiſchard, where we found a freſh water named Guin, or Gwerne, whoſe courſe is in maner directlie out of the eaſt into the weſt, from Uremie hils by pont Uaunt and Lanichair, vntill it come within a mile of the foreſaid towne. It riſeth flat north of the Perſelie hill, from whence it goeth by Pont vaine, Lauerillidoch, Lanchar, Landilouair, & ſo to Abergwine, or Abergwerne, for I read both. From Abergwine, we call about by Dinas head, till we come to the fall of Neuerne, where Newport ſtandeth. The head of this riuer is aboue Capell Nantgwin, from whence it runneth by Whitchurch, but yer it come at Kilgwin, it taketh in a little water that riſeth short of Wrenie vaure, and thence go forth as one vntill they come to Newport. Cardigan hauen is the next fall that I did ſtumble on, wherein lieth a litle Iland ouer againſt the north point. Hereinto alſo commeth the Teiſie, a noble riuer which riſeth in Lintiuie, and is fraught with delicate ſamons, and herein and not elſe where in all the riuers of Britaine, is the Caſtor or Beuer to be found. But to proceed. The verie hed thereof (I ſaie) is foure miles aboue Stradflore in Luitie, and after it hath run from thence a little ſpace, it receiueth a broke from ſoutheaſt that commeth out of Lin Legnant, and then after the confluence runneth on to Stradflore abbeie, beneth which it meeteth with the Miricke water (that riſeth aboue Stradmirich) and ſome after with the Landurch (both from the northweſt) and finallie the Bremich aboue Tregaron, that commeth in by the eaſt; as Leland hath ſet downe.

Gwerne. Neuerne. Teiſie or Tine. Miricke. Landurch.

Neere to Landwibrenie alſo it croſſeth the Bromis by eaſt northeaſt, and then goeth to Landuair, Cledogh, Kellan, and ſome after taking in the Matherne from by eaſt, that parteth Cardigan partlie from Carmardine ſhire, and likewiſe that Dulas aboue Lanbedder (which riſeth aboue Langibbie, and goeth thence to Bettus) on the northweſt, it goeth nert of all to Lanbedder towne, then to Lanuair, beneath which it croſſeth the Grauelth, thence to Pencarocke, Lanbether, Lanlonie, Lanihangle, and Sandiſſell, and there it vniteth it ſelfe with the Clethor or Dettor, which commeth downe thither by Lantiſſiued chappell, Lanfraine, and finallie Landiſſell from by north, as I do here affirme. After this confluence it proceedeth on to Landuaie, Alloine, Bangor, Langeler, Landeureog and Newcaſtell, yer long taking in the Kerie from by north, whoſe head is not farre from that of Clethor, and whoſe courſe is ſomewhat inlarged by ſuch rilles as deſcend into the ſame. For weſt of Kenwith two becks in one chanell do fall into it, which be nameleſſe, and but of a little length.

Bromis. Matherne. Dulas. Grauelth.

Beneath Credwair alſo it croſſeth another from by weſt, that runneth along by Bettus, Euan, and finallie meeting with the Teiſie, they run as one by Kennarth (ſtill parting Cardigon ſhire from Carmardin, as it hath done ſith it met with the Matherne) and ſo forth on till they ioine with the Cheach, which riſing ſoutheaſt aboue chappell Euan, doth part Carmardine and Brechnocke ſhire in ſunder, till it come vnto the Teiſie. From this confluence, and being ſtill a limit vnto Cardigon ſhire, it goeth by Marierdine, and ſo to Cardigon, taking in one rill from by north deſcending by Penneralt, by north of Monaraiue or Marierdiue, and two other from by ſouthweſt, of which the one commeth in beneath Kilgaron caſtell, the other from Lantwod northweſt of Mſwid Mortemer, which lieth ſoutheaſt of Cardigan, and then going forward betweene S. Dogmaſle, & Langordinere, it is not long yer it fall into the Iriſh ſea, flat weſt and by north from his vpriſe, and ſending vs forth from Penlooke into Cardigon ſhire, whereunto it hath become march euer ſithence it came from Kellam, or confluence with the Matherne.

Teiſie. Cheach.

Being come into Cardigon ſhire, and hauing paſſed the Cardigon point, an Iland of the ſame denomination lieng by weſt thereof, we came vnto the fall of Airon three miles beneath Lancleere, it riſeth in the mounteines by a chappell called Blam Penall belonging to Landwie brenie about three or foure miles from Tiue banks, & runneth on by Lamberwoddie, Langitho, Tregrigaron hill, Treuilian, Talaferne, and ſome after taking in a rill from by ſouth from Stiliam by Lanleir it runneth by Iſſrade, Kilkennen, Lanicharin, and finallie into the ſea, croſſing by the waie the Bidder broke, which comming from Dehewide, doth fall into the ſame, betweene Lanchairin, and Henuenneie. The Arth which is the next fall is no great thing, neither of anie long courſe, yet ſomewhat crotched, and it riſeth three or foure miles or more within the land ſlopewiſe, and comming by Lambaderne, and Treueglois, it falleth into the ſea, northeaſt of Aberarth.

Airon. Bidder. Arth.

Being paſt the Arth, & hauing ſtaied there a while becauſe we found ſome harborough, we came next of all vnto the Wereie, which riſeth of two heads, aboue whoſe confluence ſtandeth a towne, named Lanihangle, Redrod, and from whence it goeth by Lanigruthen to Lariſted, & ſo into the Ocean. Then went we to the Yſtwith, which riſeth in the blacke mounteins aboue Comerſtwith, from whence it runneth certeine miles, vntill it come vnto Iſpittie, Iſtwith, Lananon, Laniler, Lan Nachairne, and ſo into the ſea, taking withall firſt the Meleuen, then the Ridall or Redholl not farre from the ſhore, whereof I haue this deſcription. The Ridall riſeth in the top of Plimlimmon hill out of a lake named Lin Ridall, from whence going toward Spittie Kinwen, it croſſeth one water on the north, and another beneth it on the ſoutheaſt, and ſo goeth on by Lanbeder vaure, till it come to Aberiſtwith, the Iſtwith, and ſo into the Ocean. Hauing thus viewed the Iſtwith, and taken

Ris alias Wereie. Iſtwith. Redholl.

our ſelues againe to the ſea, we croſſed the Salke or Salique brooke, whereof I find this memoriall.

Salique. The Salique brooke deſcendeth in like ſort from the blacke mountains, & going from Ummaboue, toward Gogarth, or Gogirthar, it receiueth the Maſ Mallalique. ſalique, and from thence goeth into the ſea, ſouthweſt from his originall. From hence we went to the Le- Lerie. rie, an indraught of no great quantitie, neither commodious as I geſſe (yet I may be deceiued) for anie ſhip to harborough in. It riſeth toward the lower ground of the blacke hils, and going by Lanihangle caſtell Gwalter, it runneth from thence northeaſt into the Ocean, receiuing a rill by the waie from the hilles which lie by northeaſt of his courſe. But what ſtand I vpon trifles?

Wie. Thus haue I brought my ſelfe out of Caerdiganſhire vnto the Wie, which is limit betweene it and Merioneth for a certeine ſpace, & being entred in the mouth thereof we gat vp to the head, minding in the deſcription of the ſame to come downeward as in the reſt, which we will do in ſuch good manner as for the time and want of ſome information is poſſible to be performed. It ariſeth in the ſouth part of Snowdonie and goeth on forth right to Lammothwie, by Powdhelwie, Pathan laith, and comming downe to Dinas Pathew, it receiueth two rilles from northweſt, and the third comming by Mailroid called Cluddeh from northeaſt, & ſo holdeth on croſſing the Angell water at the weſt, which boundeth Rionits. Mongomerie ſhire in part, till it come to Ronits, beneath which water it taketh in the Towin that paſſeth by Lamborin mawr from Talgarth, and then goeth to Pathrauerne, croſſing another from by north and ſo forth to Lanworing, where it meeteth with the Kerig on the one ſide, and the Gwidall which commeth from Dorowen on the other.

After this, our maine riuer goeth by Pengos, and beneath the ſame taketh in an influence from ſoutheaſt, called the Dulas, and another from the northweſt from thence it hafteth on to Magenillet, or Machenlet, firſt croſſing the Leuennis from ſoutheaſt, ſecondlie the Penfall from northweſt, thirdlie the Einon, fourthlie the Kmar, fiftlie the Cleidor, theſe three laſt rehearſed falling into it from ſoutheaſt, & the laſt hauing his courſe by Langwinhelin and ſo into the ſea, as mine inſtruction vpholdeth. It ſeemeth in ſome mens iudgements to part Northwales and Weſtwales in ſunder, and the ſame which in Latine bight Deuus, in Welſh or Britiſh Diſi or Dewie, whereof the Latine doth ſeeme to fetch his ſound. But to proceed with the reſt of ſuch falles and waters as are to be found in this countie. Going therfore northweſtward we come to a fall frō the north called Towen Merionneth which is the mouth of the Diſonnie ſtreame, a prætie riuer riſing in the hilles aboue Lanihangle, and weſt of caſtell Traherne receiueth the Ridrie, which commeth from Chadridric hill, by Tallillin caſtell, Treherie, and ſo into the Diſonnie from ſoutheaſt, fetching his courſe by Lanegrin, and ſo into the ſea within fiue miles thereof.

Being paſt this we did caſt about by the Sarnabigh point, till we came to the Lingouen becke, and ſo to the Barre, which is a faire water, and therefore worthie to be with diligence deſcribed, yet it is not called Bar from the head, but rather Both or Derte, for ſo are the two chiefe heads called out of which this riuer deſcendeth, and are about ſix miles weſt of the Lin, out of which the Dée hath his iſſue, and betweene which the Karan baure hilles are ſituat and haue their being. After the ioining of the two heds of this Barre, as I name it from the originall, it receiueth a rill from northeaſt called Cain, & another beneath the ſame, comming from Beurose wood, and ſo holdeth on towards the ſouth betweene Lanilid and Kemmor abbate, till it meet a little by weſt of Dolgelth with the Auon baure, which comming alſo out of the Wood and ſoile, & taking in a rill from Gwannas, hafteth northweſtward (by Dolgelth) to ioine with the Barre, and being met they receiue the Keſſigunt, then the Hirgun, & after a courſe of foure to fiue miles it falleth into the ſea, hauing watered the verie hart & inward parts of this ſhire. From hence we croſſe the Shethie which runneth by Corſogdale and Lanthwie, *alias* Lanthonie, then the Lambader which receiuing the Artro aboue Lambader, doth fall into the ſea, ſoutheaſt of the point, and flat ſouth of Landango, which is a towne ſituat on the other ſide of the turning.

After this we paſſed by Aberho, ſo named of the riuer Ho, that falleth there into the ſea, and commeth Ho. thither from the Alpes or hils of Snowdonie, mountains, no leſſe fertile for graſſe, wood, cattell, fiſh and foule, than the famous Alpes beyond the ſeas, whereof all the writers do make ſo honorable report. From hence we ſailed by Abermawr or mouth of Mawr, which commeth in like ſort from Snowdonie, Mawr. and taketh diuerſe riuers with him whoſe names I do not know. Then vnto the Artro a brooke, whoſe Artro. head commeth from by north eaſt, and in his courſe receiueth the Cedar on the north ſide, and ſo holdeth on till it fall into the ſea, after a few windleſſes which it maketh as it paſſeth. After this we come to Traith vehan, which is the fall of the Dyrid, a prætie riuer comming from the marches of Caernaruonſhire, which paſſing by Feſtimog, ſome after taketh in the Cuhwell, then the Aelenrid; and ſo holdeth on to Deckoin, where it falleth into the ſaid Traith. For of the other two rilles that lie by ſouth hereof, and haue their iſſue alſo into the ſame, I make but ſmall accompt, bicauſe their quantitie is not great. Next vnto this we haue Traith mawr, whereinto the Farles. Farles hath his iſſue, a riuer proceeding from Snowdonie or the Snowdon hils, deſcending by Bethkelerke and Lanwrothen, without mixture of anie other water in all his courſe and paſſage. It is parcell of the march alſo betweene Merioneth and Caernaruon ſhires. From Traith mawr we paſſe by the Brekith, and come to another water deſcending from the north by Lankidwie, and after that to the Moie, whoſe mouthes are ſo neere together, that no more than halfe a mile of the land doth ſeeme to keepe them in ſunder.

Then come we vnto the Erke, a prætie brooke Erke. deſcending from Madrin hils, into whoſe mouth two other of no leſſe quantitie than it ſelfe do ſeeme to haue their confluence, and whoſe courſes do come along from the weſt and northweſt; the moſt ſoutherlie being called Girch, and the other the Yellie: except my memorie do faile me. Then caſting about toward the ſouth (as the coaſt lieth) we ſaw the Aberſoch or mouth of the Soch riuer vpon our right Soch. hand, in the mouth whereof, or not farre by ſouth thereof lie two Ilands, of which the more northerlie is called Cudfall, and the other Penrin: as Leland did obſerue. I would ſet downe the Britiſh names of ſuch townes and villages as theſe waters paſſe by; but the writing of them (for want of the language) is ſo hard to me, that I chooſe rather to ſhew their falles and riſings, than to corrupt their denominations in the writing: and yet now and then I vſe ſuch words as our Engliſhmen do giue vnto ſome of them, but that is not often, where the Britiſh name is eaſie to be found out and ſounded.

After this, going about by the point, and leauing Gwelin Ile on the right hand, we come to Daron Daron. riuer, whereupon ſtandeth Aberdaron a quarter of a mile from the ſhore betwixt Aberdaron and Nortigerns

gernes dale, where the compaſſe of the ſea gathereth in a head, and entereth at both ends. Then come we about the point to Edarne becke, a mile and more ſouth of Newin. And ten or twelue miles from hence is the Wennie broke, whoſe courſe is little aboue ſo manie miles; and not farre from it is the Linan, a farre leſſe water, comming alſo from the eaſt: and nert vnto that another, wherinto the Willie by ſouth and the Carrog by north after their coniunction do make their common influence. Hauing paſſed this riuer, we caſt about toward the north eaſt, and enter at Abermenaie ferrie, into the ſtreits or ſtreame called Menaie, betweene Angleſeie and the maine, meeting firſt of all with the Gornaie, which commeth from the Snowdonie out of the Treuermian lake, and paſſeth by Lanunda into the ſea or Menaie ſtreame at South crocke. Nert of all we meet with the Saint, which commeth from Lin Lanbereie, paſſeth by Lanihangle, and ſo falleth into the Menaie at Aberſaint, which is on the ſouthweſt ſide of Caernaruon: on the other ſide alſo of the ſaid towne is the Skeuernocke, whereby it ſtandeth betweene two riuers, of which this hath his head not farre from Dinas Dreueg.

Edarne becke.

Then come we (ſaith Leland) to Gwinliwith mirith (or Horſle broke) two miles from Poilethon, and it riſeth at a Well ſo called full a mile from thence. Poilethon is a bowe ſhot from Aberpowle, from whence ferrie botes go to the Termone or Angleſeie.

Conte.

Aberpowle runneth three miles into the land, and hath his head foure miles beyond Bangor in Meneie ſhore: and here is a little comming in for botes bending into the Menete. Aber Gegeine commeth out of a mounteine a mile aboue, and Bangor (thorough which a rill called Torronnen hath his courſe) almoſt a mile aboue it. Aber Ogwine is two miles aboue that; it riſeth at Tale linne, Ogwine pole, fiue miles aboue Bangor in the eaſt ſide of Withow. Aber Auon is two miles aboue Aberogwene, and it riſeth in a pole called Lin man Auon, three miles off. Auon Ian bar Uehan riſeth in a mounteine therby, and goeth into the ſea, two miles aboue Duegeuelth. Auon Duegeuelth is three miles aboue Conweie, which riſing in the mounteins a mile off, goeth by it ſelfe into Meneie ſalt arme. On the ſaid ſhore alſo lieth Conweie, and this riuer doth run betwixt Menmaine Maur, and Menmaine Uehan. It riſeth about three miles from Menmaclon hils which lie about fortie miles from Conweie abbeie, now diſſolued out of a lake called Lin Conweie, and on the north and weſt of this riuer ſtandeth the towne of Conweie, which taketh his name thereof.

Gegeine.

Torronnen.

Ogwine.

Auon.

Lannar Uehan.

Duegeuelth.

Conweie.

This riuer (which Ptolomie calleth Toeſobius, as I take it) after the deriuation thereof from the head, paſſeth on the weſt ſide by Spittieuan and Tiherio, beneath which it taketh in a ſtreame comming from the eaſt out of Denbighſhire, deriued from three heads, and of the greateſt called Nag. Soone after alſo another, and then the third, which commeth in from the weſt by Lanpen Mawr: nert of all the Leder on the ſame ſide, which commeth by Molathelan caſtell: and aboue that from a Lin of the ſame denomination. Beneath this and ſelfe hand lieth likewiſe the Ligow or Ligwie, proceeding from two lakes, that is, the Mumber and the Ligow. On the right hand as we ſtill deſcend, is the Coid, then the Glin, & a little lower we meet with the Lin Gerioneth: and after we be paſt another on the right ſide, we come to the Perloid, which commeth out of Lin Cowlid, to the Pgan, to the Idulin, to the caſtell Water on the left, & then to the Melandider on the right, without the ſight of anie other, till we come almoſt to Conweie, where we find a notched ſtreame comming from by well, and called Gukken or Gyffin into the ſame by one chanell on the northeaſt ſide of the towne, beneath Guffin or Gyffin, and ouer againſt Lanſanfraid in Denbighſhire; ſo farre as I now remember. Some part of Carnaruonſhire ſtretcheth alſo beyond Aber Conweie, or the fall of Conweie, & it is called Dremeſhed point, wherein alſo is a rill, whoſe fall into the ſea is betweene Penrin and Landright. And thus we haue made an end of the cheefe waters which are to be found in this countie.

Tec.

Ligow.

Dremeſhed.

The nert is a corner of Denbigh, by which we do as it were ſtep ouer into Flintſhire, and whoſe firſt water is not great, yet it commeth from ſouthweſt, and falleth into the north or Iriſh ſea called Virginium, beneath Landilas; as the nert that commeth ſouth from Bettas doth the like three miles beneath Abergele, and is not onelie called Gele (as the name it ſelfe importeth) but alſo noted to take his courſe through the Canges. Hauing thus gone ouer the angle of Denbighſhire, that lieth betweene thoſe of Carnaruon and Flint, we come nert of all vnto Aber Cluide, or the fall of Clotha or Glota, which is a ſtreame not to be ſhortlie intreated of. It riſeth among certeine hilles, which lie not far diſtant from the confines of Merioneth and Denbighſhires. Southeaſt from his fall, and hauing run foure or fiue miles from the head, it commeth about to Darwen, taking in the Maniton on the left hand, and the Melpin on the right: and ſoone after the third from by weſt, whoſe head is not farre from Gloucanocke. Beneath Ruthen alſo it taketh in the Leueneie: and after that another, and the third, all on the right hand, and ſo holdeth on till it meet with the Cluedoch, then with the Pkrade, which paſſeth by Whitchurch on the left hand. After which we come to the Wheeler on the right, and ſo to his ioining with the Elwie, which is beneath S. Aſaphes, a biſhops ſee that is inuironed with them both. This Elwie riſeth aboue Gwitherne, & beneath Lanuair taketh in the Alode, which commeth from lin Alode, by Lanſannan, and ioineth with him fiue miles beneath Langrenew. The Cluda therefore and the Elwie being met, the confluence paſſeth on to the ſea by Rutland caſtell, where it taketh in the Sarne, which commeth from by eaſt, and hath a courſe almoſt of fortene miles. From hence we toke ſea toward the Dee mouth: and as we paſſed by the reſt of the ſhore, we ſaw the fall of a little broke nere Baſing Werke, of another nere to Flint, of the third at Powleie caſtell, which with his two armes in maner includeth it; and the fourth beneath Hawarden hold, which in like ſort goeth round about the ſame, & from whence we came to the Dee, where we landed and toke vp our lodging in Cheſter. In this place alſo it was no hard matter to deliuer & ſet downe the names of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as are alſo to be found in Angleſeie, finding my ſelfe to haue ſome leaſure and fit opportunitie for the ſame: and imagining a tourneie thither alſo, as vnto the other places mentioned in this deſcription, whither as yet it hath not beene my hap to trauell: I thought it not amiſſe to take it alſo in hand, and performe it after this maner.

Geie.

Cluedoch.

Elſwie.

Maniton.

Ferrieng therefore ouer out of Carnaruonſhire to Beaumariſe, I went by land without croſſing of anie riuer or ſtreame worthie memorie, till I came to the Brant, which hath his fall not farre from the ſouthell point of that Iland. This Brant riſeth farre vp in the land, not farre from Lauredenell, and holding on his courſe ſouthward to Lanthoniell Waall, it goeth on to Bodowerych, Langainwen, and ſo into the ſea.

The nert fall we came vnto was called Maltrath, and it is produced by the confluence of two riuers,

the

the Geuennie and the Gint, who ioine not farre from Langreſkoll. This alſo laſt rehearſed hath his head nære to Penmoneth, the other being forked riſeth in the hillie ſoile aboue Tregaion and Langwithlog: ſo that part of the Iland obteineth no ſmall commoditie and benefit by their paſſage. Next vnto this we came vnto the Fraw, whoſe head is nære to Langinewen, and paſſage by Cap Maer; after which it falleth into a lake, from whence it goeth eaſt of Aberfraw, and ſo into the ſea. The nert riuer hath no name to my knowledge: yet hath it a longer courſe than that which I laſt deſcribed. For it riſeth two or three miles aboue Hanegloſſe: and paſſing from thence to Trevalghmaie, after the deſcent of foure miles, it falleth into the ſea. After this we came to an other, which riſeth more to Cap legan ferwie, and falleth into the ſea; ſoutheaſt of the little Iland, which is called Ynis Wealt, it is nameleſſe alſo as the other was: and therefore hauing ſmall delight to write thereof, we paſſed ouer the ſalt creke by a bridge into Cair Bibie, which by the ſame, is as it were cut from the maine Iland, and in ſome reſpect not vnworthie to be taken for an Ile. In the north ſide therefore of Cair Bibie is a little rill or creke: but whether the water thereof be freſh or ſalt, as yet I do not remember.

Fraw.

This place being viewed, I came backe againe by the aforeſaid bridge, into the maine of Angleſeie, and going northwards I find a fall inforced by three riuerets, each one hauing his courſe almoſt ſouth from other; and the laſt falling into the confluence of the two firſt, not halfe a mile from the weſt, where I firſt eſpied the ſtreame: the name of the moſt northerlie is Linon, of the ſecond Allo; but the third is altogither nameleſſe for aught that I can learne, wherefore it ſhall not be neceſſarie to ſpend anie time in the further ſearching of his courſe. Being paſt this, we went northwards till we came to the point, and then going eaſtward, we butted vpon the fall of a certeine confluence growing by the ioining of the Nathanon and the Geger, which meet beneath and nære to the Langechell. And after the ſame we paſſed on ſomewhat declining ſouthward by the Hillarie point, toward the ſoutheaſt, till we came to the Duleſſe: and from thence to Pentraeth water: after which we turned northward, then eaſtward; and finallie ſouthward, till we came to Langurdin; from whence vnto Beaumariſe (where began our voiage) we find not anie water worthie to be remembred. And thence I go forward with the deſcription of the Dee.

Linon.
Allo.

The Dee or Dena (as Ptolomie calleth it) is a noble riuer, & breeder of the beſt trout, whoſe head is in Merioneth ſhire, about three miles aboue the lake, ſituate in the countie of Penthlin, and called Lin Tegnis, whoſe ſtreame yet verie ſmall, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of his courſe, falleth into the ſaid lake, not far from Lanullin. There are ſundrie other waters which come alſo into the ſaid lake, which is foure or fiue miles in length, and about two miles ouer; as one from by ſouth, whoſe fall is eaſt, and not manie furlongs from the Dee: another hath his iſſue into the ſame by Langower: the third on the north ſide of Lanullin, named Leie: the fourth at Glanlintegid called the Iauerne, the lake it ſelfe ending about Bala, and from thence running into the Trowerin, a prettie ſtreame, and not a little augmented by the Reline and Monach which fall by north into the ſame, and ioineth with the Dee ſouth of Lanuair; from whence forth it loſeth the name, and is afterward called Dee. Eaſt of Bala in like ſort it receiueth the Ruddoch, then the Cleton, and ſo paſſing on by Landright to Langar, it meeteth with a confluence proceeding from the Allwen and the Giron, of which this riſeth in the hils aboue Langham, the other in the mounteins about fiue or ſix miles by northweſt of Lanihangle in Denbighſhire, where (as I geſſe) it falleth into the ground; and afterward riſing againe betweene Lanihangle and Bettus, it holdeth on about two miles, and then ioineth with the Giron, full ſix miles aboue Dole, and before it come to the Dee. From hence the Dee goeth by Lanſanfraid, and the marches of Merioneth into Denbighſhire, and ſo to Langellon, Dinas, Bren, &c: keeping his courſe by certeine windleſſes; till he receiue the Griſtioneth, deſcending by Ruabon, then another eſt of the ſame; the third, from by weſt called Keriog (whoſe head is not farre from the bounds of Merioneth and courſe by Lanarmon, Lanſanfraid, and Chirke) the fourth from ſouth eaſt out of Shropſhire, called Morlais, and ſo paſſeth as bounds betweene Denbighſhire, and the Dutliggand of Flintſhire, to wit by Biſſocke on the one ſide and Bangor on the other, till it come to Worthenburie: whereabout it receiueth a chanell deſcending from foure influences, of which one commeth by Penlie chappell, the ſecond from Hamnere, which goeth downe by Emberhall, and falleth in a little by eaſt of the other; the third from Blackmere (by Whitchurch) &c: and the fourth from betweene Chad and Worſall. Theſe two later meeting aboue nether Durtwich, do hold on to Talerne, as mine information inſtructeth me.

Griſtioneth.
Keriog.

Dée or Dena.

From Wrothenburie the Dee goeth northweſtwards toward Shocklige, meeting by the waie with the confluence of the Cluedoch (or Dedoch originall mother to thoſe trouts for which the Dee is commended) and deſcendeth from Capell Moinglath) and the Gwinrogh, that runneth through Wrerham, both ioining a mile and more beneath Wrerham, not far from Hantwerne. Soone after alſo our maine riuer receiueth another becke from by eaſt, which is bound on the northweſt ſide to the Dutliggand of Flintſhire, and ſo paſſeth on betweene Holt caſtell and Ferneton, Almere and Pulton, as march betweene Denbighſhire and Cheſhire, and then taketh in the Alannus or Alen; a prettie riuer and worthie to be deſcribed. The head of this Alen therefore is in Denbighſhire, and ſo diſpoſed that it riſeth in two ſeuerall places, each being two miles from other, the one called Alen Pawr, the other Alen Uehan, as I do find reported. They meet alſo beneath Landegleie, and run northwards till they come beyond Lanuerres, where meeting with a rill comming from by weſt, it runneth on to the Mold to Horſheth, and ſo in and out to Greſeford, taking the Cagidog from ſouthweſt with it by the waie; then to Traue Alen, and ſo into the Dee, a mile and more aboue the fall of Powton becke, which alſo deſcendeth from ſouthweſt out of Flintſhire, and is march vnto the ſame, euen from the verie head. After which confluence the Dee hauing Cheſterſhire on both ſides, goeth to Aldford with a ſwift courſe, where it meeteth with the Beſkon brooke, whereof I do find this deſcription following.

Ruddoch.
Cleton.
Trowerin.
Alannus.

The Beſkon water riſeth in the woddie ſoile betweene Spurſton and Beſkon caſtell with a forked head, and leauing Beſkon towne on the northeaſt, it goeth to Tarneton, and to Hakeſleie, where it diuideth it ſelfe in ſuch wiſe, that one branch thereof runneth by Totnall, Goldburne, and Lehall, to Alford, and ſo into the Dee, the other by Stapleford, Terwine, Barrow, Picton, and Therton, where it branceth againe, ſending forth one arme by Stanneie pole, and the parke ſide into Merſeie arme, toward the northweſt, and another by ſouthweſt, which commeth as it were backe againe, by Stoke, Croughton, Backeford, Charleton, Upton, the Baites, and ſo vnder a bridge to Cheſter ward, where

Beſkon.

"where it falleth into the Dée arme at Flockes bꝛoke,
"excluding Wirall on the noꝛthweſt as an Iland,
"which lieth out like a leg betwéene the Merſeie and
"the Dée armes, and including and making another
"freſh Iland within the ſame, whoſe limits by noꝛth-
"weſt are betwéene Thoꝛneton, Cheſter, & Aldfoꝛd, on
"the noꝛtheaſt Thoꝛneton and Hakelleie, and on the
"ſouthealt Hakelleie and Aldfoꝛd, whereby the foꝛme
"thereof doth in part reſemble a triangle. And thus
much of the Dée, which is a troubleſome ſtreame when the wind is at ſouthweſt, and verie dangerous, in ſo much that few dare paſſe thereon. Sometimes alſo in harueſt time it ſendeth downe ſuch ſtoꝛe of water, when the wind bloweth in the ſame quarter, that it dꝛowneth all their graſſe and coꝛne that gꝛoweth in the lower grounds néere vnto the bankes thereof. Certes it is about thꝛée hundꝛed fot, at his departure from the Tignie, and woꝛthilie called a litigious ſtreame; becauſe that by often alteration of chanell, it inforceth men to ſéeke new bounds vnto their lands, foꝛ here it laieth new ground, and there tranſlateth and taketh awaie the old, ſo that there is nothing moꝛe vnconſtant than the courſe of the ſaid water. Of the monaſterie Bangoꝛ alſo, by which it paſſeth after it hath left Oꝛton bꝛidge, I find this note, which I will not omit, becauſe of the ſlaughter of monks made ſometime néere vnto the ſame. Foꝛ although the place require it not, yet I am not willing altogither to omit it.

The ſituation of ỹ monaſterie of Bangoꝛ.

This abbeie of Bangoꝛ ſtood ſometime in Engliſh Wailoꝛ, by hither and ſouth of the riuer Dée. It is now ploughed ground where that houſe ſtood, by the ſpace of a Welſh mile (which reacheth vnto a mile and an halfe Engliſh) and to this day the tillers of the ſoile there dꝛow plow vp bones (as they ſaie) of thoſe monks that were ſlaine in the quarrell of Auguſtine, and within the memoꝛie of man ſome of them were taken vp in their rotten weeds, which were much like vnto thoſe of our late blacke monks, as Leland ſet it downe: yet Eraſmus is of the opinion, that the apparell of the Benedictine monks was ſuch as moſt men did weare generallie at their firſt inſtitution. But to pꝛoceed. This abbeie ſtood in a valleie, and in thoſe times the riuer ran hard by it. The compaſſe thereof likewiſe was as the circuit of a walled towne, and to this daie two of the gates may eaſilie be diſcerned, of which the one is named Poꝛt Hogan lieng by noꝛth, the other Poꝛt Clais ſituat vpon the ſouth. But the Dée hauing now changed his chanell, runneth thꝛough the verie middeſt of the houſe betwixt thoſe two gates, the one being at the left a full halfe mile from the other. As foꝛ the ſquared ſtone that is found hereabout, and the Romane coine, there is no ſuch neceſſitie of the reherſall thereof, but that I may paſſe it ouer well inough without anie further mention.

Being paſt the Dée we ſailed about Wirall, paſſing by Hilbꝛie oꝛ Hilbꝛée Iland, and Leuerpole, Hafle, making our entrie into Merſeie arme by Leuerpole hauen, where we find a water falling out betwéene Seacombe and the Ferie, which doth in maner cut off the point from the maine of Wirall. Foꝛ riſing néere to the noꝛthweſt ſhoꝛe, it holdeth a courſe directlie toward the ſoutheaſt by Wallaſeie and Poton, and ſo leaueth all the noꝛth part beyond that water a peninſula, the ſame being thꝛée ſquare, inuiꝛoned on two ſides with the Ocean, & on the third with the aforeſaid bꝛoke, whoſe courſe is well néere thꝛée miles except I be deceiued. Fꝛõ hence entring further into the hauen, we find another fall betwéene Webington and Bꝛombꝛo chappell, deſcending from the hilles, which are ſeene to lie not farre from the ſhoꝛe, and thence croſſing the fall of the Beſton water, we come next of all vnto the Wiuer, than the

Wiuer.

which I read of no riuer in England that fetcheth moꝛe oꝛ halfe ſo many windleſſes and crinklings, befoꝛe it come at the ſea. It riſeth at Buckle hilles, which lie betwéene Ridleie and Buckle townes, and ſone after making a lake of a mile & moꝛe in length called Ridleie pole, it runneth by Ridleie to Chalmondlie.

Thence it goeth to Wꝛenburie, where it taketh in a water out of a moꝛe that commeth from Marburie: and beneth Sandfoꝛd bꝛidge the Combꝛus from Combermer oꝛ Comber lake: and finallie the third that commeth from about Moneton, and runneth by Langerſlaw, then betwéene Shenton and Atherlie parkes, and ſo into the Wiuer, which watereth all the weſt part of England, and is no leſſe notable than the firſt Auon oꝛ third Duze, whereof I haue ſpoken alreadie. After theſe confluences it halſeth alſo to Audleim, Hawkelow, and at Barderton croſſeth the Betleie water, that runneth by Duddington, Widenberie, and ſo by Barderton into the aforeſaid ſtreame. Thence it goeth to Nantwich, but yer it come at Marchfoꝛd bꝛidge, it mæteth with a rill called Salopbꝛoke (as I geſſe) comming from Caluerleie ward, and likewiſe beneath the ſaid bꝛidge, with the Lée and the Wuluarne both in one chanell, whereof the firſt riſeth at Weſton, the other goeth by Coppnall. From thence the Wiuer runneth on to Pinchion and Cardeſwiſe, and the nert water that falleth into it is the Athe (which paſſeth by Darnall Grange) and afterward going to Warke, the vale Rotall, and Eaton, it commeth finallie to Noꝛthwich where it receiueth the Dane, to be deſcribed as followeth. The Dane riſeth in the verie edges of Cheſter, Darbiſhire, & Staffoꝛdſhire, and comming by Wharneſoꝛd, Swithamleie and Boſleie, is a limit betwéene Staffoꝛd and Darbie ſhires, almoſt euen from the verie head, which is in Marwell foꝛreſt.

Combꝛus. Betleie. Salop. Lée and Wuluarne. Athe. Dane.

It is not long alſo yer it dꝛo méet with the Bidle water, that commeth by Congerton, and after the confluence goeth vnto Swetham, the Heremitage, Cotton and Crorton, there taking in two great waters, whereof the one is called Whelocke, which comming from the edge of the countie by Noꝛton to Sandbach, croſſeth another that deſcendeth from church Cathlton, and after the confluence goeth to Warmingham, ioining alſo beneath Nidlewich with the Croco oꝛ Crorſton, the ſecond great water, whoſe head commeth out of a lake aboue Bꝛuerton (as I heare) and thence both the Whelocke and the Croco go as one vnto the Dane, at Crorton, as the Dane doth from thence to Boſtocke, Dauenham, Shebꝛuch, Shurlach, and at Noꝛthwich into the foꝛeſaid Wiuer. After this confluence the Wiuer runneth on to Barneton, and there in like ſoꝛt receiueth two bꝛokes in one chanell, whereof one commeth from aboue Alloſtocke, by Holme & Laſtocke, the other from beyond Birtles mill, by Chelford (where it taketh in a rill called Piuereie) thence to ouer Peuer, Holfoꝛd, and there croſſing the Waterleſſe bꝛoke (gꝛowing of two becks and ioining at nether Tableie) it goeth foꝛth to Winſhambꝛidge, and then méeting with the other, after this confluence they pꝛoceed till they come almoſt at Barneton, where the ſaid chanell ioineth with a pꝛetie water running thoꝛough two lakes, whereof the greateſt lieth betwéene Comberbach, Rudwoꝛth and Marburie. But to go foꝛward with the courſe of the maine riuer. After theſe confluences our Wiuer goeth to Warham, Actonbꝛidge, and Dutton, ouer againſt which towne, on the other ſide it mæteth with a rill, comming from Cuddington: alſo the ſecond going by Noꝛleie, and Gritton, finallie the third ſone after from Kimſleie, and then pꝛocéedeth on in his paſſage by Aſheton chappell, Frodeſham, Rockeſauage, and

Wꝛenburie. Pinereie. Waterleſſe.

ſo

ſo into the ſea: and this is all that I dw find of the Wiuer, whoſe influences might haue bæne moze largelie ſet dowme, if mine inſtructions had bæne amplie deliuered, yet this I hope may ſuffice foz his deſcription, and knowledge of his courſe.

Merſeie. The Merſeie riſeth among the Peke hils, and from thence going downe to the Wodhouſe, and taking ſundzie rilles withall by the waie, it becommeth the confines betwæne Cheſter and Darbiſhires. Going alſo toward Goitehall, it mæteth with a faire bzoke increaſed by ſundzie waters called Goite, whereof I find this ſhozt and bziefe deſcription. The Goite riſeth not far from the Shire mære hill (wherein the Doue and the Dane haue their oziginall) that parteth Darbiſhire and Cheſterſhire in ſunder, and thence commeth dowme to Goite houſes, Duerton, Tarhall, Shawcrolle, and at Weibzidge taketh in the Frith, and beneath Berdhall, the Set that riſeth aboue Therſethall and runneth by Duerſet. After this confluence alſo the Merſeie goeth to Goite hall, & at Stockford oz Stopford towne mæteth with the Tame, which diuideth Cheſterſhire and Lancaſterſhire in ſunder, and whoſe head is in the verie edge of Yozkeſhire, from whence it goeth ſouthward to Sadleworth Firth, then to Mukelhirſt, Stalie hall, Alhdon Underline, Dunkenfield, Denton, Reddiſh, and ſo at Stockford into the Merſeie ſtreame, which paſſeth fozth in like ſozt to Diddeſbirie, receiuing a bzoke by the waie that commeth from Lime parke, by Bzumhall parke and Chedle.

Goite. Frith. Set. Tame.

Irwell. From Diddeſbirie it pzocædeth to Norden, Alhton, Aikton, Flixton, where it receiueth the Irwell a notable water, and therefoze his deſcription is not to be omitted before I dw go fozward anie further with the Merſeie, although it be not nauigable by reaſon of ſundzie rockes and ſhalowes that lie diſperſed in the ſame. It riſeth aboue Bacop, and goeth thence to Roſendale, and in the waie to Aitenfield it taketh in a water from Haſelden. After this confluence it goeth to Newhall, Bzandleſham, Bzurie, and aboue Ratcliffe ioineth with the Rache water, a faire ſtreame and to be deſcribed when I haue finiſhed the Irwell, as alſo the nert vnto it beneath Ratcliffe, bicauſe I would not haue ſo manie ends at once in hand wherewith to trouble my readers. Being therefoze paſt theſe two, our Irwell goeth on to Clifton, Hollond, Edgecroft, Strengwaies, and to Manchester, where it vniteth it ſelfe with the Pzke, that runneth thereinto by Roiton Pidleton, Heaton hill, and Blackeleie. Beneath Manchester alſo it mæteth with the Hedlocke, that commeth thither from the nozthealt ſide of Oldham, and betwæne Claiton and Garret Halles, and ſo betwæne two parkes, falling into it about Holme. Thence our Irwell going fozward to Wodſall, Whicleſwie, Eccles, Barton, and Deuelhom, it falleth nære vnto Flirton, into the water of Merſeie, where I will ſtaie a while withall, till I haue bzought the other vnto ſome paſſe, of which I ſpake before.

Ræus, oz Rache. Leland ſpeaketh of the Cozne water about Manchester; but I know nothing of his courſe. Yrke. Hedlocke.

Rache. The Rache, Rech oz Rich conſiſteth of ſundzie waters, whereof ech one in maner hath a pzoper name, but the greateſt of all is Rache it ſelfe, which riſeth among the blacke ſtonie hils, from whence it goeth to Littlebzough, and being paſt Clegge, receiueth the Beſſe, that commeth thither by Milneraw chappell. After this confluence alſo, it mæteth with a rill nære vnto Rachedale, and ſone after with the Spzotton water, and then the Sudleie bzoke, whereby his chanell is not a little increaſed, which goeth from thence to Griſehirſt and ſo into the Irwell, before it come at Ratcliffe. The ſecond ſtreame is called Bzadlha. It riſeth of two heds, aboue Cureton church, whence it runneth to Bzadlha, and yet long taking in the Walmeſleie becke, they go in one chanell till they come beneath Bolton in the Moze. From hence (receiuing a water that commeth from the rots of Rauenpike hill by the way) it goeth by Deane and Bolton in the Moze, and ſo into Bzadlha water, which taketh his waie to Leuermoze, Farnworth, Leuerleſſe, and finallie into the Irwell, which I before deſcribed, and whereof I find theſe two verſes to be added at the laſt:

Beſſe. Spzotton. Sudleie. Bzadlha. Walmeſleie.

Irke, Irwell, Medlocke, and Tame,
When they meet with the Merſeie, do looſe their name.

Now therefoze to reſume our Merſeie, you ſhall vnderſtand that after his confluence with the Irwell, he runneth to Partington, and not farre from thence interteineth the Gles, oz Gleſbzoke water, increaſed with ſundzie armes, wherof one commeth from Lodward, another from aboue Houghton, the third from Hulton parke, and the fourth from Shakerleie: and being all vnited nære vnto Leigh, the confluence goeth to Holcroft, and aboue Holling græne into the ſwift Merſeie. After this increaſe the ſaid ſtreame in like ſozt runneth to Rigſton, & there admitteth the Bollein oz Bolling bzoke water into his ſocietie, which riſing nære the Chamber in Marwell fozreſt goeth to Ridge, Sutton, Bollington, Pzeſbirie, and Newton, where it taketh in a water comming from about Pot Chappell, which runneth from thence by Adlington, Wodford, Wilmeſleie, Ringeie, and Aſhleie, there receiuing the Birkin bzoke that commeth from betwæne Allerton and Marchall, by Mawberleie, and ſone after the Marus oz Mar, that commeth thereinto from Mar towne, by Rawſtozne, and after theſe confluences goeth on to Downham, and ouer againſt Kirton beneath Croſford bzidge into the Merſeie water, which pzocæding on, admitteth not another that mæteth with all nære Lim before it go to Thelwall. Thence alſo it goeth by Bzuche and ſo to Warrington, a little beneath croſſing a bzoke that commeth from Par by Bzowſeie, Bzadleie, and Saukeie on the one ſide, and another on the other that commeth thither from Gropenhall, and with theſe it runneth on to nether Walton, Acon grange, and ſo to Penkith, where it interteineth the Bold, and ſone after the Grundich water on the other ſide, that paſſeth by Pzeſton, and Dareſbirie. Finallie our Merſeie going by Moulton, it falleth into Lirepole, oz as it was called of old Liuerpole hauen, when it is paſt Runcozne. And thus much of the Merſeie, comparable vnto the Wiuer, and of no leſſe fame than moſt riuers of this Iland.

Bollein bzoke. Mar. Bold. Grundich.

Being paſt theſe two, we come next of all to the Tarbocke water, that falleth into the ſea at Harbocke, without finding anie mo till we be paſt all Wirall, out of Lirepole hauen, and from the blacke rockes that lie vpon the nozth point of the afozeſaid Iland. Then come we to the Altmouth, whoſe freth riſing not far into the land, commeth to Feſton, and ſone after receiuing another on the right hand, that paſſeth into it by Aughton, it is increaſed no moze before it come at the ſea. Neither find I anie other falles till I mæt with the mouth of the Parrow and Dugleſſe, which haue their recourſe to the ſea in one chanell as I take it. The Dugleſſe commeth from by weſt of Rayenſpike hill, and yet long runneth by Andertonford to Wozthington, and ſo (taking in two oz thzee rilles by the waie) to Wigen, where it receiueth two waters in one chanell, of which one commeth in ſouth from Bzin parke, the other from nozthealt. Being paſt this, it receiueth one on the nozth ſide from Standith, and another by ſouth from Hollond, and then goeth on toward Rukford chappell taking the Taud withall, that deſcendeth from aboue Skelmerſdale towne, and goeth through Lathan parke, belonging (as I heare) vnto the earle of Derbie.

Tarbocke. Alt oz Alt. Dugleſſe oz Dulcſſe. Taud oz Skelmere.

Yerton. Yarrow. Wagen. Ribble. Odder. Calder. Pidle. Penbarn Darwen Blacket Rodeſw Sannoc wire. Calder. Plimpt Barton

Derbie. It meeteth alſo on the ſame ſide, with Merton meers water, in which meere is one Iland called Netholme beſide other, and when it is paſt the hanging bridge, it is not long yer it fall into the Yarrow.

Merton.

Yarrow.

The Yarrow riſeth of two heads, whereof the ſecond is called Bagen broke, and making a confluence beneath Yelbie wood, it goeth on to Burgh, Egleſkan, Crofton, and then ſoineth next of all with the Dugglelle, after which confluence, the maine ſtreame goeth forth to Bankehall, Charleton, Howe, Yeſket, and ſo into the ſea. Leland writing of the Yarrow, ſaith thus of the ſame, ſo farre as I now remember. Into the Dugglelle alſo runneth the Yarrow, which commeth within a mile or thereabout of Chorleton towne, that parteth Lelandſhire from Derbieſhire. Under the foot of Chorle alſo I find a rill named Crorle, and about a mile and a halfe from thence a notable quarreie of ſtones, whereof the inhabitants do make a great boaſt and price. And hitherto Leland.

Bagen.

Ribble.

The Ribble, a riuer verie rich of ſalmon and lamprcie, doth in manner inuiron Preſton in Anderneſſe, and it riſeth neere to Ribbeſdale aboue Gisborne, from whence it goeth to Sawleie or Salleie, Chathburne, Wodington, Clithero caſtell, and beneath Pitton meeteth the Odder at northweſt, which riſeth not farre from the croſſe of Greet in Yorkeſhire, and going thence to Shilburne, Newton, Radholme parke, and Stonie hirſt, it falleth yer long into the Ribble water. From hence the Ribble water hath not gone farre, but it meeteth with the Calder from ſoutheaſt. This broke riſeth aboue Holme church in Yorkeſhire, which lieth by eaſt of Lancaſterſhire, and goeth by Towleie and Burneleie, where it receiueth a trifling rill, thence to Higham, and yer long croſſing one water that commeth from Wicoler by Colne, and another by and by named Pidle broke, that runneth by New church in the Pidle, it meeteth with the Calder, which paſſeth forth to Paniam; and thence receiuing a becke on the other ſide, it runneth on to Altham, and ſo to Partholme, where the Henburne broke doth ſoine withall, that goeth by Akington chappell, Dunkinhalgh, Riſhton, and ſo into the Calder, as I haue ſaid before. The Calder therefore being thus inlarged, runneth forth to Reade, where maiſter Nowell dwelleth, to Whallie, and ſone after into Ribble, that goeth from this confluence to Salisburie hall, Ribcheſter, Oſbaldſtin, Samburie, Leuerden, Law, Ribbles bridge, & then taketh in the Darwent, before it goeth by Pontwarth or Pentwarth into the maine ſea. The Darwent diuideth Lelandſhire from Anderneſſe, and it riſeth by eaſt aboue Darwent chappell; and ſone after uniting it ſelfe with the Blackeburne, and Rodleſworth water, it goeth through Houghton parke, by Houghton towne, to Walton hall, and ſo into the Ribble. As for the Sannocke broke, it riſeth ſomewhat aboue Longridge chappell, goeth to Broughton towne, Cotham, Lee hall, and ſo into Ribble. And here is all that I haue to ſaie of this riuer.

Odder.

Calder.

Pidle.

Henburne.

Darwent.

Blackeburne

Rodleſworth.

Sannocke.

The Wire riſeth eight or ten miles from Garſtan, out of an hill in Wireſdale forreſt, from whence it runneth by Shireſhed chappell, and then going by Wadland, or Waddiler, Gremlaw caſtell (which belongeth to the erle of Darbie) Garſtan, and Kirkland hall, it firſt receiueth the ſecond Calder, that commeth downe by Edmerſeie chappell, then another chanell increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe before I proceed anie further with the Wire. I ſuppoſe that the firſt water is called Plimpton broke, it riſeth ſouth of Goſſer, and commeth by Cawford hall, and yer long receiuing the Barton becke, it proceedeth forward till it ſoineth with the Broke rill that commeth from Bowland forreſt, by Clanghton hall, where maiſter Broke hales doth lie, & ſo through Perſco forreſt. After this confluence the Plime or Plimpton water meeteth with the Calder, and then with the Wire, which paſſeth forth to Michaell church, and the Raw cliffes, and aboue Thorneton croſſeth the Skipton that goeth by Potton, then into the Wire rode, and finallie through the ſands into the ſea, according to his nature. When we were paſt the fall of the Wire, we coaſted vp by the ſalt cotes, to Coker mouth, whoſe head, though it be in Wereſdale forreſt, not far from that of the Wire, yet the ſhortneſſe of courſe deſerueth no deſcription. The next is Cowdar, which is comming out of Wire dale, as I take it, is not increaſed with anie other waters more than Coker, and therefore I will rid my hands thereof ſo much the ſoner.

Barton.

Wire.

Calder.2.

Plimpton.

Broke.

Skipton.

Coker.

Cowdar.

Being paſt theſe two, I came to a notable riuer called the Lune or Loine, or (as the booke of ſtatutes hath) Lonwire *Anno* 13 Ric. 2 cap. 19, and giueth name to Lancaſter, Lonecaſter, or Luneceſter, where much Romane monie is found, and that of diuerſe ſtamps, whoſe courſe doth reſt to be deſcribed as followeth; and whereof I haue two deſcriptions. The firſt being ſet downe by Leland, as maiſter Moore of Catharine hall in Cambridge deliuered it vnto him. The next I exhibit as it was giuen vnto me, by one that hath taken paines (as he ſaith) to ſearch out and view the ſame, but verie lately to ſpeake of. The Lune (ſaith maiſter Moore) of ſome commonlie called the Loine, riſeth at Croſſeho, in Dent dale, in the edge of Richmondſhire out of three heads. North alſo from Dent dale is Garſdale, an vplandiſh towne, wherein are ſeene manie times great ſtore of red deere that come downe to feed from the mounteins into the vallies, and thereby runneth a water, which afterward commeth to Sebbar vale, where likewiſe is a broke meeting with Garſdale water, ſo that a little lower they go as one into Dent dale becke, which is the riuer that afterward is called Lune, or Lane, as I haue verie often noted it. Beſide theſe waters alſo before mentioned, it receiueth at the foot of Sebbar vale, a great broke, which commeth out of the Worth, betweene Weſtmerland and Richmondſhire, which taking with him the aforeſaid chanels, doth run ſeauen miles yer it come to Dent dale foot. From hence it entreth into Lanſdale, corruptlie ſo called, peraduenture for Luneſdale, & runneth therein eight or nine miles ſouthward, and in this dale is Kirbie. Hitherto maiſter Moore, as Leland hath exemphfied that parcell of his letters. But mine other note writeth hereof in this manner. Burbecke water riſeth at Wuſkall head, by weſt, and going by Wuſkall foot to Skaleg, it admitteth the Breder that deſcendeth thither from Breder dale. From hence our Burbecke goeth to Breder dale foot, & ſo to Tibarie, where it meeteth with foure rilles in one bottome, of which one commeth from beſides Orton, another from betweene Kaſebecke and Sunbiggin, the third and fourth from each ſide of Langdale: and after the generall confluence made, goeth toward Rounde ſwath, aboue which it uniteth it ſelfe with the Barrow. Thence it runneth to Holwgill, Delaker, Firrebanke, and Killington, beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from the Wouuill hilles, and afterward croſſing the Dent broke, that runneth thither from Dent towne, beneath Sebbar, they continue their courſe as one into the Burbecke, from whence it is called Lune. From hence it goeth to Burbon chappell, where it taketh in another rill comming from by eaſt, then to Kirbie, Lanſdale, and aboue Whittenton croſſeth a broke

Lune.

Burdecke.

Breder.

Barrow.

Dent.

comming

comming from the countie ſtone by Burros, and
Greteie. ſone after beneath Tunſtall and Greteie, which deſ-
cending from about Ingelborow hill, paſſeth by
Twiſelton, Ingleton, Thorneton, Burton, Wrat-
ton, and nere Thurland caſtell, toucheth finallie with
the Lune, which brancheth, and ſone after vniteth it
ſelfe againe. After this alſo it goeth on toward New
Wennie. parke, and receiueth the Wennie, and the Hinburne
Hinburne. both in one chanell, of which this riſeth north of the
croſſe of Greteie, and going by Benthams and Ro-
Rheburne. berts hill, aboue Wraie taketh in the Rheburne
that riſeth north of Wulfecrag. After this confluence alſo aboue New parke, it maketh his gate by Aughton, Laughton, Skirton, Lancaſter, Ercliffe, Awcliffe, Soddaie, Orton, and ſo into the ſea. Thus haue you both the deſcriptions of Lune, make your conference or election at your pleaſure, for I am ſworne to neither of them both.

Docker. The next fall is called Docker, and peraduenture the ſame that Leland doth call the Kerie, which
Kerie. is not farre from Wharton, where the rich Kitſon was borne, it riſeth north of Docker towne, and going by Barwiſe hall, it is not increaſed before it come at the ſea, where it falleth into the Lune water at Luneſands. Next of all we come to Bitham becke, which riſeth not far from Bitham towne and parke, in the hilles, where about are great numbers of goates kept and mainteined, and by all likelihod reſorteth in the end to Linſands.

Being paſt this, we find a forked arme of the ſea called Kenſands: into the firſt of which diuerſe waters do run in one chanell, as it were from foure principall heads, one of them comming from Grarrig hall, another frō by weſt of Whinfield, & ioining with the firſt on the eaſt ſide of Skelmere parke.
Spрota. The third called Sprot or Sprota riſeth at Slodale, & commeth downe by weſt of Skelmer parke, ſo that theſe two brookes haue the aforeſaid parke betweene them, & fall into the fourth eaſt of Barneſide, not verie farre in ſunder. The fourth or laſt cal-
Ken. led Ken, commeth from Kentmers ſide, out of Ken more, in a pole of a mile compaſſe, verie well ſtored with fiſh, the head whereof, as of all the baronie of Kendall is in Weſtmerland, & going to Stauelope, it taketh in a rill from Chappleton Inges. Then leauing Colnehead parke by eaſt, it paſſeth by Barneſide, to Kendall, Helſkon, Sigath, Siggeſwic, Leuenbridge, Milnethorpe, and ſo into the ſea. Certes this Ken is a pretie deepe riuer, and yet not ſafelie to be aduentured vpon, with boates and balingers,
Winſtar. by reaſon of rolling ſtones, & other huge ſubſtances that oft annoie & trouble the middeſt of the chanell there. The other peece of the forked arme, is called Winſtar, the hed wherof is aboue Winſtar chappell, & going downe almoſt by Carpmaunſell, & Netherſlake, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea, or ſands, for all this coaſt, & a gulfe from the Ramſide point to the Pealenaſſe, is ſo peſtered with ſands, that it is almoſt incredible to ſee how they increaſe. Thoſe alſo which inuiron the Kenmouth, are named Kenſands: but ſuch as receiue the deſcent from the Foſſe, Winander, and Sparke, are called Leueſands, as I find by ſufficient teſtimonie. The mouth or fall of the Dodon alſo is not farre from this impechment: wherefore it is to be thought, that theſe iſſues will yer long become verie noiſome, if not choked vp altogither.
Winander. The Winander water riſeth about Cunbalraſeſtones, from whence it goeth to Cangridge, where it maketh a mere: then to Ambleſide, and taking in yer it come there, two rilles on the left hand, and one on the right that commeth by Clapergate, it maketh (as I take it) the greateſt mere, or freſh water in England; for I read it is ten miles in length. Finallie, comming to one ſmall chanell aboue Newbridge, it reacheth not aboue ſix miles yer fall into the ſea. There is in like ſort a water, cal-
Foſſe. led the Foſſe that riſeth nere vnto Arneſide, and Tillerthwates, and goeth forth by Griſdale, Satrethwate, Rulland, Polwbridge, Bowth, and ſo falleth with the Winander water into the maine ſea. On the weſt ſide of the Foſſe alſo commeth another through Furneſſe felles, and from the hilles by north thereof, which yer long making the Thurſtan lake not far from Hollinhow, and going by Bridge end, in a narrow chanell, paſſeth forth by Nibthwaits, Blareth, Cowlton, & Sparke bridge, and ſo into the
Sparke. ſea. Hauing paſſed the Leuen or Coniſands, or Coniſtoneſands, or Winander fall (for all is one) I
Lew. come to the Lew, which riſeth at Cewike chappell, and
Rawther. falleth into the ſea beſide Plumpton. The Rawther deſcending out of low Furneſſe, hath two heads, whereof one commeth from Penniton, the other by Ulmerſtone abbeie, and ioining both in one chanell, they fallen into the ſea, whither all waters direct their voiage. Then come we to another rill ſouthweſt of Aldingham, deſcending by Glaiſton caſtell; and likewiſe the fourth that riſeth nere Lindell, and running by Dawlton caſtell and Furneſſe abbeie, not farre from the Barrow head, it falleth into the ſea ouer againſt Waueie and Waueie chappell, except mine aduertiſements miſleade me.

Dodon. The Dodon, which from the head is bound vnto Cumberland and Weſtmerland, commeth from the Shire ſtone hill bottome, and going by Blackehill, Southwake, S. Johns, Uffaie parke, & Brough-
ton, it falleth into the ſaltwater, betweene Kirbie, and Pallum caſtell. And thus are we now come vnto the Rauenglaſſe point, and well entred into Cumberland countie.

Comming to Rauenglaſſe, I find hard by the towne a water comming from two heads, and both of them in lakes or poles, whereof one iſſueth out of
Denocke. Denocke or Deuenocke mere, and is called Denocke water, the other named Eſke from Eſke pole
Eſke. which runneth by Eſkedale, Dalegarth, and ſone after meeting with the Denocke, betweene Mawburthwate and Rauenglaſſe, falleth into the ſea. On
Pite. the other ſide of Rauenglaſſe alſo commeth the Pite broke, from Piterdale as I read. Then find we another which commeth from the hils, and at the firſt is forked, but ſone after making a lake, they gather againe into a ſmaller chanell: finallie meeting with
Wrenge. the Wrenge, they fall into the ſea at Carleton ſouth-
Cander. eaſt, as I weene of Orig. The Cander, or (as Leland nameth it) the Calder, commeth out of Copeland forreſt, by Cander, Sellefield, and ſo into the ſea. Then come we to Euer water, deſcending out of a pole aboue Coſwaldhow, and thence going by Euerdale, it croſſeth a water from Arladon, and after procedeth to Egremond, S. Johns, and taking in another rill from Hide, it is not long yer it meeteth with the ſea.

The next fall is at Mozeſbie, whereof I haue no ſkill. From thence therefore we caſt about by ſaint Baes to Derwentſet hauen, whoſe water is truelie
Dargwent. written Dargwent or Deruent. It riſeth in the hils about Borrodale, from whence it goeth vnto the Grange, thence into a lake, in which are certeine Ilands, and ſo vnto Reſwic, where it falleth into the
Burthmere. Bure, whereof the ſaid lake is called Burſemere, or the Burthmere pole. In like ſort the Bure or Burthmere water, riſing among the hils goeth to Tegburtheſworth, Fornеſide, S. Johns, and Threlcote: and there meeting with a water from Griſdale, by Wakethwate, called Griſe, it runneth to Burneſſe, Kel-
Griſe. wic, and there receiueth the Darwent. From Kelwic in like ſort it goeth to Thorneſwate (and there making a ptach) to Armanſwate, Iſell, Huthwate and Cokermouth, and here it receiueth the Cokar,
Cokar. which

which riſing among the hils commeth by Lowſe water, Bzakenthwate, Lozton, and ſo to Cokermouth towne, from whence it haſteth to Bzidgeham, and receiuing a rill called the Wire, on the ſouth ſide that runneth by Dein, it leaueth Samburne and Wirketon behind it, and entereth into the ſea.

Wire. Leland ſaith that the Wire is a creke where ſhips lie oft at rode, and that Wirketon or Wirkington towne doth take his name thereof. He addeth alſo that there is iron and coles, beſide lead oze in Witedale. Neuertheleſſe the water of this riuer is for the moſt part foze troubled, as comming thorough a ſuddie or ſoddie moze, ſo that little good fiſh is ſaid to liue therein. But to proceed. The Elme riſeth in the mines aboue Amautree, and from Amautre goeth to Pereſbie, Yarbie, Bzow, and there taking in a rill on the left hand comming by Tozpennie, it goeth to Hatton caſtell, Alwarbie, Birthie, Dereham, and ſo into the ſea. Thence we go about by the chappell at the point, and come to a baie ſerued with two freſh waters, whereof one riſing weſtward goeth by Warton, Kabbie, Cotes, and ſo into the maine, taking in a rill withall from by ſouth, called Croco, that commeth from Crockdale, by Bzomefield. The ſecond is named Wampole bzoke, & this riſeth of two heads, whereof one is about Cardew. Thence in like ſozt it goeth to Thureſbie, Croſton, Dwton, Gamleſbie, Wampall, the Larth, and betweene Whiterigge and Kirbie into the ſaltwater. From hence we double the Bowlneſſe, and come to an eſtuarie, whither three notable riuers do reſozt, and this is named the Solueie mouth. But of all, the firſt excedeth, which is called Eden, and whoſe deſcription doth follow here at hand.

Elmus. Croco. Wampo.

Eden. The Eden well fraught with ſamon, deſcendeth (as I heare) from the hils in Athelſtane moze at the fot of Hallat Nozuell hill, where Swale alſo riſeth, and ſoutheaſt of Mallerſtang forreſt. From thence in like maner it goeth to Mallerſtang towne, Pendragon caſtell, Wharton hall, Netbie, Hartleie caſtell, Kirkebie Stephan, and yet it come at great Mulgrane, it receiueth three waters, whereof one is called Helbecke, bicauſe it commeth from the Derne and Elinge mounteins by a towne of the ſame denomination. The other is named Bellow, and deſcendeth from the eaſt mounteins by Sowarbie, & theſe two on the nozth eaſt: the third falleth from Rauenſtandale, by Newbiggin, Smardale, Soulbie, Blaterne, and ſo into Eden, that goeth from thence by Warcop; and taking in the Dzne about Burelles on the one ſide, and the Mozton becke on the other, it haſteth to Applebie, thence to Cowlbie, where it croſſeth the Dzibecke, thence to Bolton, and Kirbie, and there meeting with the Trowt becke, and beneath the ſame with the Linenet (whereinto falleth an other water from Thurenlie meeting withall beneath Clebzon) it runneth finallie into Eden. After the confluences alſo the Eden paſſeth to Temple, and ſone after meeting with the Milburne and Blincozne waters, in one chanell, it runneth to Winderwarth and Hozneby, where we will ſtaie till I haue deſcribed the water that meeteth withall nere the afozeſaid place called the Uiſe.

Helbecke. Bellow. Dzne. Mozeton. Dzibecke. Trowt becke. Linenet. Milburne. Blincozne. Uiſe.

This water commeth out of a lake, which is fed with ſix rils, whereof one is called the Marke, and nere the fall thereof into the plaſh is a towne of the ſame name; the ſecond hight Hartelhop, & runneth from Hartelhop hall by Depedale; the third is Paterdale rill; the fourth Glent Roden, the fift Glenkguin, but the firſt runneth into the ſaid lake, ſouth of Towthwate. Afterward when this lake commeth toward Pole towne, it runneth into a ſmall chanell, & going by Barton, Dalumaine, it taketh in a rill by the waie from Daker caſtell. Thence it goeth to Stockebzioge, Yonewozth, and ſone after meeteth with a pzetie bzoke called Loder, comming from Thoznethwate by Bauton, and here a rill; then by Helton, and there another; thence to Aſkham, Clifton, and ſo ioining with the other called Uiſe, they go to Bzougham caſtell, Nine churches, Hoznebie, and ſo into Eden, taking in a rill (as it goeth) that commeth downe from Pencath. Being paſt Hoznebie, our Eden runneth to Langanbie, and ſone after receiuing a rill that commeth from two heads, and ioining beneath Wingſell, it haſteth to Laſenbie, then to Kirke Oſwald (on ech ſide whereof commeth in a rill from by eaſt) thence to Nonneie, and there a rill, Anſtable, Cotchill, Cozbie caſtell, Wetherall, Newbie; where I will ſtaie, till I haue deſcribed the Irding, and ſuch waters as fall into the ſame before I go to Carleill.

Loder.

The Irding ariſeth in a moze in the bozders of Tindale, nere vnto Hozſle head crag, where it is called Terne becke; vntill it come to Spicrag hill, that diuideth Northumberland and Gilleſland in ſunder, from whence it is named Irding. Being therfoze come to Duerhall, it receiueth the Pultroſe becke, by eaſt, and thence goeth on to Duerdenton, Netherdenton, Leuercoſt, and Caſtellſtead, where it taketh in the Cambocke, that runneth by Kirke Cambocke, Alkerton caſtell, Walton, and ſo into Irding, which goeth from thence to Irdington, Newbie, & ſo into Eden. But a little before it come there, it croſſeth with the Gillie that commeth by Tankin, and ſone after falleth into it. After theſe confluences, our Eden goeth to Linſtocke caſtell, (and here it interteineth a bzoke, comming from Cotehill ward by Aglionbie) and then vnto Carleill, which is now almoſt inuironed with foure waters.

Irding. Terne. Pultroſe. Cambocke.

For beſide the Eden it receiueth the Peder, which Leland calleth Logus from ſoutheaſt. This Peder riſeth in the hils ſouthweſt of Penruddocke, from whence it goeth to Penruddocke, then to Graſtocke caſtell, Cateleie, and Renderſide hall, and then taking in a water from Unthanke, it goeth to Cathwade, Pettrelwaie, Newbiggin, Carleton, and ſo into Eden, nozth eaſt of Carleill. But on the nozth ſide the Bzuferth bzoke doth ſwiftlie make his entrance, running by Leuerdale, Scalbie caſtell, and Houſedon; as I am informed. The third is named Candan (if not Deua after Leland) which riſing about the Skidlow hils, runneth to Moſedale, Caldbecke, Warnell, Saberham, Roſe caſtell, Dawſton, Bzounſton, Harrington, and weſt of Carleill falleth into Eden, which going from thence by Grimſdale, Kirke Andzos, Beaumont, falleth into the ſea beneath the Rowcliffe caſtell. And thus much of the Eden, which Leland neuertheleſſe deſcribeth after another ſozt, whoſe wozds I will not let to ſet downe here in this place, as I find them in his commentaries.

Pedar alias Logus. Bzuferth.

The Eden, after it hath run a pzetie ſpace from his head, meeteth in time with the Uiſe water, which is a great bzoke in Weſtmerland, and riſing aboue Maredale, a mile weſt of Loder, it commeth by the late diſſolued houſe of Shappe pziozie, three miles from Shappe, and by Bzampton village into Loder or Lodon. Certes this ſtreame within halfe a mile of the head, becommeth a great lake for two miles courſe, and afterward waxing narrow againe, it runneth forth in a meane and indifferent bottome. The ſaid Eden in like ſozt receiueth the Aimote about three miles beneath Bzougham caſtell, and into the ſame Aimote falleth the Dacor becke (alreadie touched) which riſeth by northweſt in Paterdale hils, foure miles aboue Dacor caſtell, and then going

Uiſe after Leland. Loder. Aimote. Dacor.

thꝛough Dacoꝛ parke, it runneth by eaſt a good mile lower into Eimote, a little beneath Delamaine, which ſtandeth on the left ſide of Dacoꝛ. In one of his bookes alſo he ſaith, how Carleill ſtandeth betweene two ſtreames, that is to ſaie the Deua, which commeth thither from by ſouthweſt, and alſo the Logus that deſcendeth from the ſoutheaſt. He addeth moꝛeouer how the Deua in times paſt was named Vala oꝛ Bala, and that of the names of theſe two, Lugibala foꝛ Caerleill hath beene deriued, &c. And thus much out of Leland. But where he had the cauſe of this his coniecture as yet I haue not read. Of this am I certeine, that I vſe the names of moſt riuers here and elſe-where deſcribed, accoꝛdinglie as they are called in my time, although I omit not to ſpeake here and there of ſuch as are moꝛe ancient, where iuſt occaſion moueth me to remember them, foꝛ the better vnderſtanding of our hiſtoꝛies, as they dꝛaw neare to hand.

Deua.

Vala.

Blacke Leuen and white Leuen waters, fall into the ſea in one chanell, and with them the Lamfoꝛd and the Elke, the laſt confluence being not a full mile from the maine ſea. The white and blacke Leuen ioining therfoꝛe aboue Bucknelle, the confluence goeth to Bꝛacken hill, Kirkleuenton, and at Comunt water meeteth with the Elke. In like ſoꝛt the Kirſop ioining with the Lidde out of Scotland at Kirſop foot, running by Stangerdike ſide, Yarlow, Hathwater, and taking in the Elke aboue the Mote, it loſeth the foꝛmer name, and is called Elke, vntill it come to the ſea.

Leuen.
Lamfoꝛd.
Elke.

Comunt.
Kirſop.
Lidde.

Hauing thus gone thoꝛough the riuers of England, now it reſteth that we pꝛoceed with thoſe which are to be found vpon the Scotiſh ſhoꝛe, in ſuch oꝛder as we beſt may, vntill we haue fetched a compaſſe about the ſame, and come vnto Barwike, whence afterward it ſhall be eaſie foꝛ vs to make repaire vnto the Thames, from which we did ſet foꝛward in the beginning of our voiage. The firſt riuer that I met withall on the Scotiſh coaſt, is the Elke, after I came paſt the Soluein, which hath his head in the Cheuiot hilles, runneth by Kirkinton, and falleth into the ſea at Boꝛow on the ſands. This Elke hauing receiued the Ewis falleth into the Soluein firſt at Atterith. After this I paſſed ouer a little cꝛéke from Kirthell, and ſo to Anand, whereof the vallie Anandale doth ſéeme to take the name. There is alſo the Nide, whereof commeth Nidſdale, the Ken, the Dée, the Crale, and the Bladnecke, and all theſe (beſides diuerſe other ſmall rilles of leſſe name) do lie vpon the ſouth of Gallowaie.

Elke.

On the noꝛth ſide alſo we haue the Ruan, the Arde, the Caſſile Dune, the Burwin, the Cluide (whereupon ſometime ſtood the famous citie of Alcluide, and whereinto runneth the Carath) the Hamell, the Dourgleſſe, and the Lame. From hence in like maner we came vnto the Leuind mouth, whereunto the Blake on the ſouthweſt and the Lomund lake, with his fléeting Iles and fiſh without finnes (yet verie holeſome) doth ſéeme to make his iſſue. This lake of Lomund in calme weather ariſeth ſometimes ſo high, and ſwelleth with ſuch terrible billowes, that it cauſeth the beſt marriners of Scotland to abide the leiſure of this water, before they dare aduenture to hoiſe vp ſailes on hie. The like is ſéene in windie weather, but much moꝛe perillous. There are certeine Iles alſo in the ſame, which moue and remoue, oftentimes by foꝛce of the water, but one of them eſpeciallie, which otherwiſe is verie fruitfull foꝛ paſturage of cattell.

Next vnto this is the Leue, the Rage, the Long, the Goile, & the Heke, which foꝛ the exceeding greatneſſe of the ir heads, are called lakes. Then haue we the Robinſeie, the Foꝛeland, the Tarbat, the Lean, and the Abir, whereunto the Spanſeie, the Loine, the Louth, the Arke, and the Zeſe do fall, there is alſo the Sell, the Zoꝛd, the Dwin, the Newiſſe, the Dꝛne the Lang, the Dꝛun, the Hew, the Bꝛun, the Kell, the Dowꝛ, the Faro, the Neſſe, the Herre, the Con, the Glaſſe, the Maur, the Ardall, the Fers (that commeth out of the Caldell) the Fairſoke, which two latter lie a little by weſt of the Dꝛchades, and are pꝛoperlie called riuers, bicauſe they iſſue onelie from ſpꝛings; but moſt of the other lakes, bicauſe they come from linnes and huge poles, oꝛ ſuch low bottomes, fed with ſpꝛings, as ſéeme to haue no acceſſe, but onelie receſſe of waters, whereof there be manie in Scotland.

Foꝛlan
Tarbat.
Lean.
Abir.
Arke.
Zeſe.
Sell.
Zoꝛd.
Dwin.
Newiſſe.
Dꝛne.
Lang.
Dꝛun.
Hew.
Bꝛun.
Kile.
Dowꝛ.
Faro.
Neſſe.
Herre.
Con.
Glaſſe.
Maur.
Ardall.
Feſſe.
Calder.
Wiſſe.
Bꝛowꝛe.
Clin.
Twin.
Shin.
Sillan.
Carew.
Neſſe.
Narding.
Spaie.
Downe.
Dée.
Elke.

But to pꝛoceed. Hauing once paſt Dungiſbie head in Cathneſſe, we ſhall yet long come to the mouth of the Wiſſe, a pꝛettie ſtreame, comming by ſouth of the mounteins called the Maidens pappes. Then to the Bꝛowꝛe, the Clin, the Twin (whereinto runneth thꝛee riuers, the Shin, the Sillan, and Carew) the Neſſe, which beſide the plentie of ſamon found therein is neuer froſen, noꝛ ſuffereth yce to remaine there, that is caſt into the pole. From thence we come vnto the Narding, the Finderne, the Spaie (which receiues the Wine) the Fitch, the Bulich, the Arrian, the Leuin, and the Bogh, from whence we ſaile vntill we come about the Buquhan head, and ſo to the Downs, and Dée: which two ſtreames bꝛing foꝛth the greateſt ſamons that are to be had in Scotland, and moſt plentie of the ſame. Then to the noꝛth Elke, whereinto the Elmond runneth aboue Bꝛechin, the ſouth Elke, then the Louen and the Taw, which is the fineſt riuer foꝛ water that is in all Scotland, and whereunto moſt riuers and lakes do run. As Farlake, Yꝛth, Goure, Loich, Cannach, Linell, Loton, Irewer, Erne, and diuerſe other beſides ſmall rillets which I did neuer loke vpon.

Then is there the lake Londoꝛs, vpon whoſe mouth ſaint Andꝛewes doth ſtand, the lake Lewin, vnto whoſe ſtreame two other lakes haue recourſe in Fifland, and then the Firth oꝛ Foꝛtha, which ſome do call the Pictiſh and Scottiſh ſea, whither the kingdome of the Noꝛthumbers was ſometime extended, and with the riuer laſt mentioned (I meane that commeth from Londoꝛs) includeth all Fife, the ſaid Foꝛtha being full of oiſters and all kinds of huge fiſh that vſe to lie in the déepe. How manie waters run into the Firth, called by Ptolomie Lora, it is not in my power iuſtlie to declare: yet are there both riuers, rills, & lakes that fall into the ſame, as Clacke, Alon, Dune, Kerie, Cambell, Cumer, Tere, Man, Toꝛkelon, Kolham, Mulhell, Blene, and diuerſe other which I call by theſe names, partlie after infoꝛmation, and partlie of ſuch townes as are neere vnto their heads. Finallie, when we are paſt the Haie, then are we come vnto the Twede, whereinto we entred, leauing Barwike on the right hand and his appurtenances, wherein Halidon hill ſtandeth, and conteineth a triangle of ſo much ground beyond the ſaid riuer, as is well neere foure miles in length, and thꝛée miles in bꝛeadth in the bꝛoad end: except mine infoꝛmation do faile me.

Clacke.
Alon.
Dune.
Kerie.
Cambell.
Cumer.
Tere.
Man.
Toꝛkelan.
Kolham.
Mulſell.
Blene.
Twede.

The Twede (which Ptolomie nameth Toualſis oꝛ Toeſis, & betweene which and the Tine the countie of Noꝛthumberland is in maner incloſed, and watred with ſundꝛie noble riuers) is a noble ſtreame and the limes oꝛ bound betweene England & Scotland, wherby thoſe two kingdomes are now diuided in ſunder. It riſeth about Dꝛimlar in Eubale (oꝛ rather out of a faire well (as Leland ſaith) ſtanding in the moſſe of an hill called Airſkane, oꝛ Hareſkan in Twede dale ten miles from Pibble) and ſo comming by Pibble, Lander, Dꝛibiwgh, Lelſe, Warke, Noꝛham,

Leue.
Long.
Goile.
Heke.
Robinſeie.

Noꝛham and Yagarſtone, it falleth into the ſea beneath Barwike, as I heare. Thus ſaith Leland. But I not contented with this ſo ſhoꝛt a diſcourſe of ſo long a riuer & briefe deſcription of ſo faire a ſtreame, will ad ſomewhat moꝛe of the ſame concerning his race on the Engliſh ſide, and rehearſall of ſuch riuers as fall into it. Comming therefoꝛe to Ridam, it receiueth betweene that and Carham a becke, which deſcendeth from the hilles that lie by weſt of Windꝛam. Going alſo from Ridam by Longbꝛidgham (on the Scotiſh ſide) and to Carham, it haſteth immediatlie to Warke caſtell on the Engliſh, and by Spilaw on the other ſide, then to Cornewall, Cald ſtreame, and Tilmouth, where it receiueth ſundꝛie waters in one botome which is called the Till, and whoſe deſcription inſueth here at hand.

Till. Certes there is no head of anie riuer that is named Till, but the iſſue of the furtheſt water that commeth hereinto, riſeth not farre from the head of Alwaie in the Cheuiot hilles, where it is called Bꝛennich, whereof the kingdome of Brennicia did ſometime take the name. From thence it goeth to Hartſide, Ingram, Bꝛanton, Crawleie, Hedgeleie, Beueleie, and Bewiſe, beneath which it receiueth one water comming from Rodham by weſt, and ſone after a ſecond deſcending from the Middletons, and Bꝛomis. ſo they go as one with the Bꝛomiſh, by Chatton to Folwbꝛeie (where they croſſe the third water falling downe by noꝛth from Howbꝛne by Heſelbꝛidge) thence to Woller, there alſo taking in a rill that riſeth about Middleton hall, and runneth by Hardleie, Whereleie, and the reſt afoꝛe remembꝛed, wherby the water of Bꝛomis is not a little increaſed, and after this latter confluence beneath Woller, no moꝛe called Bꝛomis but the Till, vntill it come at the Twede. The Till paſſing therefoꝛe by Weteland and Dedington, meeteth ſone after with a faire ſtreame comming from by ſouthweſt, which moſt Bobent. men call the Bowbent oꝛ Bobent.

It riſeth on the weſt ſide of the Cocklaw hill, and from thence haſteth to Hattons, beneath the which it toineth from by ſoutheaſt with the Hellerbꝛne, and then goeth to Pudſton, Downeham, Kilham, and a little by noꝛth of Newton Kirke, and betweene it and well Newton, it taketh in another water called Glin, comming from the Cheuiot hilles by Heth pole, and from thenſefoꝛth runneth on without anie further increaſe, by Copland Euart, and ſo in the Till. The Till foꝛ his part in like ſoꝛt after this confluence goeth to Bꝛonerdge, Fodcaſtell, Eatall caſtell, Yeaton, & noꝛth of Tilmouth into the Twede, oꝛ by weſt of Weſell, except my memoꝛie doth faile me. After this alſo our afoꝛeſaid water of Twede deſcendeth to Grotehugh, the Newbiggins, Noꝛham caſtell, Fwꝛd, Lungridge, & croſſing the Whitaker. Whitaker on the other ſide from Scotland beneath Cawmill, it runneth to Oꝛdo, to Barwike, and ſo into the Ocean, leauing (as I ſaid) ſo much Engliſh ground on the noꝛthweſt ſide, as lieth in manner of a triangle betweene Cawmils, Barwike, and Laumneton, which (as one noteth) is no moꝛe but two miles and an halfe euerie waie, oꝛ not much moꝛe, except he be deceiued.

Being paſt this noble ſtreame, we came by a rill that deſcendeth from Bowlden by Barington. Then by the ſecond which ariſeth betweene Middleton and Detham oꝛ Dereham, and runneth by Eskill and the Roſſe, next of all to Warnemouth, of whoſe Warne. backe water I read as followeth. The Warne oꝛ Gwerne riſeth ſouthweſt of Crokclaw, and going by Warneford, Bꝛadfoꝛd, Spindleſtone, and Budle, it leaueth Newton on the right hand, and ſo falleth into the Ocean, after it hath run almoſt nine miles from the head within the land, and receiued a rill beneath Yellington, which commeth downe betweene Newland and Michelter, and hath a bꝛidge beneath the confluence, which leadeth ouer the ſame. From Warnemouth, we ſailed by Bamboꝛow caſtell, and came at laſt to a fall betweene Bedwell and Newton. The maine water that ſerueth this iſſue, riſeth aboue Carleton from the foot of an hill, which ſeemeth to part the head of this and that of Warne in ſunder. It runneth alſo by Carleton, Conleie, Doꝛford, Bꝛunton, and Tuggell, and finallie into the ſea, as to his courſe appertaineth.

From this water we went by Dunſtanbugh caſtell, vnto the Chalne oꝛ Alnemouth, which is ſerued Aile, oꝛ Alne, alias Chaine. with a pꝛetie riuer called Alne, the head whereof riſeth in the hils weſt of Alnham towne, and called by Ptolomie, Celnius. From thenſe alſo it runneth by Rile, Bile, Eſſington, and Whittingham, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by ſouth, and beneath the ſame, the ſecond that deſcendeth from Eirchild at Bꝛone, & likewiſe the third that riſeth at Newton, and runneth by Edlingham caſtell and Lemmaton (all on the ſoutheaſt ſide oꝛ right hand) and ſo paſſeth on further, till it meet with the fourth, comming from aboue Shipleie from by noꝛth, after which confluence it goeth to Alnewike, & then to Dennie, receiuing there a rillet from by ſouth and a rill from by noꝛth, and thence going on to Bilton, betweene Ailmouth towne and Woodon, it ſweepeth into the Ocean.

The Cocket is a goodlie riuer, the head alſo thereCocket. Alwaie. of is in the roots of Kembleſpeth hils, from whence it goeth to Whiteſide, and there meeting with the Alwaie (which deſcendeth from the noꝛth) it goeth a little further to Linbꝛidge, and there receiueth the Ridleie by ſouthweſt, and after that with another, called (as I thinke) the Hoc, which commeth from the Woodland and hillie ſoile by Allington, & falleth into the ſame, weſt of Parke head. It toineth alſo yer long with the Ridland, which commeth in noꝛth by Bilſtone, and Ridlete. then hieth to Sharpton, to Harborle, where it croſſeth the Yardop water by ſouth, then to Woodhouſe, and Yardop. ſwallowing in a litle becke by the waie from ſouthweſt, to Bickerton, to Toſſons, Newton, and running apace toward Whitton towꝛe, it taketh a bꝛoke withall that commeth in noꝛthweſt of Alnham, neere Elihaw, and goeth by Skarnewod, ouer nether Trewhet, Snitter, and Thꝛorton, and ſone after vniteth it ſelfe with the Cocket, from whence they go together to Rethburie, oꝛ Whitton towꝛe, to Halie, to Winkehoꝛne, Welden, taking withall ſone after the Tod oꝛ burne called Tod, which falleth in from by ſouth, then to Elihaw, Felton (receiuing thereabout the Fareſlie bꝛoke, that goeth by Wintring by ſouth eaſt, and Sheldike water, that goeth by Haſon, to Wainſaugh by noꝛth.) and from thence to Moꝛricke Warkworth caſtell, and ſo into the ſea.

It may be Leland miſtaketh Tickington water foꝛ one of theſe.

There is furthermoꝛe a little fall, betweene Hathelaw and Drurith, which riſeth about Stokes wood, goeth by eaſt Chenington, and Whittington caſtell, and afterward into the Ocean. The Lune is a Lune. pꝛetie bꝛoke riſing weſt of Glpleie, from whence it goeth to Tritlington, Wgham, Linton, and yer long in the ſea. Wanſbecke (in old time Dina) is far greater than the Lune. It tilleth vp weſt and by noꝛth Wanſbecke. of weſt Whelpington, thence it runneth to Kirke Whelpington, Walkington, Middleton, and Angerton. There it meeteth with a water running from about Farnelaw by the grange, and Hartburne on the noꝛth, and then going from Angerton, it runneth by Wolden to Witfoꝛth, and there in like maner croſſeth the Font, which iſſuing out of the ground about Font. Newbiggin, goeth by Ponneie Kirke, Witton caſtell, Stanton, Nunclyng, Newton, and ſo into the Wanſbecke, which runneth in like maner from Witfoꝛd to Moꝛpeth caſtell (within two miles whereof it

ebbeth and floweth) the new Chappell, Bottle caſtell, Shepwaſh, and ſo into the ſea, three miles from the next hauen which is called Blithe.

Blithe. Blithe water riſeth about kirke Heaton, and goeth by Belſe, Ogle, and (receiuing the Port *alias* the Brocket, that ſpringeth eaſt of S. Oſwolds) paſſeth by Portgate, Whittington, Fennike hall, Wadſennes, Hawkewell, the Grange, & Dillingtons. After it hath taken in the Pont from the eaſt (whoſe head is not farre from that of Hartleie ſtreame) and is paſt Hartleie. Barwize on the hill, it runneth by Harford, Bedlington, Cowpon, and at Blithes nuke, into the deepe Ocean. Hartleie ſtreamelet riſeth in Weſtelade parioch, goeth by Haliwell, and at Hartleie towne yeeldeth to the ſea.

North Tine. The Tine or Tinna, a riuer notablie ſtored with ſamon, and other good fiſh, and in old time called Alan, riſeth of two heads, whereof that called north Tine, is the firſt that followeth to be deſcribed. It ſpringeth vp aboue Belkirke in the hils, & thence Shele. goeth to Butterhawgh (where it receiueth a confluence of Kirſop and the Shele) thence to Cragſheles, Leapeliſh (receiuing on the ſouth a rill out of Tindale) then to Shilburne, againſt which it taketh in a becke that commeth out of Tindale called Shill, alſo two other on the ſame ſide, betweene Parro and Fawſton hall, and the third at Thornebyrne, and ſo goeth on to Greneſted, and there carrieth withall a fall, from by north alſo made by the confluence of one rill comming by Thecam, and another that paſſeth by Holmhead, and likewiſe another on the ſouth comming from Tindale, by Chuden, Dalacaſtell, and Brokes: after which our north Tine goeth by Hellaſide, to Billingham, and at Rhedes mouth meeteth with the Ridde, a verie prettie water, whoſe Ridde. deſcription is giuen me after this maner.

The Ridde therefore riſeth within three miles of the Scotiſh march, as Leland ſaith, & commeth through Riddeſdale, whereunto it giueth the name. Another writeth how it riſeth in the rots of the Carter, and Redſquibe hilles, and yet it hath gone farre from the head, beſide a few little rilles it taketh in the Spelhop. Spelhop or Petop from the north and the Chellop on the Chellop. ſouth, beſide ſundrie other wild rils nameleſſe and obſcure, as one on the north ſide next vnto the Petop or Spelhop; another by ſouth out of Riddeſdale, the third weſt of Burdop, the fourth runneth by Wullaw to Rocheſter, then two from ſouthweſt, another from by north which goeth by Durtburne, and is called Durt or Durch, then the Smalburne from the weſt. Next to the ſame is the Otter or Otterburne on the north ſide alſo the Querete, and finallie the laſt which deſcendeth from Elleſdon hilles, by Punkrige and ioineth with our Ridde, northweſt of Nadhowgh, after which the ſaid Ridde goeth by Wadburne, Riſingham, Leame, and ſo into the Tine, a little lower than Belingham or Billingham, which ſtandeth ſomewhat aloofe from north Tine, and is (as I take it) ten miles at the leaſt aboue the towne of 3. Burnes. Herham. After this confluence it paſſeth to Lehall, Shitlington. to Carehouſe (croſſing Shitlington becke by weſt which alſo receiueth the Pare on the ſouth ſide of Shitlington) another alſo beneath this on the ſame ſide, made by the confluence of Mockelburne, and Middleburne, at Roſeburne, beſide the third called Horleis or Horlée aboue, and Simons burne beneath Shepechale, and likewiſe the Swine from by north that runneth by Swinburne caſtell, next of all the Riall from the northeaſt, which commeth by Errington, & ſo holding his courſe directlie ſouthwards, it goeth by S. Oſwolds through the Picts wall, to Wall, and ſo into ſouth Tine, beneath Aecam, and northweſt (as I doo weene) of Herham.

Tine. S. The ſouth Tine ariſeth in the Cheuiot hils, and yer it hath gone farre from the head, it meeteth with Eſgill on the eaſt, and another rill on the weſt, and ſo Eſgill. going by the houſes toward Awken more, it ioineth with Schud from by weſt, and ſone after with the Uent from by eaſt aboue Lowbier. From Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton, to Kirke Haugh (croſ- Uent. ſing the Gilders becke on the one ſide, and the Aine Gilders beck. on the other) to Thornehope, where it is inlarged with a water on each ſide, to Williamſtone, and almoſt at Knareſdale, taketh in the Knare, and then Knare. runneth withall to Fetherſtone angle. At Fetherſtone angle likewiſe it meeteth with Hartleie water, by ſouthweſt comming from Sibins or Sibbenes, another a little beneath from ſoutheaſt, and thence when it commeth to Billeſter caſtell, it carieth another withall from by weſt, Thirlewall called Aipall which riſeth in the forreſt of Lowes, and goeth by the Coyne. Waltowne, Blinkinſop, & Widon, and after which confluence it taketh in another from by north riſing weſt of Swinſheld, which goeth by Grenelegh to Haltweſtell: thence going by Unthanke, it croſſeth another rill from by ſouth, deſcending from the hilles that lie north of Todlewood, and then proceeding vnto Wilmotteſwize, it admitteth the Wilmots becke from the ſouth, and another running by Wadleie hall on the north ſide of Beltingham; after which it meeteth with the Alen a proper water, and deſcribed after this maner.

The Alen or Alon hath two heads, whereof one is East Alen. called eaſt Alen, the other weſt Alen. The firſt of them riſeth ſoutheaſt of Sibton Sheles, & going by Sundorp, it taketh in a rill withall from by eaſt; after which confluence it runneth to Newſhele, Allington, Cadon, Old towne, & in the courſe to Stanertpele, meeteth with the weſt Alen. The weſt Alen riſeth in Rillop low hilles aboue Whetelete ſheles, from whence West Alen. it goeth to Sparrwell, Halcropole, Dwlton, and taking in a rill thereabouts, it proceedeth on to Permandbie, and croſſing there another rill in like maner from by weſt, it goeth by Whiteſield, and ioining ſone after with the eaſt Alen, they run as one to Stauert pole, Plankford, and ſo into the Tine betweene Beltingham and Lees, from thence the Tine runneth on by Lees Haddon, Wlodhall, Downers, Whernebie, Coſtleie, & ſo by Warden, till it croſſe the north Tine, and come to Herham, from whence it goeth to Wilſtan, croſſing two waters by the waie, whereof one commeth from by ſouth, and is called the Wolfh, which holdeth his courſe by Stelehall, and Netwbiggin receiueth another comming from Grimbridge: the other called Dill ſomewhat lower deſcending from Hedleie, and running by Riſing, till it fall into the ſouth ſide of our ſtreame from Wiſtan, it goeth to Bywell caſtell, ouer againſt which it receiueth a rill that runneth by Hindleie, thence it hafteth to Ellingham, Prudoe, Willam, (and there it meeteth with another becke) then to Reton, Blaidon, and next of all ioineth with the Darwent, from by ſouth.

This riuer riſeth aboue Knewdon, and Riddlam- Darwent. hope in Northumberland, from two heads: the northerlie being called Dere, and the ſoutherlie the Guent: and ioining ſo well yer long in chanell as in name, they runne on to Yuniſkerworth, new Wiggins, Blankeland, Acon, Aſperſheles, Blackheadlie, Brentfield ſide, Pawſheles, Ebcheſter, and there taking in a water from Hedleie in Northumberland, neere to Blacke hall in the biſhoprike, it goeth on to Spen, Hollinſide, Wickham, Swalwell, and ſo into Tine, which paſſeth from thence by Elſwoke, and meeting with another water comming from Shildraw, by Rauenſworth caſtell to Redhugh, it goeth on to Newcaſtell, Fellin, Hetherhelworth, Walker, Walſwon, Hedburne, and next to Jerro or Girwie, where

where Beda dwelled in an abbeie; now a gentlemans place (although the church be made a pariſh church, wherevnto diuerſe townes reſort, as monke Eaton where Beda was borne, which is a mile from thence, Southſheles, Harton, Weſthow, Hebburne, Hedworth, Wardleie, Fellin, Follinſbie, the Hewoythes) and from thence to the ſouth and Northſheles, and ſo into the ſea, fiue miles by northweſt of Weremouth, and (as I geſſe) ſomewhat more.

Beneath the confluence in like ſort of both the Tines, Eandeth Corbridge, a towne ſometime inhabited by the Romans, and about twelue miles from Newcaſtell, and hereby doth the Coine run, that meeteth yer long with the Tine. Not farre off alſo is a place called Colcheſter, wherby Leland geſſeth that the name of the bꝛoke ſhould rather be Cole than Coine, and in my iudgement his coniecture is verie likelie; for in the life of S. Oſwyn (otherwiſe a feeble authoritie) the word Colbridge is alwaies vſed for Corbridge, whereof I thought good to leaue this ſhort aduertiſement. In this countrie alſo are the three bales or dales, whereof men haue doubted whether theeues or true men do moſt abound in them, that is to ſaie, Riddeſdale, Tuidale, and Liddeſdale: this laſt being for the moſt part Scotiſh, and without the marches of England. Neuertheleſſe, ſithens that by the diligence cheefelie of maiſter Gilpin, and finallie of other learned preachers, the grace of God working with them, they haue beene called to ſome obedience and zeale vnto the word, it is found that they haue ſo well profited by the ſame, that at this preſent their former ſauage demeanour is verie much abated, and their barbarous wilonneſſe and fiercenеſſe ſo qualified, that there is great hope left of their reduction vnto ciuilitie, and better order of behauiour than hitherto they haue beene acquainted withall. But to proceed with the reſt.

Coine.

Ptolomie, writing of the Were, calleth it Uedra, a riuer well knowne vnto Beda the famous preeſt, who was brought vp in a monaſterie that ſtood vpon the bankes thereof. It riſeth of three heads in Kellop-peſlaw hill, whereof the moſt ſoutherlie is called Burdop, the middlemoſt Wallop, and the northerlieſt Kellop, which vniting themſelues about S. Johns chappell, or a little by weſt thereof, their confluence runneth through Stanhope parke, by eaſt Pare, and ſo to Froſterleie. But yer it come there, it receiueth three rilles from the north in Weredale, whereof one commeth in by Stanhope, another weſt of Wolderoſt hall, and the third at Froſterleie afore mentioned. And a little beneath theſe, I find yet a fourth on the ſouth ſide, which deſcendeth from ſouthweſt by Bollop, Bithopſleie, Pilhouſes, and Landew, as I haue beene informed. Being therefore vnited all with the Were, this ſtreame goeth on to Walſingham, there taking in the Waſcropburne, beſide another at Bradleie, the third at Harpleie hall (and theſe on the north ſide) and the fourth betweene Witton and Witton caſtell called Bedburne, comming by Hamſterleie, whereby this riuer doth now war-ris great. Going therefore from hence, it paſſeth to Biſhops Akeland, and beneath it receiueth the Garondleſſe, which (as Leland ſaith) riſeth ſix miles by weſt of Akeland caſtell, and running ſouth thereof, paſſeth by weſt Akeland, S. Helens Akeland, S. Andrewes Akeland, and biſhops Akeland, and then into the Were which goeth to Newfield, and Willington. Neere vnto this place alſo and ſomewhat beneath Sunderland, the Were, croſſeth one bꝛoke from ſouthell by Yet, Crorſeie, Cronefurth, Turſdale, and Cordale, and two other from by northweſt in one botome, whereof the firſt commeth from aboue Alh by Langleie: the other called Coue, from aboue Kinchleie by Newbiggin, Lanchester, north Langlie, and through Beare parke, & ſo meeting beneath Rel-leie or Yedleie with the other, they fall both as one into the Were, betweene ſouth Sunderland and Burnall. From hence our riuer goeth on to Holowhwell, Shirkeleie, old Dureſme (and there taking in the Pidding bꝛoke by northeaſt) it goeth to Dureſme, Finkeleie, Harbarhouſe, Lumleie caſtell (where it meeteth with the Pilis, whoſe heads are vnited betweene Pelton and Whitwell (and after called Yedleis) and from thence to Lampton, Harroton, the Bedikes, Ukerton, Hilton parke, Biſhops, Weremouth, and ſo into the ſea, betweene north Sunderland and north Weremouth towne, which now is called monke Weremouth of the monaſterie ſometime ſtanding there, wherin Beda read & wrote manie of his bookes, as to the world appeareth. This mouth of Were is eight miles from Durham, and ſix from Newcaſtell. Being thus paſſed the Were, & entered into the Biſhopꝛiic, yer we come at the mouth of the Theſe, almoſt by two miles, ouer paſſing a rill that runneth by caſtell Eden, and Hardwiic, and likewiſe Hartlepole towne, which lieth ouer into the ſea in maner of a byland or peninſula, we meet with a prettie fall, which groweth by a riuer that is increaſed with two waters, whereof one riſeth by northweſt about Moretons, and goeth by Stotfeld and Clarton, the other at Dawlton, going by Beerton, Owtham, and Grettam, finallie ioining within two miles of the ſea, they make a prettie portiet: but I know not of what ſecuritie.

Pidding bꝛoke. Pilis.

The Theſe, a riuer that beareth and feedeth an excellent ſamon, riſeth in the Blacke lowes, aboue two miles flat weſt of the ſouthерlie head of Were called Burdop, and ſouth of the head of weſt Alen, and thence runneth through Tildale forreſt: and taking in the Langdon water from northweſt it runneth to Durtpit chappell, to Newbiggin, and ſo to Middleton, receiuing by weſt of each of theſe a rill comming from by north (of which the laſt is called Hude) and likewiſe the Lune afterward by ſouthweſt that riſeth at three ſeuerall places, whereof the firſt is in the borders of Weſtmerland and there called Arnegill becke, the ſecond more ſouthерlie, named Lunebecke, and the third by ſouth at Bandor Skarth hill, and meeting all aboue Arnegill houſe, they run togither in one bottome to Lathekirke bꝛidge, and then into the Theſe. Hauing therefore met with theſe, it runneth to Pickelton (& there taking in the Skirkwith water) it goeth to Rombald kirke (croſſing there alſo one rill and the Bander bꝛoke by ſouth weſt) and then going to Morewod hag, and Morewod parke, till it come to Bernards caſtell.

Theſe. Hude. Lune. Arnegill. Skirkewith. Bander.

Here alſo it receiueth the Thureſgill water comming eaſt of Kere croſſe in Yorkeſhire, from the ſpittle in Stanmore by Crag almoſt ſouthweſt, and being vnited with the Theſe, it goeth by Stratford, Egleſdon, Rokeſbie, Thorpe, Wickliffe, Duington, Winſton, and betweene Barforth and Gainforth meeteth with another rill, that commeth from Langleie foreſt, betweene Rabie caſtell and Standorpe, of whoſe name I haue no knowledge. But to proceed. The Theſe being paſt Ramforth, runneth betweene Perſore and Cliffe, and in the waie to Croſts bꝛidge taketh in the Skerne a prettie water, which riſeth about Trimdon, and goeth by Filhburne, Bradburie, Preſton, Braforton, Skirmingham, the Burdons, Haughton and Darlington, & there finallie meeting with the Cocke becke or Dare, it falleth in the Theſe beneath Stapleton, before it come at Croſts bꝛidge, and (as it ſhould ſeeme) is the ſame which Leland calleth Gretteie or Grettie. From thence it runneth to Sockburne, nether Dunſleie, Middleton row, Newſham, Yarne (croſſing a bꝛoke from Leuen bꝛidge) called Leuen or Leuinus in Latine, whoſe crinkling

Rere croſſe. Skerne.

courſe is notable, and the ſtreame of ſome called Thorpe, which I find deſcribed in this maner.

Thorpe alias Leuand.

The Thorpe riſeth of ſundrie heads, whereof one is aboue Pinching Thorpe, from whence it goeth to Nonnethorpe, and ſo to Stokeſleie. The ſecond hath two branches, and ſo placed, that Kildale ſtandeth betweene them both: finallie, meeting beneath Caſbie they go by Eaton, and likewiſe vnto Stokeſleie. The laſt hath alſo two branches, whereof one commeth from Ingleſbie, and meeteth with the ſecond beneath Broughton; & going from thence to Stokeſleie, they meet with the Thorpe aboue the towne, as the other fall into it ſomewhat beneath the ſame.

Crawthorne.

From hence it goeth to Ridleie, and there taketh in another rill comming from Potto, thence to Crawthorne broke, Leuanton, Milton, Hilton, Ingleſbie, and ſo into the Theſe, betweene Yarne and Barwtje, whereof I made mention before. After this confluence our Theſe hasteth on to Barwtje, Preſton, Thorne abbeie, and Arkham, which ſtandeth on the ſoutheaſt ſide of the riuer almoſt betweene the falles of two waters, whereof one deſcendeth from weſt Hartburne by long Newton, Elton, & Stockton; the other from Stillington, or Shillington, by Whitton, Thorpe, Blackeſtone, Billingham, and Norton. From Arkham finallie it goeth to Bellaſis, Middleburgh, and ſo into the ſea. Leland deſcribing this riuer ſpeaketh of the Wiſke, which ſhould come thereinto from by ſouth vnder Wiſke bridge, by Danbie, and Northalarton, and ſhould ioine with a greater ſtreame: but as yet I find no certeine place where to beſtow the ſame.

Next of all we come vnto the high Cliffe water, which riſing aboue Hutton, goeth by Giſborow, and there receiueth another ſtreame comming from by ſoutheaſt, and then continuing on his courſe, it is not long yer it fall into the ſea. The next is the Scaling water, which deſcendeth from Scaling towne, from whence we come to the Holemouth, not farre from whoſe head ſtandeth Holgraue caſtell: then to

Elke.

Sandford creeke, and next of all to Elke mouth, which riſeth aboue Danbie wood, and ſo goeth to Caſtelton, there meeting by the waie with another rill comming from about Weſterdale by Danbie, and ſo they go on togither by Armar and Thwate caſtell, till they ioine with another water aboue Glaſdale chappell, thence to new Biggin, taking yet another broke with them, running from Godland ward, and likewiſe the Ibur, and ſo go on without anie further increaſe by Buſworth, yer long into the ſea.

Ibur.

There is alſo a creeke on each ſide of Robin Whodes baie, of whoſe names and courſes I haue no skill, ſauing that Fillingale the towne doth ſtand betweene them both. There is another not far from Scarborow, on the north ſide called the Harwood broke. It runneth through Harwood dale by Clonghton, Buniſton, and ſone after meeting with another rill on the ſouthweſt, they run as one into the ocean ſea. From Scarborow to Bridlington, by Flamborow head, we met with no more falles. This water therefore that we ſaw at Bridlington, riſeth at Dugglebie, from whence it goeth to Kirbie, Helperthorpe, Butterwtje, Boithorpe, Forhole, (where it falleth into the ground, and riſeth vp againe at Rudſton) Thorpe, Cathorpe, Bridlington, and ſo into the Ocean.

Being come about the Spurne head, I meete yer long with a riuer that riſeth ſhort of Withernſie, and goeth by Fordingham and Wilfed, from thence to another that commeth by Roſſe, Hallham, Carmingham: then to the third, which riſeth aboue Humbleton, and goeth to Eſterwtje, Yeddon, and ſo into the Humber. The fourth ſpringeth ſhort of Spro-

leie, goeth by Witton, and falleth into the water of Humber at Merlete, as I heare.

The nert of all is the Hull water, which I will deſcribe alſo here, and then croſſe ouer vnto the ſoutherlie ſhore. The furtheſt head of Hull water riſeth at Kilham, from whence it goeth to Lewthorpe creeke, and ſo to Fordingham, a little beneath which it meeteth with ſundrie waters, whereof one falleth in on the northeſt ſide, comming from about Liſſet; the ſecond on the northweſt banke from Nafferton; the third from Emmeſwell and Kirkeburne: for it hath two heads which ioined beneth little Driffield, and the fourth which falleth into the ſame: ſo that theſe two latter run vnto the maine riuer both in one chanell, as experience hath confirmed. From hence then our Hull goeth to to Ratſeie, to Gwdale-houſe, and then taking in a water from Horneſie mere, it goeth on through Beuerleie medowes, by Warron, Stoneferrie, Hull, and finallie into the Humber. Of the rill that falleth into this water from ſouth Netherwiſe, by Skirlow, and the two rilles that come from Cottingham and Woluerton, I ſaie no more, ſith it is enough to name them in their order.

Hull.

Ure alias Duze, or

Burne, Wile.

Skell.

Swale.

The deſcription of the Humber *or Iſis, and ſuch water-courſes as* doo increaſe hir chanell.

Chap. 15.

THere is no riuer called Humber from the hed. Wherefore that which we now call Humber, Ptolomie Abie, Leland Aber, as he geſſeth, hath the ſame denomination no higher than the confluence of Trent with the Duze, as beſide Leland ſundrie ancient writers haue noted before vs both. Certes it is a noble arme of the ſea, and although it be properlie to be called Duze or Ocellus euen to the Nuke beneath Ancolme, yet are we contented to call it Humber of Humbrus or Umar, a king of the Scithians, who inuaded this Ile in the time of Locrinus, thinking to make himſelfe monarch of the ſame. But as God hath from time to time ſingularlie prouided for the benefit of Britaine, ſo in this buſineſſe it came to paſſe, that Humber was put to flight, his men ſlaine: and furthermore, whileſt he attempted to ſaue himſelfe by hailing to his ſhips (ſuch was the preaſe of his nobilitie that followed him into his owne veſſell, and the rage of weather which happened on his fatall daie) that both he and they were drowned togither in that arme. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore it hath beene called Humber, as our writers ſaie; and whereof I find theſe verſes:

Humber.

Foſſe.

Duze.

Hull or Hulne.

Dum fugit obſtat ei flumen ſubmergitur illic,
Deque ſuo tribuit nomine nomen aquæ.

This riuer in old time parted Lhoegres or England from Albania, which was the portion of Albanactus, the yongeſt ſonne of Brute. But ſince that time the limits of Lhoegres haue beene ſo inlarged, firſt by the proweſſe of the Romans, then by the conqueſts of the Engliſh, that at this preſent daie, the Twede on the one ſide, & the Solue on the other, be taken for the principall bounds betweene vs and thoſe of Scotland. In deſcribing therefore the Humber, I muſt needs begin with the Duze, whoſe water bringeth forth a verie ſweet, fat and delicat ſalmon, as I haue beene informed, beſide ſundrie other kinds of fiſh, which we want here on the ſouth

and

and ſouthweſt coaſts & riuers of our land, whereof I may take occaſion to ſpeake more at large hereafter.

Ure alias Duze, or Iſis. The Ure therfore riſeth in the furtheſt parts of all Richmondſhire, among the Coterine hilles, in a moſſe, toward the weſt fourteene miles beyond Middleham. Being therefore iſſued out of the ground, it goeth to Holbecke, Yardraw, Hawlhouſe, Butterſide, Aſkebridge (which Leland calleth the Aſkaran, and ſaith thereof and the Bainham, that they are but obſcure bridges) then to Aſkarth, through Wanleſſe parke, Wenſeleie bridge (made two hundred yeares ſince, by Alwin, parſon of Winlaw) New parke, Spennithorne, Danbie, Geruiſe abbeie, Cliſton and Patham. When it is come to Patham, it receiueth the Burne, by ſouth weſt (as it did the Wile, from verie deepe ſcarrie rockes, before at Aſkaran) and diuerſe other wild rilles not worthie to be remembred. From Patham, it haſteth vnto Tanfield (taking in by the waie a rill by ſouthweſt) then to another Tanfield, to Newton hall, and Northbridge, at the hither end of Ripon, and ſo to Huickes bridge.

Burne. Wile.

Skell. But yer it come there it meeteth with the Skell, which being incorporat with the ſame, they run as one to Thorpe, then to Alborow, and ſone after receiue the Swale.

Swale.

Here (ſaith Leland) I am brought into no little ſtreict, what to coniecture of the meeting of Iſis and Ure, for ſome ſaie that the Iſis and the Ure do meet at Borowbridge, which to me doth ſeeme to be verie vnlikelie, ſith Iſurium taketh his denomination of Iſis and Vro, for it is often ſeene that the leſſe riuers do mingle their names with the greater, as in the Thamelſis and other is ealie to be found. Neither is there any more mention of the Ure after his paſſage vnder Borowbridge, but onelie of Iſis or the Duze in theſe daies, although in old time it held vnto Yorke it ſelfe, which of the Ure is truelie called Ureiſe (or Yorke thort) or elſe my perſuaſion doth faile me. I haue red alſo Ewerwiſe and Yorwiſe. But to proceed, and leaue this ſuperfluous diſcourſe.

From Borowbridge, the Duze goeth to Aldborough, and (receiuing the Swale by the waie) to Aldworke, taking in Aſburne water, from the ſouthweſt, then to Linton vpon Duze, to Newton vpon Duze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nid yer long, and ſo going withall to the Redhouſes, to Popleton, Cliſton, Yorke (where it croſſeth the Foſſe) to Foulforth, Middlethorpe, Acaſter, & Acaſter, Kelfleet, Welehall, Barelebie, Selbie, Turmonhall, Skurthall, Hokelath, Hoke, Sandhall, Redneſſe, Whitegift, Aflet, Blacketoft, Forfleet, Brownfleet, and ſo into Humber.

Foſſe.

Duze. The courſe of the Duze being thus deſcribed, and as it were ſimplie without his influences, now will I touch ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame alſo by themſelues, contrarie to my former proceeding, imagining a voiage from the Rauenſpurne, vntill I come nere to the head of Theſe, & ſo ſouthwards about againe by the bottome of the hillie ſoile vntill I get to Burſton, Sheffeld, Scrobie, & the verie ſouth point of Humber mouth, whereby I ſhall croſſe them all that are to be found in this walke, & leaue (I doubt) ſome eſpeciall notice of their ſeuerall heads and courſes. The courſe of the Hull, a ſtreame abounding with ſturgeon and lampreie, as alſo the riuers which haue their iſſue into the ſame, being (as I ſay) alreadie deſcribed, I thinke it not amiſſe, as by the waie to ſet downe what Leland ſaith thereof, to the end that his trauell ſhall not altogither be loſt in this behalfe; and for that it is ſhort, and hath one or two things worthie to be remembred conteined in the ſame.

Hull or Hulne.

The Hulne (ſaith he) riſeth of three ſeuerall heads, whereof the greateſt is not far from Driefield, now a ſmall village fiftéene miles from Hull. Certes it hath beene a goodlie towne, and therein was the palace of Egbright king of the Northumbers, and place of ſepulture of Alfred the noble king ſometime of that nation, who died there 727, the nineteene Cal. of Julie, the twentith of his reigne, and whoſe tombe or monument doth yet remaine (for ought that I doo know) to the contrarie with an inſcription vpon the ſame written in Latine letters. Neere vnto this towne alſo is the Danefield, wherein great numbers of Danes were ſlaine, and buried in thoſe hils, which yet remaine there to be ſeene ouer their bones and carcaſſes. The ſecond head (ſaith he) is at Eſtburne, and the third at Emmeſwell, and meeting all togither not farre from Driffield, the water there beginneth to be called Hulne, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

From hence alſo it goeth through Beuerleie medowes, and comming at the laſt not farre from an arme led from the Hulne by mans hand (and able to beare great veſſels) almoſt to Beuerleie towne, which in old time either hight or ſtood in Deirwald, vntill John of Beuerleie (whom Leland nameth out of an old author to be the firſt doctor or teacher of diuinitie that euer was in Oxford, and (as it ſhould ſeeme alſo by an ancient monument yet remaining) to be of an hoſtell where the vniuerſitie college now ſtandeth; & therfore they write him, Somtime fellow of that houſe) began to be of fame, of whom it is called Beuerleie (as ſome affirme) to this daie. In deed all the countrie betweene the Deirwent & the Humber was ſometime called Deira, and the lower part Caua Deira in reſpect of the higher ſoile, but now it is named the eaſt Riding. But what is this to my purpoſe? The Hulne therefore being come almoſt to Beuerleie towne, & meeting thereabout alſo with the Cottingham becke comming from Weſtwood by the waie, it haſteth to Kingſton vpon Hulne or Hull, and ſo into the Humber without anie maner impeachment.

Cottingham.

The Fowlneie riſeth about Godmanham, from whence it goeth by Wighton, Hareſwell, Seton, Williams bridge, and ſone after ſpreading it ſelfe, one arme called Skelfleet goeth by Cane Cawſeie to Brownefleet and ſo into the Duze. The other paſſeth by Sandholme, Gilberts dike, Scalbie chapell, Blacketoft, and ſo into the aforeſaid Duze, leauing a verie prettie Iland, which is a parcell (as I heare) of Walding fen more, though otherwiſe obſcure to vs that dwell here in the ſouth.

Fowlneie. Skelfleet.

The Darwent riſeth in the hilles that lie weſt of Robin Whodes baie, or two miles aboue Aiton bridge, weſt from Scarborow as Leland ſaith: and yer it hath run farre from the head, it receiueth two rilles in one bottome from by weſt, which ioine withall about Longdale end. Thence they go togither to Broreie, and at Hacknelle take in another water comming from about Silſeie. Afterward it commeth to Aiton, then to Haibridge, and there croſſeth the Kenford that deſcendeth from Robertſton. After this alſo it goeth on to Poterſbrumton where it taketh in one rill, as it doth another beneath running from Shirburne, and the third yet lower on the further banke, that deſcendeth from Brumton. From theſe confluences it runneth to Fowlbridge, Arbridge, Yeldingham bridge, & ſo to Cotehouſe, receiuing by the waie manie waters, & yéelding great plentie of delicate ſamons to ſuch as fiſh vpon the ſame. Leland reckoning by the names of the ſeuerall brookes, numbreth them confuſedlie after his accuſtomed order. The Darwent (ſaith he) receiueth diuerſe ſtreames, as the Shirihutton. The ſecond is the Crambecke, deſcending from Hunderſkell caſtell (ſo called *Tanquam à centum fontibus*, or multitude of ſprings

Darwent. Kenford. Shirihutton. Crambecke.

Rie. Ricoll. Seuen. Colleie. Pickering.

ſprings that riſe about the ſame) and goeth to Rie, which comming out of the Blackemoze, paſſeth by Riuers abbeie, taking in the Ricoll on the left hand, then the Seuen, the Colleie, and Pickering bꝛoke. The Scuin alſo (ſaith he) riſeth in the ſide of Blackemoze, and thence goeth by Sinnington foure miles from Pickering, and about a mile aboue a certeine bꝛidge ouer Rie goeth into the ſtreame. The Colleie in like ſoꝛt ſpꝛingeth in the verie edge of Pickering towne, at a place called Keld head, and goeth into the Rie two miles beneath Pickering, about Kirbie minſter; Finallie, Pickering water ariſeth in Blackemoze, and halfe a mile beneath Pickering falleth into Colleie, meeting by the way with the Pocklington becke, and an other ſmall rill oꝛ two, of whoſe names I haue no knowledge. Hitherto Leland. But in mine opinion, it had beene far better to haue deſcribed them thus. Of thoſe waters that fall into the Darwent beneath Cotehouſe, the firſt commeth from Swenton, the ſecond from Ebberſton, the third from Ollerſton, the fourth from Thoꝛneton & Pickering, and the fift on the other ſide that commeth thither from Wintringham. Foꝛ ſo ſhould he haue dealt in better oꝛder, and rid his hands of them with moꝛe expedition, referring the reſt alſo vnto their pꝛoper places.

Pocklington.

But to pꝛoceed after mine owne maner. Being paſt Cotehouſe, & yet the Darwent come at Wickham, it croſſeth the Rie, which riſeth of two heads, and ioining weſt of Locon they run thꝛough Glambie parke. Finallie, receiuing the Colleie, it meeteth at the laſt with an other ſtreame increaſed by the fals of ſir waters and moꝛe yet it come into the Darwent. The moſt eaſterlie of theſe is called Seuen, and riſeth (as is afoꝛeſaid) in Blackemoze, from whence it goeth by Sinnington, Purton, Noꝛmanbie, Newſound, Holw, and ſo into the Rie. The ſecond named Don hath his oꝛiginall likewiſe in Blackemoze, and deſcending by Ralmoze, Keldon and Edſton (where it receiueth the Hodgebecke, that commeth by Berneſdale, Kirkedale, & Welburne) it goeth to Sawlton, and there taketh in firſt the Ricoll, that goeth by Careton, and whereof Ridall (as ſome thinke, but falſlie) doth ſeeme to take the name. Then Felle, which riſeth aboue Bilſdale chappell, and meeteth with the Rie at the Shaking bꝛidge, from whence they go togither vnder the Rie bꝛidge, to Rieuis abbeie, and thence (after it hath croſſed a becke from the weſt) thꝛough a parke of the earle of Rutlands to Newton, Munkton, and ſo to Sawton oꝛ Sawlton, as I doo find it written. Here alſo it taketh in the Holbecke bꝛoke, that commeth thither from by weſt by Gilling caſtell, and Stangraue, from whence it goeth on to Bꝛabie, next into the Seuen, then into the Rie, and ſo into the Darwent, which from thence doth run to Wickham.

Rie. Colleie. Seuen. Don oꝛ Doue. Hodgebecke. Ricoll. Felle. Holbecke.

Being paſt Wickham, it meeteth with a water that commeth thereinto from Grinſton to Setterington at ſoutheaſt, and thence it goeth on to Malton and Malton (where the pꝛouerbe ſaith that a buſhell of rie and an other of malt is woꝛth but ſix pence, carie awaie whileſt you may, ſo as you can keepe them from running thꝛough the ſackes) Sutton, Wellam, Furbie, and Kirkeham, receiuing by the waie one rill on the one ſide and an other on the other, whereof this commeth from Burdſall, that other from Conſthoꝛpe. From Kirkeham it goeth to Cramburne and Dwlham bꝛidge (croſſing by the waie an other bꝛoke comming from ſaint Edwards goꝛe, by Faſton) then to Aldbie, Buttercram (*alias* Butterham) bꝛidge, Stamfoꝛd bꝛidge, Kerbie bꝛidge Sutton, Ellerton, Aughton, Bubwith, Wreſill, Babthoꝛpe, and ſo into the Duze, wherewith I finiſh the deſcription of Darwent: ſauing that I haue to let you vnderſtand how Leland heard that an arme ran ſome time from the head of Darwent alſo to Scarboꝛow, till ſuch time as two hils betwixt which it ran, did ſhalder and ſo choke vp his courſe.

The Folle (a ſlow ſtreame yet able to beare a good veſſell) riſeth in *Nemore Calaterio*, that is, Galters wood oꝛ Cawood, among the wooddie hilles, and in his deſcent from the higher ground, he leaueth Crake caſtell, on his weſt ſide: thence he goeth by Parton abbeie, Parton, Stillington, Farlington, Towthoꝛpe, Erſwike, Yuntington, & at Yoꝛke into the Duze. The Kile riſeth flat noꝛth at Newboꝛow, from whence it goeth by Thoꝛneton on the hill, Kuſkell parke, Awne, Collerton, and ſo into the Duze about Newton vpon Duze. The Swale is a right noble riuer, & march in ſome places betweene Richmondſhire and Weſtmerland, it riſeth not far from Pendꝛagon caſtell in the hilles aboue Kirkedale, and from this towne it goeth to Kelde chappell, Carret houſe, Crackepot, Whiteſide, and neere vnto Yalen taketh in the Barneie water, which commeth from the noꝛth eaſt. Thence it goeth by Yarcaſide to Reth (where it meeteth with the Arcleie) and ſo to Flemington, Grinton, Marrike (taking in the Holgate that commeth from by ſouth: and in the waie to Thoꝛpe, the Marſike becke, oꝛ peraduenture Aplegarth water, as Leland calleth it, that deſcendeth from the noꝛth) then to Thoꝛpe, Applegarth, Richmond, Eaſbie and Bꝛunton.

Folle. Kile. Swale. Barneie. Arcleie. Holgate. Marſike becke.

Here by noꝛth it interteineth two oꝛ thꝛee waters in one chanell, called Rauenſwath water, whereof the two furtheſt doo ioine not farre from the Dawlkons, and ſo go by Rauenſwath, Hartſoꝛth, Gilling, and at Skebie meet with the third, comming from Richmond beaconward. By weſt alſo of Bꝛunton, the Swale meeteth with the Rhe, running from Reſdale, and being paſt Bꝛunton, it goeth to Caterlie bꝛidge beneath Bꝛunton, then to Ellerton, Kirkebie, Langton parua, Thirtoft, Anderbie ſteple: and before it come vnto Gatenbie, it meeteth with the Bedall bꝛoke, *alias* Lemings becke, that commeth weſt of Kellirbie, by Cunſtable, Burton, Langthoꝛpe, Bedall, and Leming chappell. From Gattenbie likewiſe it goeth to Nawbie, & at Bꝛakenbirie receiueth the Wiſke, which is a great water, riſing betweene two parkes aboue Swanbie in one place, and ſoutheaſt of Mountgrace abbeie in another; and after the confluence which is about Sidlebꝛidge, goeth on betweene the Rughtons to Appleton, the Smetons, Birtbie, Hutton Conters, Danbie, Wiſe, Paſſoꝛd, Warlabie, and taking in there a rill from Bꝛunton Aluerton, it pꝛoceedeth to Otterington, Newlie, Kirbie Wiſke, Newſon, and Blackenburie, there meeting (as I ſaid) with the Swale, that runneth frō thence by Skipton bꝛidge, Catton, Topcliffe, and Kaniton, and aboue Eldmire meeteth with ſundꝛie other rilles in one bottome, whereof the noꝛthweſterlie is called Cawdebec: the ſouth eaſterlie Rebecke, which ioine eſt of Thoꝛneton moꝛe, and ſo go to Thoꝛneton in the ſtreet, Kilnington, Thꝛuſke, Solwerbie, Crakwike, and ſone after croſſing another growing of the mixture of the Willow, and likewiſe of the Cuckewold beckes, which ioine aboue Bꝛidfoꝛth, and running on till it come almoſt at Dawlton, it maketh confluence with the Swale, and go thence as one with all their ſamons by Thoꝛneton bꝛidge, Pitton vpon Swale, and ſo into the Duze.

Rauenſwath. Rhe. Bedall alias Leming. Wiſke. Cawdebec Rebecke. Cuckwolds becke.

The Skell riſeth out of the weſt two miles from Founteines abbeie, and commeth (as Leland ſaith) with a faire courſe by the one ſide of Ripon, as the Ure doth on the other. And on the bankes hereof ſtood the famous abbeie called Founteines oꝛ Adfontes, ſo much renowmed foꝛ the luſtie monks that ſometimes

Skell.

ſometimes dwelled in the ſame. It receiueth alſo the Lauer water (which riſeth three miles from Kirbie, and meeteth withall neere vnto Ripon) and finallie falleth into the Vre, a quarter of a mile beneath Ripon towne, & almoſt midwaie betweene the North and Yuicke bridges. Lauer.

The Nidde, which the booke of ſtatutes called Nidor (anno 13. Edw. 1.) and thereto noteth it to be inriched with ſtore of ſamon, as are alſo the Wheof and Aire, riſeth among thoſe hilles that lie by weſt northweſt of Gnareſborow, fiue miles aboue Pakeleie bridge, and going in thort proceſſe of time by Weſthouſes, Lodgehouſes, Woodhall, Newhouſes, Nideſmore, Raunſgill, Colthouſe, Gowthwall, Bureleie, Brimham, Yampeſwale, and ſone after meeting with the Killingale becke, it goeth after the confluence by Bilton parke, Gnareſbridge, Waſhford, Cathall, Willeſthorpe, Punketon, or Nonmocke, and ſo into the Duze, foureteene miles beneath Gnareſborow, being increaſed by the waie with verie few or no waters of anie countenauce. Leland hauing ſaid thus much of the Nidde, addeth herevnto the names of two other waters, that is to ſaie, the Couer and the Burne, which doo fall likewiſe into the Vre or Duze. But as he ſaith little of the ſame, ſo among all my pamphlets, I can gather no more of them, than that the firſt riſeth ſix miles aboue Couerham by weſt, and falleth into the Vre, a little beneath Middleham bridge, which is two miles beneath the towne of Couerham. As for the Burne, it riſeth at Nore hilles, and falleth into the ſaid riuer a little beneath Maſſham bridge. And ſo much of theſe two. Nidde. Killingale. Couer. Burne.

The Wharfe or Gwerfe ariſeth aboue Aghterſhaw, from whence it runneth to Beggermons, Roſemill, Hubberham, Backden, Starbotton, Kettlewell, Cunnſton in Kettlewell, and here it meeteth with a rill comming from Haltongill chappell, by Arnecliffe, and ioining withall northeaſt of Kilneſeie crag, it paſſeth ouer by the lower grounds to Girſington, and receiuing a rill there alſo from Treſſeld parke, it proceedeth on to Bramſall bridge. Furthermore at Appletreewic, it meeteth with a rill from by north, and thence goeth to Barden towre, Bolton, Beth and Milleie hall, where it croſſeth a rill comming from by weſt, thence to Addingham, taking in there alſo another from by weſt, and ſo to Ikeleie, and receiuing yet long another by north from Denton hall, it falleth to Weſton Manaſour, Otteleie, and Letheleie, where it taketh in the Padſide, & the Waſhburne (both in one ſtreame from Lindleie ward) and thence to Caſteie chappell, and there it croſſeth one from by north, and another yet long from by ſouth, and ſo to Yardwood caſtell, Kerebie, Woodhall, Collingham, Linton, Wetherbie, Thorpatch, Newton, Tadcaſter, and when it hath receiued the Cockebecke from ſouthweſt, that goeth by Barwie, Aberforth, Leadhall, and Grimſton, it runneth to Erton, Kirbie Wharfe, Aſkell, Rither, Nunapleton, & ſo into the Duze beneath Catwod, a caſtell belonging to the archbiſhop of Yorke, where he vſeth oft to lie when he refreſheth himſelfe with change of aire and ſhift of habitation, for the auoiding of ſuch infection as may otherwiſe ingender by his long abode in one place, for want of due purgation and airing of his houſe. Wharfe aliàs Gwerfe. Padſide. Waſhburne. Cockebecke.

The Air or Arre riſeth out of a lake or tarne ſouth of Darnbrooke, wherein (as I heare) is none other fiſh but red trowt, and perch. Leland ſaith it riſeth neere vnto Orton in Crauen, wherfore the odds is but little. It goeth therefore from thence to Malham, Hamlith, Kirbie, Moldale, Calton hall, Aretton, and ſo forth till it come almoſt to Gargraue, there croſſing the Otterburne water on the weſt, and the Winterburne on the north, which at Flaſbie receiueth a rill from Yelton, as I heare. Being paſt Gargraue, our Air goeth on to Ethton, Ellwood, and ſo forth on, firſt receiuing a brooke from ſouthweſt (whereof one branch commeth by Marton, the other by Thorneton, which meete about Broughton) then another from northeaſt, that runneth by Skipton caſtell. After this confluence it haſteth by manifold windleſſes, which cauſed thirteene bridges at the laſt to be ouer the ſame within a little ſpace, to Newbiggin, Bradleie, and Kildwiſe, by ſouth eaſt whereof it meeteth with one water from Hawſis, and Glaſburne or Glakeſburne, called Glike; another likewiſe a little beneath from Seton, beſide two rilles from by north, after which confluence it runneth by Reddleſden, and ouer againſt this towne the Lacocke and the Worth doo meet withall in one chanell, as the Yoreton water doth on the north, although it be ſomewhat lower. Thence it goeth to Riſhworth hall, and ſo to Bungleie, where it taketh a rill from Denholme parke to Shipeleie, and there croſſing another from Thorneton, Leuenthorpe, and Bradleie, it goeth to Caluerleie, to Ehziſkall, and ſo to Leedes, where one water runneth thereinto by north from Wettlewood, & two other from by ſouth in one chanell, wherof the firſt hath two armes, of which the one commeth from Pudſeie chappell, the other from Adwalton, their confluence being made aboue Farneleie hall. The other likewiſe hath two heads, whereof one is aboue Norleie, the other commeth from Domingleie, and meeting with the firſt not far ſouthweſt of Leedes, they fall both into the Air, and ſo run with the ſame to Swillington, and there taking in the Rodwell becke ſouth of the bridge, it proceedeth to Allerton, Caſtleford, Brotherton & Ferribridge, there receiuing the Went, a becke from Pontefract or Pomfret, which riſeth of diuerſe heads, wherof one is among the cole pits. Thence to Beall, Werkin, Kellington, middle Hodeleie, Temphirſt, Gowldall, Snath, Rawcliffe, Newland, Armie, and ſo into the Duze with an indifferent courſe. Of all the riuers in the north, Leland (in ſo manie of his bookes as I haue ſeene) ſaith leaſt of this. Mine annotations alſo are verie ſlender in the particular waters wherbie it is increaſed: wherfore I was compelled of neceſſitie to conclude euen thus with the deſcription of the ſame, and had ſo left it in deed, if I had not receiued one other note more to ad vnto it (euen when the leaſe was at the preſſe) which ſaith as followeth in maner word for word. Lacocke. Worth. Yoreton. Redwell. Went.

There is a noble water that falleth into Air, whoſe head (as I take it) is about Stanford. From whence it goeth to Creſſon chappell, to Lingfield, and there about receiuing one rill neere Elfrabright bridge, and alſo the Hebden by northweſt, it goeth to Wiſeleie hall, and ſo taking in the third by north, it proceedeth on eaſtward by Sowbie bridge chappell (and there a rill from ſouthweſt) and ſo to Coppeleie hall. Beneath this place I find alſo that it receiueth one rill from Hallifax, which riſeth from two heads, and two other from ſouthweſt, of which one commeth by Bareſland, and Stancland in one chanell, as I read. So that after this confluence the aforeſaid water goeth on toward Cowford bridge, and as it taketh in two rilles aboue the ſame on the north ſide, ſo beneath that bridge there falleth into it a yeelie ſtreme increaſed by ſundrie waters coming from by ſouth, as from Warleheden chappell, from Holmelworth chappell, and Kirke Heton, each one growing of ſundrie heads, whereof I would faie more, if I had more intelligence of their ſeuerall gates and paſſages. Hebden.

But to proceed. From Cowford bridge it runneth to Punfeld, and receiuing yet long one rill from Leuerſage hall, and another from Burſhall by Dewesburie, it goeth on northeaſt of Thornehull, ſouth Otterburne. Winterburne.

ſouth of Horbirie thornes, and thereabout croſſing one rill from by ſouth from Woller by new Pilner Dam, and ſoone after another from northweſt, called Chald, riſing in the Peke hils, whereon Wakefield ſtandeth, and likewiſe the third from ſoutheaſt, and Waterton hall, it goeth by Warmefield, Newland, Altofres, and finallie into the Aire, weſt of Caſtelworth, as I learne. What the name of this riuer ſhould be as yet I heare not, and therefore no marueil that I doo not ſet it downe, yet is it certeine that it is called Chald, after his cõfluence with the Chald, and finallie Chaldair or Chaldar after it hath ioined with the Air or Ar. But what is this for his denominations from the head? It ſhall ſuffice therefore thus farre to haue ſhewed the courſe thereof: and as for the name I paſſe it ouer vntill another time.

Chald.

Trent.

The Trent is one of the moſt excellent riuers in the land, not onelie for ſtore of ſamon, ſturgeon, and ſundrie other kinds of delicate fiſh wherewith it doth abound, but alſo for that it is increaſed with ſo manie waters, as for that onelie cauſe it may be compared either with the Ouze or Sauerne, I meane the ſecond Ouze, whoſe courſe I haue latelie deſcribed. It riſeth of two heads which ioine beneath Norton in the more, and from thence goeth to Hilton abbeie, Bucknell church, and aboue Stoke receiueth in the Foulebrooke water, which commeth thither from Dunſtall, by Shelton, and finallie making a confluence they go to Hanſlæt, where they meet with another on the ſame ſide, that deſcendeth from Newcaſtell vnder Line, which Leland taketh to be the verie Trent it ſelfe, ſaieng: that it riſeth in the hils aboue Newcaſtell, as may be ſeene by his commentaries.

Foulebrooke.

But to proceed. At Trentham, or not farre from thence, it croſſeth a riueret from northeaſt, whoſe name I know not, & thence going to Stone Aſton, Stoke Burſton, the Saundons and Weſton, a little aboue Shubburne & Hawood, it receiueth the Sow, a great chanell increaſed with ſundrie waters, which I will here deſcribe, leauing the Trent at Shubburne, till I come backe againe. The Sow deſcendeth from the hilles, aboue Whitemore chappell, and goeth by Charleton, and Stawne, and beneath Shalford ioineth with another by northeaſt that commeth from biſhops Offeleie, Eglehall, Cheſbie, Raunton. After this confluence alſo it runneth by Bridgeford, Tillington, & Stafford, beneath which towne it croſſeth the Penke becke, that riſeth aboue Nigleton, & Berwood, & aboue Penke bridge vniteth it ſelfe with another comming from Knightleie ward, by Gnalhall church, Eaton: and ſo going forth as one, it is not long yer they fall into Sow, after they haue paſſed Drayton, Dunſtan, Acon, and Banſwich, where loſing their names, they with the Sow & the Sow with them doo ioine with the Trent, at Shubburne, vpon the ſoutherlie banke.

Sow.

Penke.

From Shubburne the Trent goeth on to little Harwood (meeting by the waie one rill at Duſleie bridge, and another ſouth of Riddleſleie) thence by Hawkſberie, Nauelſane, Ridware, and ſo toward Porhall; where I muſt ſtaie a while to conſider of other waters, wherewith I meet in this voiage. Of theſe therefore the leſſer commeth in by ſouth from Farwall, the other from by weſt, a faire ſtreame, and increaſed with two brookes, whereof the firſt riſeth in Nedewood forreſt, northeaſt of Haggerſleie parke, whereinto falleth another weſt of Hamſted Ridware, called Blith, which riſeth among the hilles in Whateleie more, aboue Weſton Conie, and thence going to the ſame towne, it commeth to Draicote, alias Dracote, Painſleie, Gratwitch, Grimleie, Aldmaſton, Hamſted, Ridware, and finallie into the Trent, directlie weſt of Porhall, which runneth alſo

Blith.

from thence, & leauing kings Bromleie in a parke (as I take it) on the left hand, and the Blacke water comming from Southton and Lichfield on the right, goeth ſtreightwaie to Catton, where it meeteth with the Came, whoſe courſe I deſcribe as followeth.

Came.

It riſeth in Staffordſhire (as I remember) not farre from Pettelhall, and goeth forth by Hamſted, toward Pirihall and Brimichams Aſton, taking in by the waie a rill on each ſide, whereof the firſt groweth through a confluence of two waters, the one of them comming from Tipton, the other from Aldburie, and ſo running as one by Wedburie till they fall into the ſame. The latter commeth from Wolfhall, and ioineth with it on the left hand. After this, and when it is paſt the aforeſaid places, it croſſeth in like ſort a rill from Smethike ward: thence it goeth to Parneton hall, beneath which it meeteth with the Rhee, and thence through the parke, at Parke hall by Watercote, croſſing finallie the Cole, whoſe head is in the forreſt by Kingeſnorton wood, and hath this courſe, whereof I now giue notice. It riſeth (as I ſaid) in the forreſt by Kingeſnorton wood, and going by Pareleie and Kingeſhirſt, it meeteth betweene that and the parke, with a water running betweene Helmedon and Sheldon.

Rhee.

Cole.

Dore.

Hence it paſſeth on to Colehull, by eaſt whereof it ioineth with a brooke, mounting ſouthweſt of Colihull called Blith, which going by Henwood and Barſton, croſſeth on ech ſide of Temple Balſhall, a rill, whereof one commeth thorough the Queenes parke or chaſe that lieth by weſt of Kenelworth, & the other by Kenelworth caſtell it ſelfe, from about Haſelie parke. After which confluences it proceedeth in like maner to Hampton in Arden, and the Packingtons, and ſo to Colehull, where it meeteth with the Cole, that going a little further, vniteth it ſelfe with the Burne on the one ſide (whereinto runneth a water comming from Anſleie on the eaſt) and ſoone after on the other doth fall into the Came, that which ſome call the Rhee, a common name to all waters that moue and run from their head. For ῥέω in Greeke is to flow and run, although in truth it is proper to the ſea onelie to flow. Leland nameth the Brimicham water, whoſe head (as I heare) is aboue Northfield, ſo that his courſe ſhould be by Kingeſnorton, Bromicham, Budſton hall, till it fall beneath Parneton into the Came it ſelfe, that runneth after theſe confluences on by Lee, Kingeſhirie parke, and going by eaſt of Drayton, Baſſet parke, to Falkeſleie bridge, it meeteth with another water called Burne, alſo comming from Hammerwich church, by Cheſterford, Shenton, Thickebrowne, and the north ſide of Drayton, Baſſet parke, wherof I ſpake before. From hence our Came runneth on to Tamworth, there taking in the Anchor by eaſt, whoſe deſcription I had in this maner deliuered vnto me.

Blithfield.

Manifold.

Hanſleie.

Burne.

Rhee.

Charne.

Dunſmer

Yendor.

Tame.

It riſeth aboue Burton, from whence it goeth by Monneaton, Witherleie and Atherſtone. Per long alſo it taketh in a water from northeaſt, which commeth by Hugleſcote, Shapton, Cunſton, Twicroſſe (vniting it ſelfe with a water from Boſworth) Ratcliffe, & ſo to the Anchor, which after this confluence paſſeth by Whittendon, Crindon, Polleſworth, Armington, Tamworth, & ſo into Tame, that haſteth to Hopwaſh, Comberford hall, Telford, and ſoone after croſſing a rill that riſeth ſhort of Swinfield hall, and commeth by Felſtrike, it runneth not farre from Erorhall, and ſo to Catton, thereabout receiuing his laſt increaſe not worthie to be omitted. This brooke is named Meſe, and it riſeth in the great parke that lieth betweene Worthington, and Smethike, from whence alſo it goeth by Aſhbie de la Souche, Packington, Peſham, and Stretton, and therabout croſſing

Anchor.

Teine.

Weſt.

ſing a rill about Nethерſale grange, from Duerſale by eaſt, it proceedeth by Chilcote, Cliſton, Croxall, into the Thame, and both out of hand into the maine riuer a mile aboue Repton. Leland writing of this riuer (as I earſt noted) ſaith thereof in this wiſe. Into the Thame alſo runneth the Bremicham broke, which riſeth foure or fiue miles about Bremicham in the Blacke hils in Worceſterſhire, and goeth into the aforeſaid water a mile aboue Crupth bridge. Certes (ſaith he) this Bremicham is a towne maintained chieflie by ſmiths, nailers, cutlers, edgetoole forgers, lorimers or bitmakers, which haue their iron out of Staffordſhire and Warwikſhires, and coles alſo out of the firſt countie. Hitherto Leland. Now reſume the Trent, which being growen to ſome greatneſſe, goeth on to Walton, Drakelow, and there croſſing a water that commeth by Newbold hall, it runneth to Stapenell, Winthull, Wightmere, and Newton Souch, where it receiueth two chanels within a ſhort ſpace, to be deſcribed apart.

Dou. The firſt of theſe is called the Dou or Doue, it riſeth about the three ſhires meere, and is as it were limes betweene Staffordſhire and Darbiſhires, vntill it come at the Trent. Deſcending therefore from the head, it goeth by Marlesboth, Hilſburie grange, Partington, Wolſcot, Eaton, Hunſington grange, and aboue Thorpe receiueth the Manifold water, ſo called, becauſe of the ſundrie crinckling rills that it receiueth, and turnagaines that it ſelfe ſheweth before it come at the Dou. Riſing therefore not farre from Ax edge croſſe (in the bottome thereby) it runneth from thence to Longmore, Sheene, Warſlow chapell, and Welton. Beneath Welton alſo it taketh in the Hanſleie water, that commeth out of Blackemore hilles to Waterſall, where it falleth into the ground, and afterward mounting againe is receiued into the Manifold, north of Throwleie (as I heare) which goeth from thence to Ham, and aboue Thorpe doth caſt it ſelfe into Dou. Hauing therefore met together after this maner, the Dou proceedeth on to Maplington, beneath which it croſſeth one water deſcending from Wallington by Fennie Bentleie, and another ſomewhat lower that commeth from Hoeſton hall by Hognaſton and Aſhburne, and then going to Patterſield, Narburie, Eliaſton, Raiſton Rowceſter, it meeteth with the Charne, euen here to be deſcribed before I go anie further. It riſeth a god waie aboue Delacraſſe abbie, and comming thither by Helleſhie wood, it taketh in the Dunſmere, betweene Harracraſſe and Leike.

Hanſleie.

Manifold.

Charne.

Dunſmere.

Thence it goeth to the Walgrange, and a little beneath receiueth the Pendor that commeth from aboue Harton, thence to Cheddleton, and hauing croſſed the Aſhenhirſt broke aboue Cnutes hall, it runneth by Ypſton, Frogball, Below hill, Alton caſtell, Hazelwood, and at Rowceſter falleth into the Dou, which yet long alſo receiueth a rill from Crowlden, and then going to Eton meeteth firſt with the Teine that commeth thither from each ſide of Chedleie by Teinetwone, Bramhirſt and Stranehill. Secondlie with the Unceſter or Ittoreter water, and then going on to Werchington, Sidberie, Caulton, it croſſeth a broke from Sidnieſter college, by Saperton. From this confluence in like ſort it palleth forth to Tilberie caſtell, Marſton, and at Edergton meeteth with the water that commeth from Pelderſleie by Longford (wherein to runneth another that commeth from Hollington) and ſo to Hilton. Theſe waters being thus ioined, and manie ends brought into one, the Dou it ſelfe falleth yet long likewiſe into the Trent, aboue Newton Souch. So that the maine riuer being thus inlarged, goeth onwards with his courſe, and betweene Willington and Repton meeteth with two waters on ſundrie ſides, whereof that which falleth in by Willington, riſeth neere Dawbrie Lies, and runneth by Trulleie and Alhe: the other that entereth aboue Repton, deſcendeth from Hartesburne, ſo that the Trent being paſt theſe, baſketh to Twiford, Inglebie, Staunton, Meſton, Newton, and Alton, yer long alſo meeting with the Darwent; next of all to be diſpatched. The Darwent, or (to vſe the verie Britiſh word) Dowr gwine (but in Latine *Fluuius Derwentanus*) riſeth plaine weſt, neere vnto the edge of Darbiſhire, aboue Blackwell a market towne, and from the head runneth to the New chapell, within a few miles after it be riſen. From hence moreouer it goeth by Howden houſe, Darwent chappell, Portſhire bridge, and at Witham bridge doth croſſe the Neue or Nouius that commeth from Newſtole hill, by Netherburgh, Hope (croſſing there one rill from Caſtelton, another from Bradwell, and the third at Hatherſage, from Stonie ridge hill) and ſo goeth on to Padleie, Stockehall, receiuing a rill by the waie from by weſt, to Stonie Middleton, and Ballow, and hauing here taken in the Burbroke on the one ſide, and another from Halſop on the other, it goeth to Chatworth and to Rowſeleie, where it is increaſed with the Wie comming from by weſt, and alſo a rill on the eaſt, a little higher. But I will deſcribe the Wie before I go anie further.

Darwent.

Neue.

Burbzoke.

The Wie riſeth aboue Burſton well, and there is increaſed with the Hawkeſhow, and the Wile broke, whoſe heads are alſo further diſtant from the edge of Darbiſhire than that of Wie, and races ſomwhat longer, though neither of them be worthie to be accompted long. For the Wile, hauing two heads, the one of them is not farre aboue the place where Wilebecke abbeie ſtood, the other is further off by weſt, about Wilebecke towne: and finallie ioining in one they runne to Cucknete village, where receiuing a becke that commeth downe from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Rufford, or the Manbecke. Unto this alſo do other two rills repaire, wherof the one goeth through and the other hard by Maunſfield, of which two alſo this latter riſeth weſt about foure miles, and runneth forth to Clipſton (three miles lower) and ſo likewiſe to Rufford, whereof I will ſpeake hereafter. In the meane time to returne againe to the Wie. From Burſton well, it runneth to Staddon, Cowdale, Cowlow, New meadow, Milhouſes, Bankewell, and Haddon hall, beneath which it receiueth the Lathkell, that runneth by Duerhaddon, and the Bradford, both in one bottome after they be ioined in one at Alport. And this is the firſt great water that our Darwent doth meet withall. Being therefore paſt the Rowleies, the ſaid Darwent goeth to Stancliffe, Darleie in the peake, Wenſleie, Smitterton hall, and at Matlocke taketh in a rill by northeaſt, as it doth another at Crumford that goeth by Botelhall.

Wie.

Hawkeſhow, wile.

Ruffezd alias Manbecke.

Lathkell.

Bzadford.

From Matfocke, it proceedeth to Matſon, or Matſond, Well bridge, Alderwaſh, and ioineth with another ſtreame called Amber comming in from by north by Amber bridge, whoſe deſcription ſhall inſue in this wiſe, as I find it. The head of Amber is aboue Edleſton hall, or (as Leland ſaith) eſt of Cheſterfield, and comming from thence by Middleton to Ogſton hall, it taketh withall another broke, deſcending from Hardwiſe wood, by Alton and Streton. Thence it goeth to Higham, Brackenfield, and aboue Dale bridge meeteth with a broke running from Hucknalward to Shireland parke ſide, there croſſing the Mozeton becke, and ſo to Alferton, except I name it wrong. From Dale bridge it goeth by Wingfeld, to Hedge, Fritchlin, and ſo into

Amber.

Mozeton.

Dar-

Teine.

Ittoreter or Unceſter.

Pendor.

Iula Canuti. Aſhenhirſt.

Darwent, taking the water withall that deſcendeth from Swanſwiſe by Pentridge, as Leland doth remember. From this confluence likewiſe it runneth to Belper, where it meeteth with a rill comming from Horleie parke: thence to Makenie, and at Duſfeld, receiueth the Egleſburne, which ariſeth about Wirkeſworth or Oreſworth, but in the ſame pariſh out of a rocke, and commeth in by Turnedich. From Duffeld, it paſſeth to Bradſall, Darleie abbeie, and at Darbie taketh in a rill comming from Wirkaſton by Weſton vnderwood, Kidleſton and Merton. If a man ſhould ſay that Darwent riuer giueth name to Darbie towne, he ſhould not well know how euerie one would take it, and peraduenture therby he might happen to offend ſome. In the meane time I beleeue it, let other iudge as pleaſeth them, ſith my coniecture can preiudice none. To proceed therefore. From Darbie it runneth on by Aluaſton, Ambaſton, the Welles, and ſo into Trent, which goeth from hence to Sawleie, and north of Thrumpton taketh in the Soze, a faire ſtreame, and not worthie to be ouerpaſſed.

Egleſburne.

Soza, or Burne.

It riſeth in Leiceſterſhire aboue Wigton, and thence goeth to Sharneford, Sapcote, and beneath Staunton taketh in a rill that commeth by Dounton and Broughton Aſtleie. Thence to Marlebozow, and before it come to Elſton, croſſeth another on the ſame ſide (deſcending by Burton, Glen, Winſlow, Kilbie and Blabie) then to Leiceſter towne, Belgraue, Burſtall, Wanlip; and yet it come at Cuſſington or Coſiton, croſſeth the Eie, which riſeth neere Oreham aboue Bramſton, going by Knawſtow, Somerbie, Pickwell, Whitſonden; and beneath (a litle) receiueth a rill on the right hand from Coldnorton. Thence to Staplefoꝛd, & ſome after croſſing a brooke from aboue Sproxton, Coſon, Garthorpe and Sarbie, it runneth to Wiuerbie, Brentingbie; and yet it come at Milton, meeteth with two other ſmall rilles, from the right hand whereof one commeth from about Caldwell by Thorpe Arnold, and Waltham in the Would; the other from Skaleford ward, and from Melton goeth by Siſonbie, there meeting with another from northeaſt ouer againſt Kirbie Hellars, after which time the name of Eie is changed into Warke or Arke, and ſo continueth vntill it come at the Soure. From hence alſo it goeth to Aſterbie, Radgale, Habie, Truſſington, Ratcliffe; and ſome after croſſeth ſundrie waters not verie farre in ſunder, whereof one commeth from Queſton, by Twiford, Athbie, and Gadeſbie; another from Loſcbie, by Baggraue, and Crawſton, and ioining with the firſt at Quenniho, it is not long yer they fall into the Warke. The ſecond runneth from Engarſbie, by Barkeleie, and Siſon. But the third and greateſt of the three, is a chanell increaſed with three waters, whereof one commeth from Norton by Burton, Kilbie, Foſton and Blabie, the other from Dounton by Broughton and Aſtleie, and meeting with the third from Sapcoth, and ſtonie Staunton, they run together by Narboꝛow, and ſome after ioining aboue Elſton, with the firſt of the three, they go as one by Elſton to Leiceſter, Belgraue, Wanlip, and aboue Cuſſington do fall into the Warke, and ſome after into the Soure. The Soure in like ſort going from thence to mount Sorrell, & taking in another brooke ſouthweſt from Leiceſter forreſt, by Glenfield, Auſtie, Thurcaſton and Rodelie, ioineth with the Soure, which goeth from thence to mount Sorrell, and Quarendon (where it taketh in a water comming from Charnewod forreſt, and goeth by Bradegate and Swithland) and then proceedeth to Cotes, Lughborow and Stanford, there alſo taking in one rill out of Notinghamſhire by northeaſt; and ſome after another from ſouthweſt, comming from Braceden to Shepeheued, Garrington, & Dighlie grange, and likewiſe the third from Worthington, by Diſworth, long Whitton, and Wathorne. Finallie, after theſe confluences, it haſteth to Sutton, Kingſton, and Ratcliffe, and ſo into the Trent.

Leland calleth one of theſe rilles Croco.

Warke, Arke, or Wreke.

Theſe things being thus brought together, and we now reſuming the diſcourſe of this faire riuer, it doth after his meeting with the Soure, proceed with all to Barton, where it taketh in the Erwaſh, which riſeth about Kirbie, and thence goeth to Sellton, Wanſlie, Codnor caſtell, Eſtwod, and reſulting a water from Wedall, runneth to Tolhall, Trowell (and there taking in another rill comming from Heanor by Shipleie) it proceedeth on to Stapleford, Long Eaton, and ſo into the Trent. This being done it goeth to Clifton, and yet it come at Wilford, it meeteth with a brooke that paſſeth from Stanton to Bonnis and Rodington, and thence to Nottingham, where it croſſeth the Lane, which riſeth aboue Gedled; and paſſing by Papleton, Hucknall, Walford, Radford and Linton, next of all to Thorpe & Farndon, where it branches and maketh an Iland, and into the ſmaller of them goeth a brooke from Wenel caſtell, which riſing betweene east Well and Eaton in Leiceſter is called the Dene, and from thence runneth by Bramſton to Kniſton, & beneath Kniſton meeteth with a brooke that commeth by Well & Eroſton, and thence holdeth on with his courſe, betweene Willelthorpe and Beuer caſtell aforeſaid, and ſo to Bottelſworth, Normanton, Killington, Shilton, there receiuing the Snite from by ſouth (whoſe head is neere Clauſton, & courſe from thence by Hickling, Langer, Whalton, Diſton, and Flatboꝛow) and yet long another comming from Bingham, and Sibthorpe. Thence our Trent runneth to Coram, Hawton, Newarke caſtell, and ſo to Wilthorpe, where the branches are reunited, and thence goon by Holme to Cromwell (and ſome after taking in a brooke comming from Bilkthorpe, by Berſall, Cawnton, Norwell and Willowbie) to Carlton, and to Sutton, there making a litle Ile, then to Grinton, where it toucheth a ſtreame on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Horſehouſe by Weſton & Greſthorpe, another from Langthorpe, by Collingham, and Bolthorpe. From hence likewiſe it paſſeth to Clifton, Newton, Kettlethorpe, Torkeſeie, Knaith, Gainſborow, Walkrith, Stockwith; and leauing Atholine on the left hand, it taketh withall Hogdike water out of the Ile, and ſo goeth forth to Wildſworth, Eaſkerrie, Fruſworth, Burringham, Gunneis, Hirburgh, Burton, Walcote, and at Ankerburie into the Humber, receiuing the ſwift Doue by the waie, which for his nobleneſſe is not to be ouerpaſſed, eſpeciallie for that *Anno* 1536 *Hen.* 8, 28, it was (by Gods prouidence) a ſtaie of great bloudſhed like to haue fallen out betweene the kings ſide and the rebelles of the north, in a quarrell about religion. For the night before the battell ſhould haue beene ſtricken, and without anie apparent cauſe (a little ſhower of raine excepted farre vnpoſſible vpon ſuch a ſudden to haue made ſo great a water) the ſaid riuer aroſe ſo high, & ran with ſuch vehemencie, that on the morow the armies could not come to trie & fight it out: after which a pacification inſued, and thoſe countries were left in quiet. Secondlie, the deſcription hereof is not to be ouerpaſſed, becauſe of the fine graſſe which groweth vpon the banks thereof, which is ſo fine and batable, that there goeth a prouerbe vpon the ſame; ſo oft as a man will commend his paſture, to ſay that there is no better feed on Doue banke: that maketh it alſo the more famous.

Eie.

Miracle.

Doue.

The Doue therefore riſeth in Yorkeſhire among the Peke hilles, and hauing receiued a water comming by Ingbirchworth (where the colour thereof is verie

verie blacke) it goeth to Pennikſone, which is foure miles from the head: then by Orſpring to Thurgo-land, and ſone after (ioining by the waie with the Widhop water, that runneth by Widhop chappell, and Hondſhelfe) it méeteth with another comming from Bowſterſton chappell. Then goeth it by Waddeſleie wood to Waddeſleie bridge, and at Aluerton receiueth the Bradfeld water. Then palſeth it to Crokes, and ſo to Sheffeld caſtell (by eaſt whereof it receiueth a broke from by ſouth that commeth through Sheffeld parke.) Thence it procéedeth to Weſtford bridge, Brikſie bridge; and ſouthwell of Timſleie receiueth the Cowleie ſtreame that runneth by Eccleſfield. Nert of all it goeth to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Rother, a godlie water, whoſe head is in Darbieſhire about Pilleie, from whence it goeth vnder the name of Doleie, till it come at Rotheram, by north Winfield church, Wingerworth, and Foxeland hall, twelue miles from Rotheram, to Cheſterford, where it méeteth with the Iber, and Brampton water that commeth by Holme hall, both in one chanell. Thence it runneth to Topton caſtell, and yer long croſſing one water comming from Dronefeld by Whittington on the one ſide, and the ſecond from aboue Brimington on the other, it goeth through Stalie parke, and ſone after méeteth with the Crawleie becke, whereof I find this note.

Widhop. Cowleie. Rother. Iber. Brampton.

The Crawleie riſeth not farre from Hardwike, and going by Stanelbie and Woodhouſe, it receiueth aboue Netherhorpe, one water on the one ſide comming from the Old parke, and another from Barlborow hill on the other, that runneth not farre from Woodthorpe. After this confluence likewiſe they run as one into the Rother, which hafteth from thence to Eckington (there croſſing a rill that runneth by Birleie hill) and ſo to Kilmarth, in the confines of Darbieſhire, where it taketh in the Gunno from by eaſt. Thence to Boughton, vniting it ſelfe therabout with another by weſt from Gledles, called Meſebroke, which diuideth Yorkeſhire from Darbieſhire, and ſo runneth to Treton, Whiſton, there taking in a rill from Aſton, and ſo to Rotheram, where it méeteth with the Doue, and from whence our Doue (yéelding plentie of ſamon all the waie as it palſeth) hafteth to Aldwarke, Swaiton, Merburge, there taking in the Darne, which I will nert deſcribe, and ſtaie with the Doue, vntill I haue finiſhed the ſame. It riſeth at Combworth, and ſo commeth about by Bretton hall, to Darton ward, where it croſſeth a water that runneth from Gonthwake hall, by Cawthorne vnited of two heads. From hence it goeth to Burton grange, then to Dyar, where it toucheth with a water from ſouthweſt, & then goeth to Derfield and Goldthorpe: but yer it come to Sprotborow, it vniteth it ſelfe with a faire riuer, increaſed by diuerſe waters, before it come at the Doue, & whereinto it falleth (as I heare) northeaſt of Merburgh. After this confluence likewiſe the Doue goeth by Sprotborow, to Warneſworth, Doncaſter, Wheatleie (there méeting with the Hampall créeke on the northeaſt ſide, which riſeth eaſt of Kirbie) thence to Sandall, Kirke Sandall, Branwith ferrie, Stanford, Fiſhlake, and ſo to Thuorne or Thurne, where it croſſeth the Idle (whoſe deſcription followeth) and finallie into Trent, and ſo into the Humber.

Geſebroke. Crawleie. Gunno. Hampall.

But before I deale with the deſcription of the Idle, I will adde ſomewhat of the Rume, a faire water. For though the deſcription thereof be not ſo exactlie deliuered me as I loked for; yet ſuch as it is I will ſet downe, conferring it with Lelands booke, and helping their defect ſo much as to me is poſſible. It riſeth by ſouth of Maunſfield, fiue miles from Rumford abbeie, and when the ſtreame commeth nere the abbeie, it caſteth it ſelfe abroad and maketh a faire lake. After this it commeth againe into a narrow chanell, and ſo goeth on to Rumford village, carrieng the Budbie and the Gerberton waters withall. From thence, and with a méetlie long courſe, it goeth to Bawtrie or Mautrie, a market towne in Nottinghamſhire, fiue miles from Doncaſter, and ſo into the Trent. Beneath Rumford alſo commeth in the Girt, which goeth vnto Southwell milles, and ſo into the Trent. Now as concerning our Idle.

Budbie. Gerberton. Girt.

The Idle, which ſome call Brier ſtreame, riſeth at Sutton in Aſhfield, from whence it runneth to Maunſfield, Clipſton & Allerton, where it taketh in a water that riſeth in the forreſt, one mile north of Bledworth, and runneth on by Rughford abbeie, till it come to Allerton. The forreſters call this Manbecke, whereof Leland alſo ſpeaketh, who deſcribeth it in this maner. Manbroke riſeth ſomewhere about Linthirſt wood, from whence it goeth to Bliſthorpe, and ſo to Allerton. But to proceed. The Idle having taken in the Manbecke, it runneth to Bothomſall, by Boughton, & Perlethorpe: but yer it come there, it méeteth the Meding Maiden, or Midding broke, which riſing about Teuerſall, goeth to Pleaſleie, Nettleworth, Sawcan, Warſop, Budleis, Thurſbie, Bothomſall, and ſo into the Idle. After this it proceedeth to Houghton, weſt Drayton, but yer it touch at Graunſton or Gaunſton, it taketh in the Wilie, which commeth from Clowne, to Creſwell, Holbecke, Woodhouſe, Wilebecke, Normenton, Elſleie, Graunſton, and ſo into the Idle. Being thus increaſed, the Idle runneth on to Idleton, Dordall, Retford, Bollam, Tilnete, Matterſeie abbeie, and ſo to Bawtrie, where it méeteth another from the ſhire Okes, that riſeth aboue Geitford, palſeth on to Workſop (or Radfurth) Olberton, Wilbie, and Blith, there vniting it ſelfe with three rilles in one bottome, whereof one commeth from Waldingwell to Careleton, and ſo thorough a parke to Blith towne, another from by weſt Furbecke three miles, and ſo to Blith: but the third out of the White water néere to Blith, and there being vnited they paſſe on to Scrobie, and ſo into the Idle.

Manbecke. Meding becke. wilie. Blith.

From hence it runneth on to Miſſen, to Sadlers bridge, and nert of all to Santoft, where it méeteth with the Sandbecke, which riſing not farre from Sandbecke towne, palſeth by Tickhill, Roſington bridge, Brampton, Kilholme, Lindholme, and one mile ſouth of Santoft into the Idle water, which runneth from thence to Thorne, where it méeteth with the Doue, and ſo with it to Crowleie. Finallie, inuironing the Ile of Areholme, it goeth vnto Garthorpe, Focorbie, & ſo into the Trent. Leland writing of the Wilie, Wile, or Gwilie (as ſome write it) ſaith thus therof, The Wile hath two heads, whereof one is not farre aboue the place where Wilbecke abbeie ſtood; the other riſeth further off by weſt aboue Welbecke or Wilebecke towne: finallie ioining in one, they runne to Cuckeneie village, where croſſing a becke that commeth in from by weſt, it holdeth on two miles further, there taking in the ſecond rill, and ſo reſort to Ruſford. To this riuer likewiſe (ſaith he) dow two other waters repaire, whereof the one goeth hard by Maunſfield (riſing foure miles from thence by weſt) and then commeth three miles lower to Ruſford; the other (ſo far as I remember) goeth quite through the towne.

Sandbecke.

Of ſuch falles of waters as ioine with the ſea, betweene Humber and the Thames.

Chap. 16.

HAuing in this maner deſcribed the Ouze, and ſuch riuers as fall into the ſame: now it reſteth that I proceed in my votage toward the Thames, according to my former order. Being therefore come againe into the maine ſea, I find no water of anie countenance or course (to my remembrance) till I come vnto the Ancolme a goodlie water, which riſeth eaſt of Spercate Kaſing, and from thence goeth by middle Kaſing. Then receiuing a ſhort rill from by ſouth, it runneth on vnder two bridges, by the waie, till it come to Wingall, north-eaſt; where alſo it meeteth with another broke, from Wiſtbie that commeth thither by Ureſbie, goeth by Cadneie (taking in the two rilles in one bottome, that deſcend from Howſham, and north Leiſeie) and thence to Newſted, Stanford, Wardeleie, Thorneham, Applebie, Horſlow, north Ferribie, and ſo into the ſea.

Ancolme.

Kills.

Being paſt Ancolme, we go about the Neſſe, and ſo to the fall of the water which commeth from Keleby, by Cotham abbeie, Nerſham abbeie, Thorneton, and leauing Corhill by weſt, it falleth into the Ocean. The nert is the fall of another broke comming from Fleting, all alongſt by Stallingburne. Then croſſed we Grimſbie gullet, which iſſuing aboue Credie commeth to Laſcbie, the two Cotes, and then into the ſea. After this we paſſed by another portlet, whoſe backwater deſcendeth from Baleſbie by Aſhbie, Brigge ſlete, Wlath, and Towneie, and finallie to the nert iſſue, before we come at Saltflete, which branching at the laſt, leaueth a prettie Iland wherein Comſholme village ſtandeth. This water riſeth short (as I heare) of Cathewell, from whence it goeth to Rathbie, Hallington, Eſſington, Lowth, Kidrington, Auingham, and then branching aboue north Somerton, one arme meeteth with the ſea, by Grauethorpe, the other by north of Somercote.

Saltflete.

Saltflete water hath but a ſhort course: for riſing among the Cockeringtons, it commeth to the ſea, at Saltflete hauen: howbeit the nert vnto it is of a longer race, for it riſeth (as I take it) at Cawthorpe paroch, and deſcendeth by Legburne, the Carletons, the weſt middle and eaſt Saltfletes, and ſo into the Ocean. The water that riſeth aboue Ormeſbie and Orbie, goeth to Cawſbie, Swabie abbeie, Clathorpe, Belew, Cattle, Witherne, Stane, and north-eaſt of Thetilthorpe into the maine ſea.

Maplethorpe.

Maplethorpe water riſeth at Thareſthorpe, and going by Markeleie, Folethorpe, and Truthorpe, it is not long yer it met with the Germane Ocean. Then come we to the iſſue that commeth from aboue Hotoft, and thence to Mumbie chapell, whither the water comming from Clarbie, Willowbie, and Slouthbie (and whereinto another rill falleth) doth runne, as there to do homage vnto their lord and ſouereigne. As for Ingold mill creeke, I paſſe it ouer, and come ſtreight to another water, deſcending from Burge by Skegnes. From hence I go to the iſſue of a faire broke, which (as I heare) doth riſe at Tetford, and thence goeth by Somerbie, Bagenderbie, Aſhwardbie, Sawlthorpe, Partnete, Aſhbie, the Stepings, Thorpe croſt, and ſo into the ſea. As for Mainflete water, it commeth from the eaſt ſea, and goeth betweene S. Maries & Alhallowes by Mainflete towne, and treading the path of his predeceſſors, emptieth his chanell to the maintenance of the ſea.

Now come I to the course of the Witham, a famous riuer, whereof goeth the by-word, frequented of old, and alſo of Ancolme, which I before deſcribed:

Ancolme eele, and Witham pike,
Search all England and find not the like.

Lindus, Witham, Rhe.

Leland calleth it Lindis, diuerſe the Rhe, and I haue read all theſe names my ſelfe: and thereto that the Lincolneſhire men were called in old time Coritani, and their head citie Lindus, Lindon, or Linodunum, in which region alſo Ptolomie placeth Rage, which ſome take to be Notingham, except my memorie do faile me. It riſeth among the Wickhams, in the edge of Lincolneſhire, and (as I take it) in ſouth-Wickham paroch, from whence it goeth to Colſterworth, Caſton, Kirkeſtoke Paunton, and Paunton Honghton, and at Grantham taketh in a rill from by ſouthweſt, as I heare. From Grantham it runneth to Man, Thorpe, Bolton, and Barneſton, where croſſing a becke from northeaſt, it proceedeth further ſouthweſt ward by Pereſton, toward Faſton (there alſo taking in a broke that riſeth about Denton, and goeth by Sidbroke) it haſteth to Dodington, Clapale, Barmebie, Beckingham, Stapleford, Ballingham, Thurlbie, and beneath Amburgh croſſeth a water that commeth from Stogurthorpe by Somerton caſtell.

Withem.

Hake.

Bane.

After this confluence alſo, our Witham goeth ſtill forth on his waie to the Hickhams, Boltham, Bracebridge, and Lincolne it ſelfe, for which the Normans write Nicholl by tranſpoſition of the letters, or (as I may better ſaie) corruption of the word. But yer it come there, it maketh certeine poles (whereof one is called Swan pole) and ſome after diuiding it ſelfe into armes, they run both thorough the lower part of Lincolne, each of them hauing a bridge of ſtone ouer it, thereby to paſſe through the principall ſtreet: and as the bigger arme is well able to beare their ſiſher botes, ſo the leſſer is not without his ſeuerall commodities. At Lincolne alſo this noble riuer meeteth with the Foſſe dike, whereby in great floods veſſels may come from the Trents ſide to Lincolne. For betweene Torkſeie, where it beginneth, and Lincolne citie, where it endeth, are not aboue ſeuen miles, as Leland hath remembred. Biſhop Arwater began to cleanſe this ditch, thinking to bring great veſſels from Trent to Lincolne in his time: but ſith he died before it was performed, there hath no man beene ſince ſo well minded as to proſecute his purpoſe. The courſe moreouer of this our ſtreame following, from Lincolne to Boſton is fiftie miles by water: but if you mind to ferrie, you ſhall haue but 24. For there are foure common places where men are ferried ouer; as Short ferrie, fiue miles from Lincolne, Caterſall ferrie, eight miles from Short ferrie, Dogdike ferrie a mile, Langreth ferrie fiue miles, and ſo manie finallie to Boſton.

Foſſe dike.

Bolling bridge. Hemingh

Wiland

But to go forward with the courſe of Lindis (whereof the whole prouince hath beene called Lindeſeie) when it is paſt Lincolne, it goeth by Shepewaſh, Waſſingburg, Fiſkerton, and ſone after taketh in ſundrie riuers in one chanell, whereby his greatneſſe is verie much increaſed. From this confluence it goeth to Bardolfe, and there receiuing a rill (deſcending from betweene Sothbie and Randbie, and going by Harton) it ſlideth forth by Tupham to Caterſall caſtell, taking vp there in like ſort three ſmall rills by the waie, whereof I haue ſmall notice as yet: and therefore I referre them vnto a further conſideration to be had of them hereafter, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue to haue the filing of theſe rude pamphlets yet once againe, & ſomewhat more leaſure to peruſe them than at this time is granted. Finallie, being paſt Caterſall, and Dogdike ferrie,

Wzaie.

ferrie, the Witham goeth toward Boſton, & thence into the ſea. Thus haue I briefly diſpatched this noble riuer Witham. But hauing another note deliuered me thereof from a frend, I will yéeld ſo farre vnto his gratification, that I will remember his trauell here, and ſet downe alſo what he hath written thereof, although the riuer be ſufficiently deſcribed alreadie.

Witham. Into Witham therefore from by north, and ſeuen miles beneath Lincolne, there falleth a faire water, the head whereof is at Hakethorne, from whence it goeth by Hanworth, Snarford, Kelbie, Stainton, and at Wullington méeteth with a water on ech ſide, whereof one commeth from Haiton and Turrington, the other from Sudbrooke, and likewiſe beneath Birlings with the third comming from Barkeworth by Stanſted, and ioining all in one, ſoone after it is not long yer it fall into the chanell of Witham, and ſo are neuer more heard of. There is alſo a brooke by ſouthweſt, that commeth from Kirkbie to Catelcie, Biltingams, and the Ferrie. At Caterfall it méeteth with the Bane, which riſeth aboue Burgh, and néere vnto Ludford goeth downe to Dunnington, Stanigod, Hemmingſbie, Bamburgh, Fillington, Horne cauſell (where it croſſeth a rill from Belchworth) Thornton, Marton, Haiton, Kirkebie, Comlbie, Caterſall, and ſo to Dogdike ferrie.

Hake. Bane.

Aboue Boſton likewiſe it taketh in a water comming from Luſebie by Bolingbrooke, Stickeford, Stickneie, Sibbeſeie and Hildrike. And to Boſton towne it ſelfe do finallie come ſundrie brookes in one chanell, called Hammond becke, which riſing at Doneſbie, runneth on to Wrightbold, where it caſteth one arme into Holiwell water. Thence it haſteth toward Dunnington, receiuing foure brookes by the waie, whereof the firſt commeth from Pilthorpe, the ſecond from Fokingham, called Bollingborow, or (after ſome, I wote not vpon what occaſion) Sempringham water, the third from Bridge end, the fourth from Sempringham, and afterwards the maine ſtreame is found to run by Kirton holme, and ſo into the Witham. Into the Wiland likewiſe falleth the Holiwell, which riſeth of a ſpring that runneth toward the eaſt from Haliwell to Dnebie, Eſonden, Gretford, and ſo to Catbridge, where it receiueth another riſing at Witham and weſt of Panthorpe, and the ſecond comming from Laund, and ſo run from thence togither to Willeſthorpe and Catbridge, and then into the Haliwell, which after theſe confluences goeth to Tetford and Eaſtcote, where it méeteth with a draine, comming from Bourne, and ſo through the fennes to Pinchbecke, Surfleet, and Foſdike, where it méeteth with the Welland, in the mouth of the Waſh, as I haue noted vnto you.

Bollingborow. Sempringham.

Hauing thus ſet forth the riuers that fall into the Witham, now come we to the Wiland or Welland, wherevnto we repaire after we be paſt Boſton, as drawing by litle and litle toward the Girwies, which inhabit in the fennes (for Gir in the old Saxon ſpeach doth ſignifie déepe fennes and marſhes) and theſe beginning at Peterborow eaſtward, extend themſelues by the ſpace of three ſcore miles & more, as Hugh of Peterborow writeth. This ſtreame riſeth about Sibbertoft, and running betwéene Bolworth and Holworthorpe, it goeth to Fédingworth, Merſon, Bobberham, Truſſell, Herborow (receiuing there the Braie, which commeth from Braiebrooke caſtell) to Bowton, Weſton, Wiland, Aſhleie, Medburne, Rokingham, and Cawcot, where a riuer et called little Eie méeteth withall, comming from eaſt Norton by Alerſtone, Stocke, Faſton, and Drie ſtocke. From Cawcot it goeth to Gritto, Harringworth, Seton, Wauerlie, Duddington, Collie Weſton, Elton, and there ioineth with the third called Warke, not far from Ketton, which commeth from Lie by Preſton, Wing, Lindon, Lukkenham, &c. Thence it goeth on by Tinwell, to Stanford (croſſing the Brooke water, and Whitnelbecke, both in one bottome) and from Stanford by Talington, Marcie, to Mercate, Déeping, Crowland (where it almoſt méeteth with the Auon) then to Spalding, Whaplad, and ſo into the ſea.

Warke. Brooke water. Whitnell.

Leland writing of this Wiland, addeth theſe words which I will not omit, ſith in mine opinion they are worthie to be noted, for better conſideration to be had in the ſaid water and his courſe. The Wiland (ſaith he) going by Crowland, at Newdrene diuideth it ſelfe into two branches, of which one goeth vp to Spalding called Newdrene, and ſo into the ſea at Foſſedike Stow: the other named the South into Wiſbech. This latter alſo parteth it ſelfe two miles from Crowland, & ſendeth a rill called Writhlake by Thorneie, where it méeteth with an arme of the Nene, that commeth from Peterborow, and holdeth courſe with the broad ſtreame, till it be come to Parho, ſir miles from Wiſbech, where it falleth into the South.

Newdrene. South. Writhlake.

Out of the South in like ſort falleth another arme called Shæpes eie, and at Popelode (which is foure téene miles from Lin) did fall into the ſea. But now the courſe of that ſtreame is ceaſed, whereupon the inhabitants ſuſteine manie grieuous flouds, becauſe the mouth is ſtanched, by which it had acceſſe before into the ſea. Hitherto Leland. Of the courſe of this riuer alſo from Stanford, I note this furthermore out of another writing in my time. Being paſt Stanton (ſaith he) it goeth by Burghleie, Uffington, Tallington, Marcie, Déeping, eaſt Déeping, and comming to Maldram hall, it brancheth into two armes, whereof that which goeth to Singleſole, receiueth the Nene out of Cambridgeſhire, and then going by Dowesdale, Trekenhole, and winding at laſt to Wiſbech, it goeth by Liuerington, ſaint Maries, and ſo into the ſea. The other arme haſteth to Crowland, Clowthouſe, Brether houſe, Pikale, Cowbecke and Spalding. Here alſo it receiueth the Baſton dreane, Longtoft dreane, Déeping dreane, and thence goeth by Wickham into the ſea, taking withall on the right hand ſundrie other dreanes. And thus farre he.

Shæpes eie.

Next of all, when we are paſt theſe, we come to another fall of water into the Waſh, which deſcendeth directlie from Whaplade dreane to Whaplade towne in Holland: but becauſe it is a water of ſmall importance, I paſſe from thence, as haſting to the Nene, of both the more noble riuer: and about the middeſt thereof in place is a certeine ſwallow, ſo déepe and ſo cold in the middeſt of ſummer, that no man dare diue to the bottome thereof for coldneſſe, and yet for all that in winter neuer found to haue béene touched with froſt, much leſſe to be couered with iſe. The next therefore to be deſcribed is the Auon, otherwiſe called Nene, which the ſaid author deſcribeth after this maner. The Nene beginneth foure miles aboue Northampton in Nene méere, where it riſeth out of two heads, which ioine about Northampton. Of this riuer the citie and countrie beareth the name, although we now pronounce Hampton for Auondune, which errour is committed alſo in ſouth Auondune, as we may eaſilie ſée. In another place Leland deſcribeth the ſaid riuer after this maner. The Auon riſeth in Nene méere field, and going by Dundale and Peterborow, it diuideth it ſelfe into three armes, whereof one goeth to Horneie, another to Wiſbech, the third to Ramſeie: and afterward being vnited againe, they fall into the ſea not verie farre from Lin. Finallie, the deſcent of theſe waters leaue here a great ſort of Ilands, wher-

Wiland. Auon. Nene. Braie.

of Elie, Crowland, and Merland, are the chiefe. Hitherto Leland.

Howbeit, because neither of these descriptions touch the course of this riuer at the full, I will set downe the third, which shall supplie whatsoeuer the other do want. The Auon therefore arising in Nenemere field, is increased with manie rilles, before it come at Northhampton, & one aboue Kings thorpe, from whence it goeth to Dallington, and so to Northhampton, where it receiueth the Wedon. And here I will state, till I haue described this riuer. The Wedon therefore riseth at Faulesle in maister Knightlies poles, and in Badbie plashes also are certeine springs that resort vnto this streame. Faulesle poles are a mile from Chareton, where the head of Chare riuer is, that runneth to Banberie. There is but an hill called Alberie hill betweene the heads of these two riuers.

Vedunus.

From the said hill therefore the Wedon directeth his course to Badbie, Newenham, Euerton, Wedon, betwixt which and Flozetowne, it receiueth the Florus (a prettie water rising of foure heads, whereof the one is at Dauentrie, another at Watford, the third at long Bucke, the fourth aboue Whilton) and then passeth on to Heiford, Killingberie, Upton, and so to Northhampton, where it falleth into the Auon, receiuing finallie by the waie the Bugbroke water at Heiford, Pathall water neere Killingberie, and finallie Preston water beneath Upton, which running from Preston by Wotton, meeteth at the last with Milton rill, and so fall into Auon. Now to resume the tractation of our Auon. From Northhampton therefore it runneth by Houghton, great Billing, Whitstone, Dodington, and Willingborow, where we must staie a while: for betweene Willingborow and Higham Ferries, it receiueth a prettie water comming from about Kilmarsh, which going by Ardingworth, Mailborow, Rusheton, Newton, Gaddington, Boughton, Warketon, Rettering, Werton, and Burton, meeteth there with Rothwell water, which runneth west of Rettering to Hisham, the greater Harsdon, and then into the Auon.

Florus.

Bugius.

Kilis.

Rother.

Being therfore past Burton, our maine streame goeth to Higham Ferries, Artleborow, Ringsted, Wlodford, and (meeting thereby with Cranford rill) to Thrarston, north whereof it ioineth also with the Oclete water, that commeth from Sudborow and Lowicke, to old Umkles, Waden ho, Pilketon, Doke (where it taketh in the Liueden becke) and so to Dundell, Cotterstocke, Tansoner, and betweene Tothering and Warmington receiueth the Corbie water, which rising at Corbie, goeth by Weldon, Denethap, Bulwich, Bletherwise, Finched, Arthorpe, Newton, Tothering, and so into the Auon. After this, the said Auon goeth to Elton, Passington, Perwell, Sutton, Castor, Allerton, and so to Peterborow, where it diuideth it selfe into sundrie armes, and those into seuerall branches and draines, among the fennes and medowes, not possible almost to be numbred, before it met with the sea on the one side of the countrie, and fall into the Duze on the other.

Oclete.

Corbie.

The Duze, which Leland calleth the third Ilis, falleth into the sea betweene Merland & Dolweneham. The chiefe head of this riuer ariseth neere to Stanes, from whence it commeth to Brackleie (sometime a noble towne in Northampton shire, but now scarselie a good village) and there taking in on the left hand one water comming from the parke betweene Sisam and Askwell (which runneth by Whitfield and Tinweston) and another on the right from Imleie, it goeth on by Westbirie, Fulwell, water Stretford, Buckingham, and Berton, beneath which towne the Erin falleth into it, whereof I find this short description to be inserted here. The Erin riseth not farre from Hardwike in Northamptonshire, from hence it goeth by Yeth, Orinford, Godderington, Twisford, Steeple Claudon, ere it come at Padbirie, meeteth with the Garan brooke descending from Garanburge, and so they go togither by Padbirie, till they fall into the Duze, which carieth them after the confluence to Thorneton bridge (where they crosse another fall of water comming from Whitlewood forrest by Lutteld, Lexamsted and Foscot) and so to Beachampton, Cluuerton, Stonie Stratford, and Woluerton.

Sitis.

Imelus.

Erin.

Garan.

Here the Duze meeteth with a water (called, as Leland coniectureth, the Uere or Were) on the left hand, as you go downewards, that commeth betweene Wedon and Weresnham in Northamptonshire, and goeth by Towcester, and Alderton, and not farre from Woluerton and Hauersham into the foresaid Duze, which goeth also from hence to Newportpagnell, where in like sort I must staie a while till I haue described another water, named the Cle, by whose issue the said streame is not a little increased. This riuer riseth in the verie confines betweene Buckingham and Bedfordshires, not farre from Whipesnade, and going on toward the northwest, by Eaton and Laiton, it commeth to Linchlade, where it entreth wholie into Buckinghamshire, and so goeth on by Hammond, Bickle, Fennie Stratford, Simpson, Walton and Middleton, beneath which it receiueth the Saw from aboue Halcot, and so goeth on till it met with the Duze neere vnto Newport, as I haue said. Being vnited therefore, we set forward from the said towne, and follow this noble riuer, to Lathbirie, Thuringham, Filgrane, Lawndon, Newington, Bradfield on the one side, and Turuete on the other, till it come at length to Bedford after manie windlesses, and then meeteth with another streame, which is increased with so manie waters, that I was inforced to make an imagined staie here also, and view their seuerall courses, supposing my selfe to loke downe from the highest steeple in Bedford, whence (as best meane to view anie countrie whersoeuer) I note the same as followeth.

Verus.

Cle alias Claius.

Riuelus.

Granta.

Saw.

Certes on the east side, where I began this speculation, I saw one that came from Potton, and met withall neere Beclifwade: another that grew of two waters, whereof one descended from Baldocke, the other from Hitchin, which ioined beneth Arlesleie, and thence went to Langford and Edworth. The third which I beheld had in like sort two heads, whereof one is not farre from Wod end, the other from Woburne (or Howburne) and ioining about Flitwic, they go to Flitton (where they receiue Antill brooke) and so by Chiphill, and Chickland, they come to Shafford, from whence taking the aforsaid Langford water with them, they go forth by Beclifwade, Sandie, Blunham, and neere vnto Themilford are vnited with the Duze. And now to our purpose againe.

These rise not far from Wichelborow & one of them in Higham parke.

Babi.

Rhee.

After this the Duze goeth by Berkeford, to Winteringham (meeting there with the Wareslie becke) and so runneth to S. Neotes (or saint Nedes, in old time Goluesburg, as Capgraue saith *In vita Neoti*) to Parkon, Offordes, and so to Godmanchester, in old time called Gunnicester, which (as it should seeme) hath beene a towne of farre greater countenance than at this present it is; for out of the ruines thereof much Romane coine is found, and sometimes with the image of C. Antius which hath long haire, as the Romans had before they receiued barbars into their citie, and thereunto the bones of diuerse men of farre greater stature than is credible to be spoken of in these daies. But what stand I vpon these things? From hence therfore our water goeth on to

Verus or the were.

Stoceus.

Hun-

Stouæus. Huntingdon, Wilton, ſaint Iues, Holiwell, and Erith, receiueth in the meane time the Stow (neere vnto little Paxton) and likewiſe the Ellen, and the Helenus. Emmer, in one chanell a little by weſt of Huntingdon. Elmerus.

Finallie, the maine ſtreame ſpreading abroad into the Fennes, I cannot tell into how manie branches, neither how manie Ilets are inforced by the ſame; although of Iles, Marchland, Ancarig or Ancarie be the chiefe, and of which this later is called Crowland (as Crowland alſo hight thornie *A cruda terra*, or ſtore of buſhes ſaith Hugo le Blanc) ſometime growing in the ſame, and Ancarie becauſe ſundrie Ancres haue liued & borne great ſwaie therein. But howſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, this is certeine, that after it hath thus delited it ſelfe with ranging a while about the pleaſant bottoms & lower grounds, it meeteth with the Granta, from whence it goeth with a ſwift courſe vnto Downeham. Betweene it alſo and the Auon, are ſundrie large meeres or plaſhes, by ſouthweſt of Peterborow full of powts and carpes, whereof Whittleſeie meere, and Ramſeie meere (whereinto the Riuall falleth, that commeth from aboue Broughton, Wilton, and great Riuelleie) are ſaid to be greateſt. Of all the riuers that run into this ſtreame, that called Granta (whereof the whole countie in old time was called Grantabrycſhire, as appeereth by the regiſter of Henrie prior of Canturburie) is the moſt noble and excellent, which I will deſcribe euen in this place, notwithſtanding that I had earſt apointed it vnto my ſecond booke. But for ſomuch as a deſcription of Duze and Granta were deliuered me togither, I will for his ſake that gaue them me, not ſeparate them now in ſunder. Riuelus. Granta.

The verie furtheſt head and originall of this riuer is in Henham, a large parke belonging to the earle of Suffer, wherein (as the townesmen ſaie) are foure ſprings that run foure ſundrie waies into the maine ſea. Leland ſought not the courſe of this water aboue Newport pond, and therefore in his commentaries vpon the ſong of the ſwan, he writeth thereof after this maner inſuing. Although doctor Iohn Caius the learned phyſician, and ſome other are of the opinion, that this riuer comming from Newport, is properlie to be called the Rhæ: but I may not ſo eaſilie diſſent from Leland, whoſe iudgement in my mind is by a great deale the more likelie. Harken therefore what he ſaith.

The head of Grantha or Granta, is in the pond at Newport, a towne of the eaſt Saxons, which going in a bottome beſide the ſame, receiueth a pretie rill, which in the middeſt thereof doth driue a mill, and deſcendeth from Wickin Bonhant, that ſtandeth not farre from thence. Being paſt Newport, it goeth alongſt in the lower ground, vntill it come to Broke Walden, weſt of Chiping Walden (now Saffron Walden) hard by the lord Awdleis place, where the right honorable Thomas Howard with his houſhold doo ſoiourne, and ſometime ſtood an abbeie of Benedictine monks, before their generall ſuppreſſion. From Awdleie end it goeth to Littleburie, the leſſe and greater Chekerfords, Pealdune, Hinſtone, Seoſton or Sawſon, and neere vnto Shalefford receiueth the Babzen that commeth by Linton, Abbington, Babzenham, and Stapleford: and ſo going forward it commeth at the laſt to Trompington, which is a mile from Cambridge. But yer it come altogither to Trompington, it meeteth with the Bayrington water, as Leland calleth it, but ſome other the Rhæ (a common name to all waters in the Saxon ſpeech) whereof I find this deſcription, to be touched by the waie. The Rhæ riſeth short of Aſhwell in Hertfordſhire, and paſſing vnder the bridge betweene Gilden Morden and Downton, and leauing Tadlow on the weſt ſide (as I remember) it goeth toward Crawden, Malton, Barrington, Haſelingfield, and ſo into Granta, taking ſundrie rills with him from ſouth and ſouthweſt, as Wendie water ſouthweſt of Crawden, Whaddon brooke ſouthweſt of Orwell, Mildred becke ſouthweſt of Malton, and finallie the Orne which commeth out of Armington or Ormendum well, and goeth by Fulmere and Foxton, and falleth into the ſame betweene Barrington and Harleſton, or Harſton; as they call it. Babzen. Rhæ.

Now to proceed with our Granta. From Trompington on the one ſide, and Grantcheſter on the other, it halleth to Cambridge ward, taking the Burne with it by the waie, which deſcendeth from a caſtell of the ſame denomination, wherein the Picotes and Peuerels ſometime did inhabit. Thence it goeth by ſundrie colleges in Cambridge, as the quænes college, the kings college, Clare hall, Trinitie college, S. Johns, &c: vnto the high bridge of Cambridge, and betweene the towne and the caſtell to Cheſterton, and receiuing by and by the Stoure, or Sture (at whoſe bridge the moſt famous mart in England is yearelie holden and kept) from Cheſterton it goeth to Ditton, Milton, and yer long meeting with two rilles (from Bottelham and Wilberham, in one bottome) it runneth to Horningſeie, & Water Bech: and finallie here ioining with the Bulbecke water, it goeth by Dennie, and ſo forth into the Duze, fifteene miles from Cambridge, as Leland hath ſet downe. And thus much of the third Iſis or Duze, out of the aforeſaid author: whereunto I haue not onelie added ſomewhat of mine owne experience, but alſo of other mens notes, whoſe diligent obſeruation of the courſe of this riuer hath not a little helped me in the deſcription of the ſame. Now it reſteth that we come nearer to the coaſt of Northfolke, and ſet forth ſuch waters as we paſſe by vpon the ſame, wherein I will deale ſo preciſelie as I may: and ſo farre will I trauell therein, as I hope ſhall content euen the curious reader: or if anie fault be made, it ſhall not be ſo great, but that after ſome trauell in the finding, it ſhall with eaſe be corrected. Sturus. Bulbecke.

The firſt riuer that therefore we come vnto, after we be paſt the confluence of Granta, and the Duze, and within the iuriſdiction of Northfolke, is called the Burne. This ſtreame riſeth not verie farre from Burne Bradfield, aboue the greater Wilbeham, and from thence it goeth on to Nawnton, Burie, Farneham Martin, Farneham Alhallowes, Farneham Genoueſa, Hengraue, Flemton, Lackeford, Icklingham, and to Milden hall: a little beneath which, it meeteth with the Dale water, that ſpringeth not farre from Catilege, and going by Aſheleie, Moulton (a benefice as the report goeth not verie well prouided for) to Kenford, Kenet, Bradingham, Frekenham, it falleth at the laſt not farre from Iſelham into the Burne, from whence they go togither as one into the Duze. With the Burne alſo there ioineth a water comming from about Lidgate, a little beneath Iſelham, and not verie far from Mildenhall. Burne. Dale.

The Dune head, and riſing of Wauenheie, are not much in ſunder: for as it is ſuppoſed, they are both not farre diſtant from the bridge betweene Lopham and Ford, wherby the one runneth eaſt and the other weſt, as I haue beene informed. The Dune goeth firſt of all by Feltham, then to Hopton, & to Kinets hall, where it meeteth with a water coming out of a lake short of Banham (going by Mutdenham, Herling, Gaſthorpe) and ſo on, both in one chanell, they run to Ewſton. Here they meet in like Dunus.

ſort, with another deſcending from two heads, whereof the one is neere vnto Pakenham, the other to Tauelocke, as I heare. Certes theſe heads ioine aboue Ieſworth, not farre from Stow Langtoft, from whence they go to Prworth, Thorpe, Berdwell, Punnington, Fakenham, and ſo into the Dune at Ewſton; as I ſaid. From hence alſo they haſten to Dowenham, which of this riuer doth ſeeme to borow his name. South Kee rill I paſſe ouer as not worthie the deſcription, becauſe it is ſo ſmall.

Bradunus forte. Next vnto this riuer on the ſouth ſide is the Braden, or Bradunus, which riſeth at Bradenham, and goeth by Necton, north Peckenham, ſouth Peckenham, Kirſingham, Bednete, Langford, Igbor, Punford, North Old, Stockebridge, Ferdham, Pelgie,

Linus. and ſo into the Duze. The neereſt vnto this is another which riſeth about Lukeham, and from thence commeth to Lexham, Paſſingham, Newton, the caſtell Acre, Acres, Nerboe, Pentneie, Wrongeie, Rounghton (which at one time might haue beene my liuing if I would haue giuen ſir Thomas Rugband monie inough, but now it belongeth to Gundeuill and Caius college in Cambridge) Weſtchurch, and ſo to Linne. As ſo doth alſo another by north of this,

Congunus. which commeth from the eaſt hilles by Congenham, Grimſton, Bawſeie, Gaiwod, whereof let this ſuffice. And now giue eare to the reſt ſith I am paſt the Duze. Being paſt the mouth or fall of the Duze, we

Riſing. meet next of all with the Riſing chaſe water, which Ptolomie (as ſome thinke) doth call Metaris, and

Ingeli. deſcendeth from two heads, and alſo the Ingell that commeth from about Snetſham. From hence we go by the point of ſaint Edmund, and ſo hold on our courſe till we come vnto the Burne, which falleth into the ſea by ſouth from Waterden, and going betweene the Crakes to Burnham Thorpe, and Burnham Norton, it ſtriketh at the laſt into the ſea; eaſt of Burnham Norton a mile at the leaſt, except my coniecture doo faile me. The Glow or Glowie riſeth not

Glouius. far from Baconſthorpe, in the hundred of Tunſted; & going by and by into Holt hundred, it paſſeth by Hunworth, Thornage, Glawnſford, Blackneie, Clare, and ſo into the ſea, receiuing there at hand alſo a rill by eaſt, which deſcendeth from the hilles lieng betweene Killing towne and Waſburne.

Wantſume. The Wantſume riſeth in Northfolke at Galeſend in Holt hundred, from whence it goeth to Waterſend, Townton, Skelthorpe, Farneham, Penſthorpe, Rieburg, Ellingham, and Billingſford. And here it receiueth two waters in one bottome, of which the firſt goeth by Stanfield and Beteleie, the other by Wandling and Greſſonhall, and ſo run on eth his owne waie, till they meet at Houndlington, ſouthwell of Billingſford with the Wantſume. From hence they go all togither to Below, Jeng, Weſton, and Norton; but yer it come to Norton, it meeteth with the Yolwke, which (iſſuing about Yerham) goeth by Mattelhall and Barrow. After this

Yocus. the ſaid Wantſume goeth on by Kingland, and ſo to Norwich the pontificall ſeat of the biſhop, to whome that iuriſdiction appertaineth, which ſeemeth by this memorial yet remaining in the corrupted name of the water, to be called in old time Venta, or (as Leland addeth) Venta Icenorum. But to proceed. Beneath Norwich alſo it receiueth two waters in one chanell, which I will ſeuerallie deſcribe, according to their courſes, noting their confluence to be at Birleie, within two miles of Norwich, except my annotation deceiue me. The firſt of theſe hath two heads

Hierus. Gerne. whereof one mounteth vp ſouthweſt of Whinborow, goeth by Gerneſton, and is the verie Hiere or Yare that drowneth the name of Wantſume, ſo ſone as he meeteth with all. The other head riſeth at Wod in Pitford hundred, and after confluence with the Hiere at Caſton, going by Brandon, Birton, Berford, Erleham, Cringlefield (not farre from Birleie as I ſaid) doth meet with his companion, which is the ſecond to be deſcribed as followeth. It hath two heads alſo that meet northweſt of Herſtane; and hereof the one commeth from Findon hall, by Wrenningham from about Wotton, by Hemnall, Fretton, Stretton, and Taſborow, till they ioine at Herſton, as I gaue notice afore hand. From Herſton therefore they go togither in one to Newton, Shotelham, Dunſton, Caſtor, Arminghale, Birleie, Lakenham, and Trowſe, and then fall into the Wantſume beneath Norwich, which hereafter is named Hiere. The Hiere, Yare, or Gare therefore proceeding in his voiage, as it were to ſalute his grandame the Ocean, goeth from thence by Paſwyc, Surlingham, Clarton, and Yardleie; and here it meeteth againe with another riueret deſcending from about Shotetham to Herſtane, Shedgraue, Hockingham, and ſo into Gare or Yare, whereof Yardleie the towne receiueth denomination. After this it goeth to Frethorpe, and aboue Burgh caſtell meeteth with the Wauueneie, and ſo into the ſea. Wauen.

Into this riuer alſo falleth the Bure, which riſing at a towne of the ſame name, paſſeth by Milton, Bureſdune, Corpeſteie, Marington, Bleheling, Bure, Alecham, Brampton, Burton, Horſted, Werrham bridge, Horning, Ranewoth; and beneath Baſtewiſe receiueth the Thurine which riſeth aboue Koleſbie; then to Obie, Cliplbie (there alſo receiuing another from Filbie) Kimham, Caſtor, and by Yarmouth into the Ocean. The Wauueneie afore mentioned, riſeth on the ſouth ſide of Biſingham, and is a limit betweene Northfolke and Suffolke. Going therefore by Dis, Starton, not farre from Oxe, it meeteth with the Eie, which riſeth neere Ockold, or betweene it and Braiſworth, & goeth on by Brome, Oxe, and ſo into the Wauueneie. From thence our Wauueneie runneth by Silam, Brodiſh, Nedam, Harleſton, Rednam, Alborow, Flixton, Bungeie, Sheepemedow, Barham, Beckles, Albie, & at Whiteacre (as I heare) parteth in twaine, or receiuing Milford water (which is moſt likelie) it goeth along by Somerleie, Horningſleet, S. Olaues, (there receiuing the Frithſtane or Friſtan broke, out of low or litle England) Friſtan & Burgh caſtell, where it meeteth with the Hiere, & from thenceforth accompanieth it (as I ſaid) vnto the ſea. Willingham water commeth by Henſted, Einſted, or Enſtate, and falleth into the ſea by ſouth of Keſland.

Thurinus. Wauen. Bure. Vrus. Einus. Fritha.

The Cokell riſeth ſouth ſouthweſt of Cokeleie towne in Blithe hundred, & neere vnto Haſkelworth it meeteth with the rill that commeth from Wiſſet, and ſo going on togither by Wenhaſton, and Bliborow, it falleth into the ſea at an hauen betweene Roidon and Walderſwicke. A little rill runneth alſo thereinto from Elſton by Solwold, and another from Dunwich, by Walderſwike: and hereby it wanteth little that Elſton Neſſe is not cut off and made a prætie Iland.

Cokelus.

The Ford riſeth at Porford, and going by Forderleie, and Theberton, it falleth at laſt into the Piſmere creeke. Into the Orford hauen runneth one water comming from Aldborow ward, by a narrow paſſage from the north into the ſouth. By weſt thereof (when we are paſt a little Ile) it receiueth the ſecond, deſcending from betweene Talington and Framingham in Plomes hundred; which coming at laſt to Marleford, meeteth with a rill ſouthweſt of Farnham called the Gleme (that commeth by Kendleſham, the Gleinhams) and ſo paſſing forth, it taketh another at Snapeſbridge, comming from Carleton by Sarmundham, Sternefield & Snape. Then going to Iken (where it meeteth with the third

Ford. Orus. Fromus. Glema.

rill

Iken, or Ike. rill at the weſt ſide) it fetcheth a compaſſe by Sudburne eaſt of Oxford, and ſo into the hauen. Nert vnto this by weſt of Oxford, there runneth vp another creeke by Butleie, whereinto the waters comming from Celleſford, and from the Ike, do run both in one bottome. And thus much of Oxford hauen.

Deua. The Deue riſeth in Debenham, in the hundred of Hertesmere, and from thence goeth to Wickford, Winſton, Cretingham, Lethyngham, Wickham, hitherto ſkill creeping toward the ſouth: but then going in maner full ſouth, it runneth nere vnto Aſh, Rendleſham, Ufford, Pelton, and Woodbridge, beneath which it receiueth on the weſt ſide, a water comming of two heads, wherof one is by north from Otelcie, and the other by ſouth from Henleis, which ioining weſt of Hertelſham, go vnto the ſaid towne and ſo into the Deue, eaſt of Hertelſham aboueſaid.

Clarus fons. From thence the Deue goeth by Waldingfield and Henleis, and meeting ſome after with Brightwell broke, it haſteth into the maine ſea, leauing Bawdſeie on the eaſt, where the fall therof is called Bawdſeie hauen.

Urus. Ure riſeth not farre from Bacton, in Hertesmere hundred, and thence deſcendeth into Stow hundred by Gipping Newton, Dagworth, Stow (beneath which it meeteth with a water comming from Rattleſden, by one houſe) and ſo going on to Nedeham (through Boſmere and Claydon hundreds) to Blakenham, Bramford, Ypſwich, receiuing beneath Stoke, which lieth ouer againſt Ypſwich, the Chatſham water, that goeth by Belſted, and ſo into the Ure, at the mouth whereof is a marueilous deepe and large pit, whereof ſome marriners ſaie that they could neuer find the bottome, and therefore calling it a well, and ioining the name of the riuer withall, it commeth to paſſe that the hauen there is called Ure well, for which in theſe daies we do pronounce it Orwell. Into this hauen alſo the Sture or Stoure hath readie paſſage, which remaineth in this treatiſe next of all to be deſcribed.

Sturus. The Sture or Stoure parteth Eſſex from Suffolke, as Houeden ſaith, and experience confirmeth. It ariſeth in Suffolke, out of a lake nere vnto a towne called Stourmere. For although there come two rilles vnto the ſame, whereof the one deſcendeth from Thirlo, the Wratings and Ketton, the other from Horſhed parke, by Hauerill, &c: yet in ſummer time they are often drie, ſo that they cannot be ſaid to be perpetuall heads vnto the aforeſaid riuer. The Stoure therefore (being, as I take it, called by Ptolomie, Edomania, for thereon toward the mouth ſtandeth a prettie towne named Manitree, which carieth ſome ſhadow of that ancient name thereof vnto this daie, if my coniecture be any thing) ariſeth at Stouremere, which is a pole conteining twentie acres of ground at the leaſt, the one ſide whereof is full of alders, the other of reeds, wherin the great ſtore of fiſh there bred, is not a little ſuccoured. From this mere alſo it goeth to Bathorne bridge, to Stocke clare, Cawndith, Pentlo, Paules Beauchampe, Milford, Foxerth, Bureleie, Sudburie, Bures, Borſted, Stoke, Nailand, Lanham, Dedham, Strotford, eaſt Barfold, Brampton, Manitree, Catwade bridge, and ſo into the ſea, where in the verie fall alſo it ioineth with Orwell hauen, ſo neere that of manie they are reputed as one, and parted but by a ſhingle that doth run along betweene them: neither doth it paſſe cleere in this voiage, but as it were often occupied by the waie, in receiuing ſundrie brookes and rilles not here to be omitted.

For on Eſſex ſide it hath one from Pemſted, which goeth by Bumſted, and Birdbrooke: another riſing ſhort of Foxerth, that runneth by water Beauchampe, Brundon, and falleth into the ſame at Badlington, weſt of Sudburie: and the third that glideth by Horkeleie, and meeteth withall weſt of Borſted. On the north, or vpon Suffolke ſide, it receiueth one deſcending from Catiledge, by Bradleie, Thurlow, Wratting, Riddington, and at Hauerell falleth into this Sture. The ſecond deſcendeth northward from Poſling field, and ioineth therewith eaſt of Clare. It was in old time called Cicux or Ceuxis, and it meeteth with the Stoure in ſuch wiſe that they ſeeme to make a right angle, in the point almoſt wherof ſtandeth a ruinous caſtell. Howbeit as ſithence which time this water (in ſome mens iudgement) hath beene named Clarus (not ſo much for the greatneſſe as clearenelle of the ſtreame) euen ſo the Stoure it ſelfe was alſo called Ens as they ſay, and after their confluence the whole Clarens, which giueth denomination to a duchie of this Iland of no ſmall fame and honour. But theſe are but meere fables, ſith the word Clare is deriued from the towne, wherein was an houſe of religion erected to one Clara, and Clarens brought from the ſame, becauſe of an honour the prince had in thoſe parties: which may ſuffice to know from whence the name proceedeth. The third ariſeth of two heads, whereof one commeth from Wickham brooke, the other from Chedbar in Kilbie hundred, and ioining about Stanfield, it goeth by Hawton, Somerton, Borſted, Stanſted, and north of Foxerth falleth into Stoure. The fourth iſſueth from betweene the Waldingfields, and goeth by Edwardſtone, Borſted, Alington, Polſted, Stoke, and ſo at ſouth Borſted falleth into the ſame. The fift riſeth northweſt of Cockefield, and goeth to Cockefield, Laneham, Brimleie, Midling, and receiuing Kettle Bacton water ſouthweſt of Chelſworth (and likewiſe the Breton that commeth from Bretenham, by Hitcheham, and Biſſeton ſtreet on the ſouth eaſt of the ſame towne) it goeth in by Nedging, Aldham, Hadleie, Lainham, Shellie, Higham, and ſo into the Stoure. The firſt is a little rill deſcending ſouthweſt from Chappell. The ſeuenth riſeth betweene Chappell and Bentleie, and going betweene Tatingſton, and Whetſted, Holbrooke, and Sutton, it falleth at length into Stoure, and from thence is neuer heard of. Kettle bacton

Deleie. As for Deleie Rill, that riſeth betweene Deleie, and Wikes parkes, and ſo goeth into the Stoure, on Eſſex ſide, weſt of Harwich, and eaſt of Ree Ile; I paſſe it ouer, becauſe it is of it ſelfe but a rill, and not of anie greatneſſe, till it come to the mill aboue Ramſeie bridge, where I was once almoſt drowned (by reaſon of the ruinous bridge which leadeth ouer the ſtreame being there verie great) as an arme of the ſea that continuallie ebbeth & floweth. Nert vnto this, we came to another that runneth ſouth of Beaumont by Moſſe, and falleth into the ſea about the middeſt of the Bale, betwixt Harwich and the Naze. Betwixt the Naze alſo and the mouth of Colne, is another rill, which riſeth at little Bentleie, and thence goeth to Tendring thorpe, through Clacton parke by great Holland, and eaſt of little Holland, into the deepe ſea. Wecta. Clacc.

Colunus. The Colne hath three heads, whereof one is at Ovington that goeth by Tilberie, and eaſt of Peldam falleth into the chiefe head which riſeth about Redgewell in Eſſex, from whence alſo it goeth to Peldam and Hedingham, otherwiſe called Yngham: alſo Hedningham or Heuedingham, or Heuedingham of the ſuperfluitie which accrued thereunto, becauſe the chiefe lords of the ſame from time to time kept reſidence in the towne. For Heued or Hed ſignifieth the chiefe, in the old Engliſh language, which in the name of this and manie other townes and villages yet ſtanding in England cannot eſſie be forgotten.

The

The third falleth in ſouth of Peldam, and being once met all in one chanell, and called the Colne, it goeth (as I ſaid) to Hedningham, Hawſted, Erles Colne, Wakes Colne, Fordon, Bardfold, Colcheſter, in old time Camalodunum, and ſo into the ſea at Bzickleſeie. Some thinke that Colcheſter and Camalodunum are ſundzie cities and ſituat in diuerſe places whereby Maldon (oz Ithancester out of whoſe ruines the ſaid towne of Maldon was erected) ſhould rather be Camalodunum than Colcheſter, but hereof I cannot iudge. Indeed if (as Leland ſaith) Maldon ſhould be written Malodunum, it were a likelihod that there aſſertions ſhould be pzobable. Some reaſon alſo may be gathered foz the ſame out of Dion, and ſuch as make the Thames mouth to take his beginning at Colcheſter water. But I dare not pzeſume to conclude any thing hereof, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme raſhlie to take hold of euerie coniecture. This I relie vpon rather as a moze certeintie, that in the firſt edition of this treatiſe I was perſuaded, that the ſea entring by the Colne made thzée ſeuerall paſſages frō thence into the land: but now I vnderſtand that theſe are ſeuerall entrances and ſtreames, of which the Colne is one, another is the Salcote water, which commeth in beneath the Stroud (a cauſeie that leadeth vnto Merſeie Ile, ouer which the ſea meteth with a contrarie courſe) and the third the faire arme that floweth vnto Maldon, and all theſe thzée haue their falles either ouer againſt oz neere vnto the afozeſaid Ile, which at a low water is not halfe a mile from the ſhoze. Into the Colne oz Colunus alſo (whereof Leland thinketh Colcheſter to take his name, and not *A colonia Romanorum*, although I may not conſent to him herein) dw run manie ſalt creekes beneath Fingering ho, of whoſe names ſith I dw not know, noz whether they be ſerued with anie backewaters oz not, I giue ouer to intreat anie further & likewiſe of their poſitions. Into that of Maldon runneth manie faire waters, whereof I will ſaie ſo much as I know to be true in maner by experience.

Gwin oz Pant. There is a pzetie water that beginneth neere vnto Gwinbach oz Winbeche church in Eſſer, a towne of old, and yet belonging to the Fitzwaters, taking name of Gwin, which is beautifull oz faire, & Bache that ſignifieth a wod: and not without cauſe, ſith not onelie the hilles on ech ſide of the ſaid rillet, but all the whole paroch hath ſometime abounded in woods; but now in manner they are vtterlie decaied, as the like commoditie is euerie where, not onelie thorough exceſſiue building foz pleaſure moze than pzofit, which is contrarie to the ancient end of building; but alſo foz moze increaſe of paſture & commoditie to the lozds of the ſoile, through their ſales of that emolument, whereby the powze tenants are inforced to buie their fewell, and yet haue their rents in triple maner inhanced.) This ſaid bzoke runneth directlie from thence vnto Radwinter, now a parcell of your lozdſhips poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, deſcended from the Chamberleins, who were ſometime cheefe owners of the ſame. By the waie alſo it is increaſed with ſundzie pzetie ſpzings, of which Pantwell is the cheefe (whereof ſome thinke the whole bzoke to be named Pant) and which (to ſaie the truth) hath manie a leaſing fathered on the ſame. Certes by the repozt of common fame it hath beene a pzetie water, and of ſuch quantitie, that botes haue come in time paſt from Bilie abbeie beſide Maldon vnto the mozes in Radwinter foz corne. I haue heard alſo that an anchoz was found there neere to a red willow, when the water-courſes by act of parlement were ſurueied and reformed throughout England, which maketh not a little with the afozeſaid relation. But this is ſtrangeſt of all, that a lozd ſometime of Winbech (ſurnamed the great eater, becauſe he would breake his faſt with a whole calfe, and find no bones therein as the fable goeth) falling at contention with the lozd John of Radwinter, could wozke him none other iniurie, but by ſtopping vp the head of Pantwell, to put by the vſe of a mill which ſtood by the church of Radwinter, and was ſerued by that bzoke abundantlie. Certes I know the place where the mill ſtood, and ſome poſts thereof do yet remaine. But ſee the malice of mankind, whereby one becommeth a wolfe vnto the other in their miſchæuous modes. Foz when the lozd ſaw his mill to be ſo ſpoiled, he in reuenge of his loſſe, bzake the necke of his aduerſarie, when he was going to hozſebacke, as the conſtant repozt affirmeth. Foz the lozd of Radwinter holding a parcell of his manour of Radwinter hall of the Fitzwaters, his ſonne was to hold his ſtirrop at certeine times when he ſhould demand the ſame. Shewing himſelfe therefoze preſt on a time to dw his ſaid ſeruice, as the Fitzwater was readie to liſt his leg ouer the ſaddle, he by putting backe his fwt, gaue him ſuch a thzuſt that he fell backward, and bzake his necke: whereupon inſued great trouble, till the matter was taken vp by publike authoritie; and that ſeruile office conuerted into a pound of pepper, which is truelie paid to this daie. But to leaue theſe impertinent diſcourſes, and returne againe to the ſpzings whereby our Pant oz Gwin is increaſed. There is likewiſe another in a paſture belonging to the Grange, now in poſſeſſion of William Bird eſquier, who holdeth the ſame in the right of his wife, but in time paſt belonging to Tilteie abbeie. The third commeth out of the yard of one of your lozdſhips manozs there called Radwinter hall. The fourth from John Cockſwets houſe, named the Rotherwell, which running vnder Rothers bzidge, meeteth with the Gwin oz Pant on the nozthweſt end of Ferrants meade, ſoutheaſt of Radwinter church, whereof I haue the charge by your honours fauourable preferment.

I might take occaſion to ſpeake of another rill which falleth into the Rother from Bendiſh hall: but becauſe it is foz the moſt part dzie in ſummer I paſſe it ouer. Yet I will not omit to ſpeake alſo of the manoz which was the chiefe lozdſhip ſometime of a pariſh oz hamlet called Bendiſhes, now wozne out of knowledge, and vnited partlie to Radwinter, and partlie to Aſhdon. It belonged firſt to the Bendiſhes gentlemen of a verie ancient houſe yet extant, of which one laieng the ſaid manour to mozgage to the monks of Feuertham, at ſuch time as K. Edward the third went to the ſiege of Calis, thereby to furniſh himſelfe the better toward the ſeruice of his pzince, it came to paſſe that he ſtaied longer beyond the ſea than he ſuppoſed. Whereupon he came befoze his daie to confer with his creditozs, who commending his care to come out of debt, willed him in friendlie maner not to ſuſpect anie hard dealing on their behalfes, conſidering his buſineſſe in ſeruice of the king was of it ſelfe cauſe ſufficient, to excuſe his delaie of paiment vpon the daie aſſigned. Hereupon he went ouer againe vnto the ſiege of Calis. But when the day came, the monks foz all this made ſeiſure of the manour, and held it continuallie without anie further recompenſe, maugre all the friendſhip that the afozſaid Bendiſh could make. The ſaid gentleman alſo tooke this couſening part in ſuch choler, that he wzote a note yet to be ſeene among his euidences, whereby he admoniſheth his poſteritie to beware how they truſt either knaue monke oz knaue frier, as one of the name and deſcended from him by lineall deſcent hath moze than once informed me. Now to reſume our ſpzings that meet and ſoine with our Pant.

The nert is named Froſhwell. And of this ſpzing Froſhwell. doth

doth the whole hundred beare the name; after this confluence the riuer it ſelfe whereunto it falleth (from hence forth ſo farre as I can remember. Certes, all theſe, ſauing the firſt and ſeconde, are within your lordſhips towne aforeſaid. The ſtreame therfore running from hence (now, as I ſaid, called Frothwell, of Froth, which ſignifieth a frog) hafteth immediatlie vnto old Sandford, then through new Sandford parke, and afterward with full ſtreame (receiuing by the waie, the Finch brooke that commeth thorough Finchingfield) to Shalford, Bocking, Stiſted, Paſlwe, and ſo to Blackewater, where the name of Froſhwell ceaſeth; the water being from henceforth (as I heare) commonlie called Blackwater, vntill it come to Maldon, where it falleth into the ſalt arme of the ſea that beateth vpon the towne; and which of ſome (except I be deceiued) is called alſo Pant: and ſo much the rather I make this coniecture, for that Thanceſter ſtood ſomewhere vpon the banks thereof, in the hundred of Dancleie, whoſe ruines (as they ſaie) alſo are ſwalowed vp by the ſaid ſtreame, which can not be verified in our riuer that runneth from Pantwell, which at the mouth and fall into the great current, exceedeth not (to my coniecture) aboue one hundred foot. But to returne to our Pant, *alias* the Gwin. From Blackwater it goeth to Coxall, Eaſterford, Wraſted and Wickham, where it meeteth with the Barus, and ſo going togither as one, they deſcend to Heiebridge, and finallie into the ſalt water aboue Maldon, and at hand as is aforeſaid. As

Barus. for the Barus, it riſeth in a ſtatelie parke of Eſſex called Bardfield, belonging to ſir Thomas Wroth whileſt he liued, who hath it to him and his heires males for euer, from the crowne. Being riſen, it hafteth directlie to old Saling Braincree, croſſing a rillet by the waie comming from Raine, blacke Notleie, white Notleie, Falkeburne, Wittham, and falleth into the Blackewater beneath Wraſted on the ſouth.

Chelmer. Beſide this, the ſaid Pant or Gwin receiueth the Chelme or Chelmer, which ariſeth alſo in Wimbech aforeſaid, where it hath two heads: of which the one is not farre from Brodockes (where maſter Thomas Wiſeman eſquier dwelleth) the other nigh vnto a farme called Highams in the ſame paroch, and ioining yer long in one chanell, they hie them toward Thacſted vnder Pownds bridge, meeting in the waie with a rill comming from Boiton end, whereby it is ſomewhat increaſed. Being paſt Thacſted, it goeth by Tilteie, and ſoone after receiueth one rill which

Lind's. riſeth on the north ſide of Lindſell, & falleth into the Chelmer by northeaſt at Tilteie aforeſaid, & another cõming from ſouthweſt, riſing ſoutheaſt from Lindſell at much Eiſton. From thence then holding on ſtill with the courſe, it goeth to Candfield the more, Dunmow, little Dunmow, Falſted, Lies, both Waltams, Springfield, and ſo to Chelmereſford. Here vpon the ſouth ſide I find the iſſue of a water that riſeth fiue miles (or thereabouts) ſouth and by weſt of the ſaid towne, from whence it goeth to Dunaling, Buttesburie (there receiuing a rill from by weſt, to Ingatſtone, Marget Inge, Widford bridge, Writtle bridge, and ſo to Chelmereſford (croſſing alſo the ſecond water that deſcendeth from Roxford

Roxford. ſouth weſt of Writtle by the waie) whereof let this ſuffice.

From hence the Chelmer goeth directlie toward Maldon by Badow, Owting, Woodham water, Bilie, and ſo to Blackwater northweſt of Maldon, receiuing neuertheleſſe yer it come fullie thither, a becke alſo that goeth from Lee parke, to little Lees,

Lee. great Lees, Hatfield, Peuerell, Owting, and ſo into Blackwater (whereof I ſpake before) as Maldon ſtreame doth a rill from by ſouth ouer againſt ſaint Oſithes, and alſo another by Wradwell. After which the ſaid ſtreame growing alſo to be verie great, paſſeth by the Tollhunts, Tolleſbie, and ſo forth into the maine ſea nere vnto Merſcie: betweene which fall and the place where Salute water entreth into the land, Plautus abode the comming of Claudius ſometime into Britaine, when he being hardlie beſet, did ſend vnto him for aid and ſpeedie ſuccour, who alſo being come did not onelie reſcue his legat, but in like manner wan Colcheſter, and put it to the ſpoile, if it be Camalodunum.

Barne. The Barne riſeth ſomewhere about Ronwell, and thence goeth to Hull bridge, ſouth Fambridge, Kirkeſhot ferrie, and ſo to Foulneſſe. And as this is the ſhort courſe of that riuer, ſo it brancheth, and the ſouth arme thereof receiueth a water comming from Haukewell, to great Stanbridge, and beneath Pakeham doth meet by ſouth with the ſaid arme, and ſo finiſh vp his courſe, as we do our voiage alſo about the coaſt of England.

Thus haue I finiſhed the deſcription of ſuch riuers and ſtreames as fall into the Ocean, according to my purpoſe, although not in ſo preciſe an order and manner of handling as I might, if information promiſed had been accordinglie performed; or others would, if they had taken the like in hand. But this will I ſaie of that which is here done, that from the Soluete by weſt, which parteth England & Scotland on that ſide; to the Twede, which ſeparateth the ſaid kingdoms on the eaſt: if you go backeward, contrarie to the courſe of my deſcription, you ſhall find it ſo exact, as beſide a verie few by-riuers, you ſhall not need to vſe anie further aduiſe for the finding and falles of the aforeſaid ſtreames. For ſuch hath been my helpe of maiſter Sackfords cardes, and conference with other men about theſe, that I dare pronounce them to be perfect and exact. Furthermore, this I haue alſo to remember, that in the courſes of our ſtreames, I regard not ſo much to name the verie towne or church, as the limits of the paroch. And therefore if I ſaie it goeth by ſuch a towne, I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I hit vpon anie part or parcell of the paroch. This alſo hath not a little troubled me, I meane the euill writing of the names of manie townes and villages: of which I haue noted ſome one man, in the deſcription of a riuer, to write one towne two or three manner of waies, whereby I was inforced to chooſe one (at aduenture moſt commonlie) that ſeemed the likelieſt to be found in mine opinion and iudgement.

Finallie, whereas I minded to ſet downe an eſpeciall chapter of ports and creeks, lieng on each coaſt of the Engliſh part of this Ile; and had prouided the ſame in ſuch wiſe as I iudged moſt conuenient: it came to paſſe, that the greater part of my labour was taken from me by ſtealth, and therefore as diſcouraged to meddle with that argument, I would haue giuen ouer to ſet downe anie thing therefore at all: and ſo much the rather, for that I ſee it may proue a ſpurre vnto further miſchefe, as things come to paſſe in theſe daies. Neuertheleſſe, becauſe a little thereof is paſſed in the beginning of the booke, I will ſet downe that parcell thereof which remaineth, leauing the ſupplie of the reſt either to my ſelfe hereafter, (if I may come by it) or to ſome other that can better performe the ſame.

Of

Of ſuch ports and creeks as our ſea-faring-men doo note for their benefit vpon the coaſts of England.

Chap. 17.

IT maie be that I haue in theſe former chapters omitted ſundrie hauens to be found vpon the ſhore of England, and ſome of them ſerued with backe waters, through want of ſound and ſufficient information from ſuch as haue written vnto me of the ſame. In recompenſe whereof I haue thought good to adde this chapter of ports and creekes, whereby (ſo farre as to me is poſſible) I ſhall make ſatisfaction of mine ouerſights. And albeit I cannot (being too too much abuſed by ſome that haue beereft me of my notes in this behalfe) bring my purpoſe to paſſe for all the whole coaſt of England round about, from Berwike to the Solue: yet I will not let to ſet downe ſo much as by good hap remaineth, whereby my countriemen ſhall not altogither want that benefit, hoping in time to recouer alſo the reſt, if God grant life and good ſucceſſe thereto.

Northumberland. In Northumberland therefore we haue Berwike, Holie Iland, Bamborow, Bedwell, Donſtanborow, Cocket Iland, Warkeworth, Newbiggin, Almow, Blithes nuke, and Tinmouth hauen.

Durham. In the biſhoprie, Sonderland, Stocketon, Hartlepole, Theſe.

Yorkeſhire. In Yorkeſhire, Dapnam ſands, Steningreene, Staies, Runſwike, Robinhods baie, Whitbie, Scarborow, Fileie, Flamborow, Bridlington, Horneſeie becke, Siſſer kirke, Kelſeie, Cliffe, Pattenton, Holmes, Kenningham, Pall, Hidon, Hulbrige, Beuerleie, Hull, Haſell, Northferebie, Bucke creeke, Blacke coſt, Wretheil, Howden.

Lincolneſhire. In Lincolneſhire, Selbie, Snepe, Turnebrige, Rodiffe, Catebie, Stockwith, Torkeſeie, Gainſborow, Southferebie, Barton a good point, Barrow a good hauen, Skatermill a good port, Penningham, Stalingborow a good hauen, Gutmbie a good port, Clie, March chappell, Saltfleete, Wilgripe, Mapleford, ſaint Clements, Wenfleete, Friſcon, Toſt, Skerbike, Boſton, Frompton, Wolnerton, Folſedike a good hauen.

Northfolke. In Northfolke, Linne a good hauen, Snatchham, Hitchham, Delingham good, Rhunſtone, Thorneham good, Brankeſter good, Burnham good, with diuers townes and villages thereto belonging, Welles good, Strikeie, Parſton, Blakeleie towne, Withon Claie, Blakelie hauen good, Salthouſe creeke, Sheringham hith, Roughton, Cromer, Beſton, Trinningham, Pounſleie, Bromwall, Haſeborow, Wakelham, Eckelles, Winterton, Culker, Helmeſleie, Okell, Upton, Waibridge, Yarmouth, good all the waie to Norwich, with diuerſe villages on the riuer ſide.

Suffolke. In Suffolke, Becles, Bongeie, Southton, Corton, Gorton, Laiſtow a good port, Kirtill, Pakefield, Kaſſeldon, Blibrow, Coſſe hith, Eſton, Walderſwic, Donewich, Swold hauen, Siſewell, Thorpe, Alborow, Orford a good hauen, Balſeie good, Felixſtow, Colneie, Syroten, Ypſwich, Downambridge good, Pinnemill, Shoteleie, Cataweie, Barfold.

Eſſex. In Eſſex we haue Dedham, Maning tree, Thorne, Wrabbeſnes, Ramſeie, Harwich, Douercourt, Handford, Okeleie, Kirbie, Thorpe, Brichwill, Walton mill, Walton hall, Canfleete, Newhauen good, S. Oſithes, Bentleie good, Bricleſeie, Thorlington (where good ſhips of a hundred tun or more be made) Aldford, Mituenhall, Colcheſter, Cold hith, Rough hedge, Fingering ho, eaſt Perſeie, weſt Perſeie, Halcot, Goldanger, Borow, Maldon, Stanſgate, Sudmeſter, S. Peters, Burnham, Criſeie, Aldon, Clements greene, Hulbridge, Paceſton, Barling, litle Wakering, much Wakering, ſouth Southburie, Wakeringham, Pelton, Paper hill, or Lee, Beamfleete, Pidleie range, Fobbing, Hadleie good, Shucking, Stanford, and Tilberie ferrie.

Criacht.

Kent. In Kent, Yarling, Cliffe, Canfleete, Stokehow, Snodland, Pelhall, Paddton, Aileſford, New hith, Rocheſter, Gelingham, Keinham, Upchurch, Halſted, Quinborow, Milton, Feuerſham, Whitſaple, Yerne, Margate, Brodeſtaier, Ramſgate; and manie of theſe good creekes: alſo Sandwich, Douer, Hide, reaſonable ports, although none of the beſt.

Suſſex. In Suſſex we haue Smalade with the creekes adioining to the ſame, Rivon, Apledoure, Rie a good hauen, and Winchelſeie nothing at all inferiour to the ſame, and ſo manie ſhires onelie are left vnto me at this time, wherefore of force I muſt abruptlie leaue off to deale anie further with the reſt, whoſe knowledge I am right ſure would haue beene profitable: and for the which I hoped to haue reaped great thankes at the hands of ſuch ſea-faring-men, as ſhould haue had vſe hereof.

Deſunt cætera.

Of the aire, ſoile, and commodities *of this Iland.*

Cap. 18.

THe aire (for the moſt part) throughout the Iland is ſuch, as by reaſon in maner of continuall clouds, is reputed to be groſſe, and nothing ſo pleaſant as that is of the maine. Howbeit, as they which affirme theſe things, haue onelie reſpect to the impediment or hinderance of the ſunne beames, by the interpoſition of the clouds and oft ingroſſed aire: ſo experience teacheth vs, that it is no leſſe pure, wholeſome, and commodious, than is that of other countries, and (as Cæſar himſelfe hereto addeth) much more temperate in ſummer than that of the Galles, from whom he aduentured hither. Neither is there anie thing found in the aire of our region, that is not vſuallie ſeene amongſt other nations lieng beyond the ſeas. Wherefore, we muſt needs confeſſe, that the ſituation of our Iland (for benefit of the heauens) is nothing inferiour to that of anie countrie of the maine, where ſo euer it lie vnder the open firmament. And this Plutarch knew full well, who affirmeth a part of the Eliſian fields to be found in Britaine, and the Iles that are ſituate about it in the Ocean.

The aire of Britaine.

Marle.

Plentie riuers.

Hilles.

The ſoile of Britaine is ſuch, as by the teſtimonies and reports both of the old and new writers, and experience alſo of ſuch as now inhabit the ſame, is verie fruitfull; and ſuch in deed as bringeth forth manie commodities, whereof other countries haue need, and yet it ſelfe (if fond nicenelle were abolished) needleſſe of thoſe that are daillie brought from other places. Neuertheleſſe it is more inclined to feeding and graſing, than profitable for tillage, and bearing of corne; by reaſon whereof the countrie is wonderfullie replenished with neat, and all kind of cattell: and ſuch ſtore is there alſo of the ſame in euerie place, that the fourth part of the land is ſcarſelie manured for the prouiſion and maintenance of graine. Certes

The ſoile.

(*) Her

this

this fruitfulneſſe was not vnknowne vnto the Britons long before Cæſars time, which was the cauſe wherefore our predeceſſors liuing in thoſe daies in maner neglected tillage, and liued by feeding and graſing onelie. The graſiers themſelues alſo then dwelled in moueable villages by companies, whoſe cuſtome was to diuide the ground amongſt them, and each one not to depart from the place where his lot laie (a thing much like to the Irith Criacht) till by eating vp of the countrie about him, he was inforced to remoue further, and ſeeke for better paſture. And this was the Britiſh cuſtome (as I learne) at firſt. It hath béene commonlie reported, that the ground of Wales is neither ſo fruitfull as that of England, neither the ſoile of Scotland ſo bountifull as that of Wales: which is true, for corne and for the moſt part: otherwiſe, there is ſo good ground in ſome parts of Wales, as is in England, albeit the beſt of Scotland be ſcarſelie comparable to the meane of either of both. Howbeit, as the bountie of the Scotiſh doth faile in ſome reſpect, ſo doth it ſurmount in other; God and nature hauing not appointed all countries to yéeld forth like commodities.

Criacht.

But where our ground is not ſo good as we would wiſh, we haue (if néed be) ſufficient helpe to cheriſh our ground withall, and to make it more fruitfull, For beſide the compoſt that is carried out of the husbandmens yards, ditches, ponds, dowehouſes, or cities and great townes: we haue with vs a kind of white marle, which is of ſo great force, that if it be caſt ouer a péece of land but once in three ſcore years, it ſhall not néed of anie further compoſting. Hereof alſo doth Plinie ſpeake, lib. 17. cap. 6, 7, 8, where he affirmeth that our marle indureth vpon the earth by the ſpace of foureſcore yeares: inſomuch that it is laid vpon the ſame but once in a mans life, whereby the owner ſhall not néed to trauell twiſe in procuring to commend and better his ſoile. He calleth it Marga, and making diuerſe kinds thereof, he finallie commendeth ours, and that of France, aboue all other, which lieth ſometime a hundred foot déepe, and farre better than the ſcattering of chalke vpon the ſame, as the Hedui and Pictones did in his time, or as ſome of our daies alſo do practiſe: albeit diuerſe do like better to caſt on lime, but it will not ſo long indure, as I haue heard reported.

Marle.

Plentie of riuers.

There are alſo in this Iland great plentie of freſh riuers and ſtreames, as you haue heard alreadie, and theſe throughlie fraught with all kinds of delicate fiſh accuſtomed to be found in riuers. The whole Ile likewiſe is verie full of hilles, of which ſome (though not verie manie) are of exceeding heigth, and diuerſe extending themſelues verie far from the beginning; as we may ſee by Shoters hill, which riſing eaſt of London, and not farre from the Thames, runneth along the ſouth ſide of the Iland weſtward, vntill it come to Cornewall. Like vnto theſe alſo are the Crowdon hils, which though vnder diuers names (as alſo the other from the Peke) do run into the borders of Scotland. What ſhould I ſpeake of the Cheuiot hilles, which reach twentie miles in length? of the blacke mounteines in Wales, which go from (*) to (*) miles at the leaſt in length? of the Cle hilles in Shropſhire, which come within foure miles of Ludlow, and are diuided from ſome part of Worceſter by the Teme? of the Grames in Scotland, and of our Chiltren, which are eightéene miles at the leaſt from one end of them, which reach from Henlie in Oxfordſhire to Dunſtable in Bedfordſhire, and are verie well replenithed with wood and corne? notwithſtanding that the moſt part yéeld a ſweet ſhort graſſe, profitable for ſheepe. Wherein albeit they of Scotland do ſomewhat come behind vs, yet their outward defect is inwardlie recompenſed, not onelie with plentie of quarries (and thoſe of ſundrie kinds of marble, hard ſtone, and fine alabaſter) but alſo rich mines of mettall, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter.

Hilles.

(*) Here lacks

In this Iland likewiſe the winds are commonlie more ſtrong and fierce, than in anie other places of the maine, which Cardane alſo eſpied: and that is often ſéene vpon the naked hilles, not garded with trées to beare and kéepe it off. That grieuous inconuenience alſo inforceth our nobilitie, gentrie, and communaltie, to build their houſes in the vallies, leauing the high grounds vnto their corne and cattell, leaſt the cold and ſtormie blaſts of winter ſhould bréed them greater annoiance: whereas in other regions each one deſireth to ſet his houſe aloft on the hill, not onlie to be ſéene a farre off, and caſt forth his beames of ſtatelie and curious workemanſhip into euerie quarter of the countrie; but alſo (in hot habitations) for colonelle ſake of the aire, ſith the heat is neuer ſo vehement on the hill top as in the vallie, becauſe the reuerberation of the ſunne beames either reacheth not ſo farre as the higheſt, or elſe becommeth not ſo ſtrong as when it is reflected vpon the lower ſoile.

Winds.

Building.

But to leaue our buildings vnto the purpoſed place (which notwithſtanding haue verie much increaſed, I meane for curioſitie and coſt, in England, Wales, and Scotland, within theſe few yeares) and to returne to the ſoile againe. Certeinelie it is euen now in theſe our daies growne to be much more fruitfull, than it hath béene in times paſt. The cauſe is for that our countriemen are growne to be more painefull, ſkilfull, and carefull through recompenſe of gaine, than heretofore they haue béene: inſomuch that my Synchroni or time fellows can reape at this preſent great commoditie in a little rome; whereas of late yeares, a great compaſſe hath yéelded but ſmall profit, and this onelie through the idle and negligent occupation of ſuch, as dailie manured and had the ſame in occupieng. I might ſet downe examples of theſe things out of all the parts of this Iland, that is to ſaie, manie of England, more out of Scotland, but moſt of all out of Wales: in which two laſt rehearſed, verie little other food and liuelihood was wont to be loked for (beſide fleſh) more than the ſoile of it ſelfe, and the cow gaue; the people in the meane time liuing idelie, diſſolutelie, and by picking and ſtealing one from another. All which vices are now (for the moſt part) relinquiſhed, ſo that each nation manureth hir owne with triple commoditie, to that it was before time.

Husbandrie amended.

The paſture of this Iland is according to the nature and bountie of the ſoile, whereby in moſt places it is plentifull, verie fine, batable, and ſuch as either fatteth our cattell with ſpeed, or yéeldeth great abundance of milke and creame: whereof the yelloweſt butter and fineſt chéeſe are made. But where the blue claie aboundeth (which hardlie drinketh vp the winters water in long ſeaſon) there the graſſe is ſpearie, rough, and verie apt for buſhes: by which occaſion it commeth nothing ſo profitable vnto the owner as the other. The beſt paſture ground of all England is in Wales, & of all the paſture in Wales that of Cardigan is the cheeſe. I ſpeake of the ſame which is to be found in the mounteines there, where the hundred part of the graſſe growing is not eaten, but ſuffered to rot on the ground, whereby the ſoile becommeth matted, and diuerſe bogges and quicks mores made withall in long continuance: becauſe all the cattell in the countrie are not able to eat it downe. If it be to be accompted good ſoile, on which a man may laie a wand ouer night, and on the morow find it hidden and ouergrowen with graſſe: it is not hard to find plentie thereof in manie places of this land. Neuertheles, ſuch is the fruitfulnes of the

Paſture.

aforeſaid

aforſaid countie that it farre ſurmounteth this proportion, whereby it may be compared for batablenſſe with Italie, which in my time is called the paradiſe of the world, although by reaſon of the wickednеſſe of ſuch as dwell therein it may be called the ſinke and draine of hell: ſo that whereas they were wont to ſaie of vs that our land is good but our people euill, they did but onlie ſpeake it; whereas we know by experience that the ſoile of Italie is a noble ſoile, but the dwellers therein farre off from anie vertue or goodneſſe.

Meadowes. Our meadowes, are either bottomes (whereof we haue great ſtore, and thoſe verie large, becauſe our ſoile is hillie) or elſe ſuch as we call land meads, and borrowed from the beſt & fatteſt paſturages. The firſt of them are yearelie & often ouerflowen by the riſing of ſuch ſtreames as paſſe through the ſame, or violent falles of land-waters, that deſcend from the hils about them. The other are ſeldome or neuer ouerflowen, and that is the cauſe wherefore their graſſe is ſhorter than that of the bottomes, and yet is it farre more fine, wholeſome, and batable, ſith the haie of our low meadowes is not onelie full of ſandie cinder, which breedeth ſundrie diſeaſes in our cattell, but alſo more rowtie, foggie, and full of flags, and therefore not ſo profitable for ſtouer and forrage as the higher meads be. The difference furthermore in their commodities is great, for whereas in our land meadowes we haue not often aboue one good load of haie, or peraduenture a little more in an acre of ground (I vſe the word Carrucata or Carruca which is a waine load, and, as I remember, vſed by Plinie lib. 33. cap. 11.) in low meadowes we haue ſometimes three, but commonlie two or vpward, as experience hath oft confirmed.

Of ſuch as are twiſe mowed I ſpeake not, ſith their later math is not ſo wholſome for cattell as the firſt; although in the mouth more pleaſant for the time: for thereby they become oftentimes to be rotten, or to increaſe ſo faſt in bloud, that the garget and other diſeaſes doo conſume manie of them before the owners can ſeeke out anie remedie, by Phlebotomie or otherwiſe. Some ſuperſtitious fooles ſuppoſe that they which die of the garget are ridden with the night mare, and therefore they hang vp ſtones which naturallie haue holes in them, and muſt be found vnlooked for; as if ſuch a ſtone were an apt cocket hot for the diuell to run through and ſolace himſelfe withall, whileſt the cattell go ſcotfree and are not moleſted by him. But if I ſhould ſet downe but halfe the toies that ſuperſtition hath brought into our huſbandmens heads in this and other behalfes, it would aſke a greater volume than is conuenient for ſuch a purpoſe, wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much of theſe things.

Corne. The yeeld of our corne-ground is alſo much after this rate following. Through out the land (if you pleaſe to make an eſtimat thereof by the acre) in meane and indifferent yeares, wherein each acre of rie or wheat, well tilled and dreſſed, will yeeld commonlie ſirteene or twentie buſhels, an acre of barlie ſix and thirtie buſhels, of otes and ſuch like foure or fiue quarters, which proportion is notwithſtanding oft abated toward the north, as it is oftentimes ſurmounted in the ſouth. Of mixed corne, as peaſon and beanes, ſowen togither, tares and otes (which they call bulmong) rie and wheat named miſcelin here is no place to ſpeake, yet their yeeld is neuertheleſſe much after this proportion, as I haue often marked. And yet is not this our great foiſon comparable to that of hoter countries of the maine. But of all that euer I read, the increaſe which Eldred Danus writeth of in his *De imperio Iudæorum in Aethiopia* ſurmounteth, where he ſaith that in the field nere to the Sabbatike riuer, called in old time Goſan, the ground is ſo fertile, that euerie graine of barlie growing doth yeeld an hundred kernels at the leaſt vnto the owner.

Of late yeares alſo we haue found and taken vp a great trade in planting of hops, whereof our more hitherto and vnprofitable grounds doo yeeld ſuch plentie & increaſe, that their are few farmers or occupiers in the countrie, which haue not gardens and hops growing of their owne, and thoſe farre better than doo come from Flanders vnto vs. Certes the corruptions vſed by the Flemings, and forgerie dailie practiſed in this kind of ware, gaue vs occaſion to plant them here at home: ſo that now we may ſpare and ſend manie ouer vnto them. And this I know by experience, that ſome one man by conuerſion of his more grounds into hoppards, wherof before he had no commoditie, doth raiſe yearelie by ſo little as twelue acres in compaſſe two hundred markes; all charges borne toward the maintenance of his familie. Which induſtrie God continue! though ſome ſecret frends of Flemings let not to exclaime againſt this commoditie, as a ſpoile of wood, by reaſon of the poles, which neuertheleſſe after three yeares doo alſo come to the fire, and ſpare their other ſelwell.

The cattell which we breed are commonlie ſuch, as Cattell. for greatneſſe of bone, ſweetneſſe of fleſh, and other benefits to be reaped by the ſame, giue place vnto none other: as may appeare firſt by our oxen, whoſe largeneſſe, height, weight, tallow, hides, and hornes are ſuch, as none of anie other nation doo commonlie or may eaſilie exceed them. Our ſheepe likewiſe for good taſt of fleſh, quantitie of lims, fineſſe of fleece cauſed by their hardneſſe of paſturage, and abundance of increaſe (for in manie places they bring forth two or three at an eaning) giue no place vnto anie, more than doo our goates, who in like ſort doo follow the ſame order, and our deere come not behind. As for our conies, I haue ſeene them ſo fat in ſome ſoiles, eſpeciallie about Meall and Dilnege, that the greaſe of one being weighed, hath peiſed verie nere ſix or ſeuen ounces. All which benefits we firſt refer to the grace and goodneſſe of God, and next of all vnto the bountie of our ſoile, which he hath indued with ſo notable and commodious fruitfulneſſe. Meall and Dilnege.

But as I meane to intreat of theſe things more largelie hereafter, ſo will I touch in this place one benefit which our nation wanteth, and that is wine; Wine. the fault whereof is not in our ſoile, but the negligence of our countriemen (eſpeciallie of the ſouth partes) who doo not inure the ſame to this commoditie, and which by reaſon of long diſcontinuance, is now become vnapt to beare anie grapes almoſt for pleaſure & ſhadow, much leſſe then the plaine fields or ſeuerall vineyards for aduantage and commoditie. Yet of late time ſome haue aſſaied to deale for wine, as to your lordſhip alſo is right well knowen. But ſith that liquor when it commeth to the drinking hath bin found more hard, than that which is brought from beyond the ſea, and the coſt of planting and keeping thereof ſo chargeable, that they may buie it far better cheape from other countries: they haue giuen ouer their enterpriſes without anie conſideration, that as in all other things, ſo neither the ground it ſelfe in the beginning, nor ſucceſſe of their trauell can anſwer their expectation at the firſt, vntill ſuch time as the ſoile be brought as it were into acquaintance with this commoditie, and that prouiſion may be made for the more eaſineſſe of charge, to be imploied vpon the ſame.

If it be true, that where wine doth laſt and indure well, there it will grow no worſe: I muſe not a little wherefore the planting of vines ſhould be neglected in England. That this liquor might haue growne in this

wad. Madder Rape. Flax. Elegs.

this Iland heretofore, firſt the charter that Probus the emperour gaue equallie to vs, the Galles, and Spaniards, is one ſufficient teſtimonie. And that it did grow here, beſide the teſtimonie of Beda lib. 1. cap. 1. the old notes of tithes for wine that yet remaine in the accompts of ſome parſons and vicars in Kent, & elſewhere, beſides the records of ſundrie ſutes, commenſed in diuerſe eccleſiaſticall courts, both in Kent, Surrie, &c: alſo the incloſed parcels almoſt in euerie abbeie yet called the vineyardes, may be a notable witneſſe, as alſo the plot which we now call eaſt Smithfield in London giuen by Canutus ſometime king of this land, with other ſoile there about vnto certeine of his knights, with the libertie of a Guild which therof was called Knighten Guild. The truth is (ſaith Iohn Stow our countrie man, and diligent trauceller in the old eſtate of this my natiue citie) that it is now named Port ſoken ward, and giuen in time paſt to the religious houſe within Algate. Howbeit firſt Otwell, the Archouell, Otto, & finallie Geffrie erle of Eſſex conſtables of the Tower of London, withheld that portion frō the ſaid houſe, vntill the reigne of king Stephan, and thereof made a vineyard to their great commoditie and lucre. The Ile of Elie alſo was in the firſt times of the Normans called Le Ile des vignes. And good record appéareth, that the biſhop there had yearelie three or foure tunne at the leaſt giuen him *Nomine decimæ*, beſide whatſoeuer ouer-ſumme of the liquor did accrue to him by leaſes and other eſcheats, whereof alſo I haue ſæne mention. Wherefore our ſoile is not to be blamed, as though our nights were ſo exceeding ſhort, that in Auguſt and September the mone which is ladie of moiſture, & chiefe ripener of this liquor, cannot in anie wiſe ſhine long inough vpon the ſame: a verie méere toie and fable right worthie to be ſuppreſſed, becauſe experience conuinceth the vpholders thereof euen in the Rheniſh wines.

Wad. Madder. Rape.

The time hath béene alſo that wad, wherwith our countrie men died their faces (as Cæſar ſaith) that they might ſæme terrible to their enimies in the field, and alſo women & their daughters in law did ſtaine their bodies & go naked, in that pickle to the ſacrifices of their gods, coueting to reſemble therin the Ethiopians, as Plinie ſaith li. 22. cap. 1. and alſo madder haue béene (next vnto our tin and woolles) the chiefe commodities, and merchandize of this realme. I find alſo that rape oile hath béene made within this land. But now our ſoile either will not or at the leaſt wiſe may not beare either wad or madder: I ſaie not that the ground is not able ſo to do, but that we are negligent, afraid of the pilling of our grounds, and careleſſe of our owne profit, as men rather willing to buie the ſame of others than take anie paine to plant them here at home. The like

Flax.

I may ſaie of flax, which by law ought to be ſowen in euerie countrie-towne in England, more or leſſe: but I ſée no ſucceſſe of that good and wholeſome law, ſith it is rather contemptuouſlie reiected than otherwiſe dutifullie kept in anie place of England.

Some ſaie that our great number of lawes do bréed a generall negligence and contempt of all good order; becauſe we haue ſo manie, that no ſubiect can liue without the tranſgreſſion of ſome of them, and that the often alteration of our ordinances doth much harme in this reſpect, which (after Ariſtotle) doth ſæme to carie ſome reaſon withall, for (as Cornelius Gallus hath:)

Eleg. 2. *Euentus varios res noua ſemper habet.*

But verie manie let not to affirme, that the gréedie corruption of the promoters on the one ſide, facilitie in diſpenſing with good lawes, and firſt breach of the ſame in the lawmakers & ſuperiors, & priuat reſpects of their eſtabliſhment on the other, are the greateſt cauſes whie the inferiours regard no good order, being alwaies ſo redie to offend without anie faculties one waie, as they are otherwiſe to preſume, vpon the examples of their betters when anie hold is to be taken. But as in theſe things I haue no ſkill, ſo I wiſh that fewer licences for priuat commoditie but of a few were granted (not that thereby I denie the maintenance of the prerogatiue roiall, but rather would with all my hart that it might be yet more honorablie increaſed) & that euerie one which by feéed friendſhip (or otherwiſe) doth attempt to procure oughts from the prince, that may profit but few and proue hurtfull to manie, might be at open aſſizes and ſeſſions denounced enimie to his countrie and common-wealth of the land.

Principes longè magis exemplo quàm culpa peccare ſolent.

Glaſſe alſo hath béene made here in great plentie before, and in the time of the Romans; and the ſaid ſtuffe alſo, beſide fine ſciſſers, théeres, collars of gold and ſiluer for womens necks, cruſes and cups of amber, were a parcell of the tribute which Auguſtus in his daies laid vpon this Iland. In like ſort he charged the Britons with certeine implements and veſſels of iuorie (as Strabo ſaith.) Wherby it appéareth that in old time our countriemen were farre more induſtrious and painefull in the vſe and application of the benefits of their countrie, than either after the comming of the Saxons or Normans, in which they gaue themſelues more to idleneſſe and following of the warres.

Earths.

If it were requiſit that I ſhould ſpeake of the ſundrie kinds of mold, as the cledgie or claie, whereof are diuerſe ſorts (red, blue, blacke and white) alſo the red or white ſandie, the lomie, roſellie, grauellie, chalkie or blacke, I could ſaie that there are ſo manie diuerſe veines in Britaine, as elſe where in anie quarter of like quantitie in the world. Howbeit this I muſt néeds confeſſe, that the ſandie and cledgie do beare great ſwaie: but the claie moſt of all, as hath bæne, and yet is alwaies ſéene & felt through plentie and dearth of corne. For if this latter (I meane the claie) do yeeld hir full increaſe (which it doth commonlie in drie yeares for wheat) then is there generall plentie: whereas if it faile, then haue we ſcarſitie, according to the old rude verſe ſet downe of England, but to be vnderſtood of the whole Iland, as experience doth confirme:

When the ſand doth ſerue the claie,
Then may we ſing well awaie,
But when the claie doth ſerue the ſand,
Then is it merie with England.

Vallies.

I might here intreat of the famous vallies in England, of which one is called the vale of White horſſe, another of Euesham, commonlie taken for the granarie of Worceſterſhire, the third of Aileſbirie that goeth by Tame, the votes of Chilterne hils, to Donſtable, Newport pannell, Stonie Stratford, Buckhingham, Birſtane parke, &c. Likewiſe of the fourth of Whitehart or Blackemore in Dorſetſhire. The fift of Ringdale or Kendale, corruptlie called Ringtaile, that lieth (as mine author ſaith) vpon the edge of Eſſex and Cambridgeſhire, and alſo the Marſhwood vale: but for ſomuch as I know not well their ſeuerall limits, I giue ouer to go anie further in their deſcription. In like ſort it ſhould not be amiſſe to ſpeake of our fennes, although our countrie be not ſo full of this kind of ſoile as the parties beyond the ſeas, to wit, Marbon, &c: and thereto of other pleaſant botoms, the which are not onelie indued with excellent riuers and great ſtore of corne and fine fodder for neat and horſſes in time of the yeare (whereby they are exceeding beneficiall vnto their owners) but alſo of no ſmall compaſſe and quantitie in ground. For ſome of our fens are well knowen to be either of ten, twelue, ſixteene, twentie, or thirtie miles in

Fennes.

length, that of the Striwies yet paſſing all the reſt, which is full 60 (as I haue often read.) Wherein alſo Elie the famous Ile ſtandeth, which is ſeuen miles euerie waie, and whereunto there is no acceſſe but by three cauſies, whoſe inhabitants in like ſort by an old priuilege may take wood, ſedge, turfe, &c; to burne: likewiſe haie for their cattell, and thatch for their houſſes of cuſtome, and each occupier in his appointed quantitie through out the Ile; albeit that couetouſneſſe hath now begun ſomewhat to abridge this large benevolence and commoditie, aſwell in the ſaid Ile as moſt other places of this land.

Commons. Finallie, I might diſcourſe in like order of the large commons, laid out heretofore by the lords of the ſoiles for the benefit of ſuch poore, as inhabit within the compaſſe of their manors. But as the true intent of the giuers is now in moſt places defrauded, in ſo much that not the poore tenants inhabiting vpon the ſame, but their landlords haue all the commoditie and gaine, ſo the tractation of them belongeth rather to the ſecond booke. Wherfore I meane not at this preſent to deale withall, but reſerue the ſame wholie vnto the due place whileſt I go forward with the reſt; ſetting downe neuertheleſſe by the waie a generall commendation of the whole Iland, which I find in an ancient monument, much vnto this effect.

Illa quidem longè celebris ſplendore, beata,
Glebis, lacte, fauis, ſupereminet inſula cunctis,
Quas regit ille Deus, ſpumanti cuius ab ore
Profluit oceanus, &c. And a little after.
Teſtis Lundonia ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
Herefordia grege, Worceſtria frugeredundans,
Batha lacu, Salabyra feris, Cantuaria piſce,
Eboraca ſyluis, Exceſtria clara metallis,
Norwicum Dacis hybernis, Ceſtria Gallis,
Ciceſtrum Norwagenis, Dunelmia prapinguis,
Teſtis Lincolnia gens infinita decore,
Teſtis Eli formoſa ſitu, Doncaſtria viſu, &c.

Of the foure high waies ſometime made in Britaine by the princes of this Iland.

Cap. 19.

THere are, which indeuoring to bring all things to their Saxon originall, doo affirme, that this diuiſion of waies, (whereof we now intreat) ſhould apperteine vnto ſuch princes of that nation as reigned here, ſince the Romanes gaue vs ouer: and herevpon they inferre, that Wattling ſtreet was builded by one Wattle from the eaſt vnto the weſt. But how weake their coniectures are in this behalfe, the antiquitie of theſe ſtreets it ſelfe ſhall eaſilie declare, whereof ſome parcelles, after a ſort, are alſo ſet downe by Antoninus; and thoſe that haue written of the ſeuerall iournies from hence to Rome: although peraduenture not in ſo direct an order as they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed. For my part, if it were not that I deſire to be ſhort in this behalfe, I could with ſuch notes as I haue alreadie collected for that purpoſe, make a large confutation of diuerſe of their opinions concerning theſe paſſages, and thereby rather aſcribe the originall of theſe waies to the Romans than either the Britiſh or Saxon princes. But ſith I haue ſpent more time in the tractation of the riuers than was allotted vnto me, and that I ſee great cauſe (notwithſtanding my late alledged ſcruple) wherfore I ſhould hold with our Galfride before anie other; I will omit at this time to diſcourſe of theſe things as I would, and ſaie what I maie for the better knowledge of their courſes, proceeding therein as followeth.

First of all I find, that Dunwallon king of Britaine, about 483 yeares before the birth of our ſauiour Jeſus Chriſt, ſeeing the ſubiects of his realme to be in ſundrie wiſe oppreſſed by theeues and robbers as they trauelled to and fro; and being willing (ſo much as in him laie) to redreſſe theſe inconueniences, cauſed his whole kingdome to be ſurueied; and then commanding foure principall waies to be made, which ſhould leade ſuch as trauelled into all parts thereof, from ſea to ſea, he gaue ſundrie large priuileges vnto the ſame, whereby they became ſafe, and verie much frequented. And as he had regard herein to the ſecuritie of his ſubiects, ſo he made ſharpe lawes grounded vpon iuſtice, for the ſuppreſſion of ſuch wicked members as did offer violence to anie traueler that ſhould be met withall or found within the limits of thoſe paſſages. How and by what parts of this Iland theſe waies were conueied at the firſt, it is not ſo wholie left in memorie: but that ſome queſtion is moued among the learned, concerning their ancient courſes. Howbeit ſuch is the ſhadow remaining hitherto of their extenſions, that if not at this preſent perfectlie, yet hereafter it is not vnpoſſible, but that they may be found out, & left certeine vnto poſteritie. It ſeemeth by Galfride, that the ſaid Dunwallon did limit out thoſe waies by doles and markes, which being in ſhort time altered by the auarice of ſuch irreligious perſons as dwelt neere, and incroched vpon the ſame (a fault yet iuſtlie to be found almoſt in euerie place, euen in the time of our moſt gratious and ſouereigne Ladie Elizabeth, wherein the lords of the ſoiles doo vnite their ſmall occupieng, onelie to increaſe a greater proportion of rent; and therefore they either remoue, or giue licence to erect ſmall tenements vpon the high waies ſides and commons; whereunto, in truth, they haue no right: and yet out of them alſo doo raiſe a new commoditie) and queſtion moued for their bounds before Belinus his ſonne, he to auoid all further controuerſie that might from thenceforth inſue, cauſed the ſame to be paued with hard ſtone of eightéene foot in breadth, ten foot in depth, and in the bottome thereof huge flint ſtones alſo to be pitched, leaſt the earth in time ſhould ſwallow vp his workemanſhip, and the higher ground ouer-grow their riſing creſts. He indued them alſo with larger priuileges than before, proteſting that if anie man whoſoeuer ſhould preſume to infringe his peace, and violate the lawes of his kingdome in anie maner of wiſe, neere vnto or vpon thoſe waies, he ſhould ſuffer ſuch puniſhment without all hope to eſcape (by friendſhip or mercie) as by the ſtatutes of this realme latelie prouided in thoſe caſes were due vnto the offendors. The names of theſe foure waies are the Foſſe, the Gwethelin or Watling, the Erming, and the Ikenild.

Foſſe. The Foſſe goeth not directlie but ſlopewiſe ouer the greateſt part of this Iland, beginning at Dotneſſe or Totneſſe in Deuonſhire, where Brute ſomtime landed, or (as Ranulphus ſaith, which is more likelie) at the point of Cornwall, though the eldeſt writers doo ſeeme to note the contrarie. From hence it goeth thorough the middle of Deuonſhire & Summerſetſhire, and commeth to Bliſſow, from whence it runneth manifeſtlie to Sudberie market, Tetburie, and ſo forth holdeth on as you go almoſt to the midde waie betweene Gloceſter and Cirneceſter, (where the wood fatleth, and the champeigne countrie appeareth toward Cotteſwald) ſtreight as a line vntill you come to Cirneceſter it ſelfe. Some hold

opinion

opinion that the waie, which lieth from Cirneceſter to Bath, ſhould be the verie Foſſe; and that betwixt Cirneceſter and Gloceſter to be another of the foure waies, made by the Britons. But ancient report grounded vpon great likelihood, and confirmed alſo by ſome experience, iudgeth that moſt of the waies croſſed ech other in this part of the realme. And of this mind is Leland alſo, who learned it of an abbat of Cirneceſter that ſhewed great likelihood by ſome records thereof. But to proceed. From Cirneceſter, it goeth by Chepingnorton to Couentrie, Leiceſter, Newarke, and ſo to Lincolne ouerthwart the Watlingſtreet: where, by generall conſent of all the writers (except Alfred of Beuerleie, who extendeth it vnto Cathneſſe in Scotland) it is ſaid to haue an end.

Watling ſtreet.

The Watlingſtreet begun (as I ſaid) by Dunwallo, but finiſhed by Gutheline, of whome it is directlie to be called Gutheline ſtreet, though now corrupted into Watlingſtreet, beginneth at Douer in Kent, and ſo ſtretcheth through the middeſt of Kent vnto London, and ſo forth (peraduenture by the middeſt of the citie) vnto Verolamium or Uerlamceſter, now ſaint Albons, where, in the yeare of grace, one thouſand fiue hundred thirtie & one, the courſe thereof was found by a man that digged for grauell therwith to mend the high waie. It was in this place eighténe foot broad, and about ten foot déepe, and ſtoned in the bottome in ſuch wiſe as I haue noted afore, and peraduenture alſo on the top: but theſe are gone, and the reſt remaine equall in moſt places, and leuell with the fields. The yelow grauell alſo that was brought thither in carts two thouſand yéares paſſed, remained there ſo freſh and ſo ſtrong, as if it had béene digged out of the naturall place where it grew not manie yéares before. From hence it goeth hard by Margate, leauing it on the weſt ſide. And a little by ſouth of this place, where the prioríe ſtood, is a long thorough fare vpon the ſaid ſtreet, métly well builded (for low houſing) on both ſides. After this it proceédeth (as the chronicle of Barnwell ſaith) to Carton, and ſo to Huntingdon, & then forward, ſtill winding in and out till it not onelie becommeth a bound vnto Leiceſterſhire toward Lugbie, but alſo paſſeth from Caſtleford to Stamford, and ſo forth by weſt of Marton, which is but a mile from Torkeſeie.

Here by the waie I muſt touch the opinion of a trauceller of my time, who noteth the ſaid ſtreet to go another waie, inſomuch that he would haue it to croſſe the third Auon, betwixt Newton and Dowbridge, and ſo go on to Binford bridge, Wibtoft, the High croſſe, and thence to Atherſton vpon Ancre. Certes it may be, that the Foſſe had his courſe by the countrie in ſuch ſort as he deſcribeth; but that the Watlingſtreet ſhould paſſe by Atherſton, I cannot as yet be perſuaded. Neuertheleſſe his coniecture is not to be miſliked, ſith it is not vnlikelie that three ſeuerall waies might méet at Alderwaie (a towne vpon Tame, beneath Salters bridge) for I do not doubt that the ſaid towne did take his name of all three waies, as Aldermarie church in London did of all three Maries, vnto whom it hath béene dedicated: but that the Watling ſtreet ſhould be one of them, the compaſſe of his paſſage will in no wiſe permit. And thus much haue I thought good to note by the waie. Now to returne againe to Leland, and other mens collections.

The next tidings that we heare of the Watlingſtreet, are that it goeth thorough or neere by the parke at Pomfret, as the common voice alſo of the countrie confirmeth. Thence it paſſeth haſtilie ouer Caſtelford bridge to Aberford, which is fiue miles from thence, and where are moſt manifeſt tokens of this ſtreet and his broad creſt by a great waie togither, alſo to Norke, to Witherbie, and then to Borowbridge, where on the left hand thereof ſtood certeine monuments, or pyramides of ſtone, ſometimes placed there by the ancient Romanes. Theſe ſtones (ſaith Leland) ſtand eight miles weſt from Bolwis, and almoſt weſt from Richmond is a little thorough fare called Maiden caſtell, ſituate apparantlie vpon the ſide of this ſtreet. And here is one of thoſe pyramides or great round heapes, which is three ſcore foot compaſſe in the bottome. There are other alſo of leſſe quantities, and on the verie top of ech of them are ſharpe ſtones of a yard in length; but the greateſt of all is eighténe foot high at the leaſt, from the ground to the verie head. He addeth moreouer, how they ſtand on an hill in the edge of Stanes more, and are as bounds betwéene Richmondſhire, and Weſtmerland. But to proceed. This ſtreet lieng a mile from Gilling, and two miles from Richmond commeth on from Borowbridge to Catericke, eighténe miles; that is, twelue to Leuing, & ſix to Catericke; then eleuen miles to Greteie or Gritto, fiue miles to Bottles, eight miles to Burgh on Stanes more, foure miles from Aplebie, and fiue to Browham, where the ſaid ſtreet commeth thorough Winſoll parke, and ouer the bridge on Etemouth and Loder, and leauing Perith a quarter of a mile or more on the weſt ſide of it, goeth to Carleill ſeuenténe miles from Browham, which hath béene ſome notable thing. Hitherto it appeareth euidentlie, but going from hence into Scotland, I heare no more of it, vntill I come to Cathneſſe, which is two hundred and thirtie miles or thereabouts out of England.

Erming ſtreet.

The Erming ſtreet, which ſome call the Lelme, ſtretcheth out of the eaſt, as they ſaie, into the ſouth-eaſt, that is, from Meneuia or S. Dauids in Wales vnto Southampton, whereby it is ſomewhat likelie indeed that theſe two waies, I meane the Foſſe and the Erming, ſhould met about Cirneceſter, as it commeth from Gloceſter, according to the opinion conceiued of them in that countrie. Of this waie I find no more written, and therefore I can ſaie no more of it, except I ſhould indeuor to driue awaie the time, in alleging what other men ſay thereof, whoſe minds do ſo farre diſagree one from another, as they do all from a truth, and therefore I giue them ouer as not delighting in ſuch dealing.

Ikenild.

The Ikenild or Rikenild began ſomewhere in the ſouth, and ſo held on toward Cirneceſter, then to Worceſter, Wicombe, Brimcham, Lichfield, Darbie, Cheſterfield; and croſſing the Watlingſtreet ſomewhere in Yorkeſhire, ſtretched forth in the end vnto the mouth of the Tine, where it ended at the maine ſea, as moſt men do confeſſe. I take it to be called the Ikenild, becauſe it paſſed thorough the kingdome of the Icenes. For albeit that Leland & other following him do ſéeme to place the Icenes in Norfolke and Suffolke; yet in mine opinion that can not well be done, ſith it is manifeſt by Tacitus, that they laie nére vnto the Silures, and (as I geſſe) either in Staffordſhire and Worceſterſhires, or in both, except my coniecture do faile me. The author of the booke, intituled *Eulogium hiſtoriarum*, doth call this ſtreet the Lelme. But as herein he is deceiued, ſo haue I dealt withall ſo faithfullie as I may among ſuch diuerſitie of opinions; yet not denieng but that there is much confuſion in the names and courſes of theſe two latter, the diſcuſſing whereof I muſt leaue to other men that are better learned than I.

Now to ſpeake generallie of our common high waies through the Engliſh part of the Ile (for of the reſt I can ſaie nothing) you ſhall vnderſtand that in the claie or clergie ſoile they are often verie déepe and troubleſome in the winter halfe. Wherfore by

authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearelie amendment, whereby all ſorts of the common people doo imploie their trauell for ſix daies in ſummer vpon the ſame. And albeit that the intent of the ſtatute is verie profitable for the reparations of the decaied places, yet the rich doo ſo cancell their portions, and the poore ſo loiter in their labours, that of all the ſix, ſcarcelie two good daps woorks are well perfourmed and accomplished in a parish on theſe ſo neceſſarie affaires. Beſides this, ſuch as haue land lieng vpon the ſides of the waies, doo vtterlie neglect to dich and ſcoure their draines and water-courſes, for better auoidance of the winter waters (except it may be ſet off or cut from the meaning of the ſtatute) whereby the ſtréets doo grow to be much more gulled than before, and thereby verie noiſome for ſuch as trauell by the ſame. Sometimes alſo, and that verie often, theſe daies woorks are not imploied vpon thoſe waies that lead from market to market, but ech ſurueior amendeth ſuch by-plots & lanes as ſéeme beſt for his owne commoditie, and more eaſie paſſage vnto his fields and paſtures. And whereas in ſome places there is ſuch want of ſtones, as thereby the inhabitants are driuen to ſeeke them farre off in other ſoiles: the owners of the lands wherein thoſe ſtones are to be had, and which hitherto haue giuen monie to haue them borne awaie, doo now reape no ſmall commoditie by raiſing the ſame to exceſſiue prices, whereby their neighbours are driuen to grieuous charges, which is another cauſe wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie much defrauded. Finallie, this is another thing likewiſe to be conſidered of, that the trées and buſhes growing by the ſtréets ſides, doo not a little keepe off the force of the ſunne in ſummer for drieng vp of the lanes. Wherefore if order were taken that their boughs ſhould continuallie be kept ſhort, and the buſhes not ſuffered to ſpread ſo far into the narrow paths, that inconuenience would alſo be remedied, and manie a ſlough proue hard ground that yet is déepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroching of the couetous vpon the hie waies I ſpeake not. But this I know by experience, that whereas ſome ſtréets within theſe fiue and twentie yeares haue béene in moſt places fifti foot broad according to the law, whereby the trauceller might either eſcape the theefe, or ſhift the mier, or paſſe by the loaden cart without danger of himſelfe and his horſſe; now they are brought vnto twelue, or twentie, or ſix and twentie at the moſt, which is another cauſe alſo whereby the waies be the worſe, and manie an honeſt man encombred in his iourneie. But what ſpeake I of theſe things whereof I doo not thinke to heare a iuſt redreſſe, becauſe the error is ſo common, and the benefit thereby ſo ſweet and profitable to manie, by ſuch houſes and cottages as are raiſed vpon the ſame.

Of the generall conſtitution of the *bodies of the Britons.*

Chap. 20.

SUch as are bred in this Iland are men for the moſt part of a good complexion, tall of ſtature, ſtrong in bodie, white of colour, and thereto of great boldneſſe and courage in the warres. As for their generall comelineſſe of perſon, the teſtimonie of Gregorie the great, at ſuch time as he ſaw Engliſh captains ſold at Rome, ſhall eaſilie confirme what it is, which yet doth differ in ſundrie ſhires and ſoiles, as alſo their proportion of members, as we may perceiue betweene Herefordſhire and Eſſex men, or Cambridgeſhire and the Londoners for the one, and Pokington and Sedberrie for the other; theſe latter being diſtinguiſhed by their noſes and heads, which commonlie are greater there than in other places of the land. As concerning the ſtomachs alſo of our nation in the field, they haue alwaies béene in ſouereigne admiration among forren princes: for ſuch hath béene the eſtimation of our ſouldiers from time to time, ſince our Ile hath béene knowne vnto the Romans, that whereſoeuer they haue ſerued in forren countries, the chéefe brunts of ſeruice haue béene reſerued vnto them. Of their conqueſts and bloudie battels woone in France, Germanie, and Scotland, our hiſtories are full: & where they haue béene ouercome, the victors themſelues confeſſed their victories to haue béene ſo déerelie bought, that they would not gladlie couet to ouercome often, after ſuch difficult maner. In martiall proweſſe, there is little or no difference betweene Engliſhmen and Scots: for albeit that the Scots haue béene often and verie gréeuouſlie ouercome by the force of our nation, it hath not béene for want of manhod on their parts, but through the mercie of God ſhewed on vs, and his iuſtice vpon them, ſith they alwaies haue begun the quarels, and offered vs méere iniurie with great deſpite and crueltie.

Leland noting ſomewhat of the conſtitution of our bodies, ſaith theſe words grounding (I thinke vpon Ariſtotle, who writeth that ſuch as dwell nére the north, are of more courage and ſtrength of bodie than ſkilfulneſſe or wiſdome.) The Britons are white in colour, ſtrong of bodie, and full of bloud, as people inhabiting nére the north, and farre from the equinoctiall line, where the ſoile is not ſo fruitfull, and therefore the people not ſo féeble: whereas contrariwiſe ſuch as dwell toward the courſe of the ſunne, are leſſe of ſtature, weaker of bodie, more nice, delicate, fearefull by nature, blacker in colour, & ſome ſo blacke in déed as anie crow or rauen. Thus ſaith he. Howbeit, as thoſe which are bred in ſundrie places of the maine, doo come behind vs in conſtitution of bodie, ſo I grant, that in pregnancie of wit, nimblenelle of limmes, and politike inuentions, they generallie exceed vs: notwithſtanding that otherwiſe theſe gifts of theirs doo often degenerate into méere ſubtiltie, inſtabilitie, vnfaithfulneſſe, & crueltie. Yet Alexander ab Alexandro is of the opinion, that the fertileſt region doth bring forth the dulleſt wits, and contrariwiſe the harder ſoile the fineſt heads. But in mine opinion, the moſt fertile ſoile doth bring forth the proudeſt nature, as we may ſee by the Campanians, who (as Cicero alſo ſaith) had *Penes eos ipſum domicilium ſuperbiæ.* But nether of theſe opinions do iuſtlie take hold of vs, yet hath it pleaſed the writers to faie their pleaſures of vs. And for that we dwell northward, we are commonlie taken by the forren hiſtoriographers, to be men of great ſtrength and little policie, much courage and ſmall ſhift, becauſe of the weake abode of the ſunne with vs, whereby our braines are not made hot and warmed, as Pachymerus noteth lib. 3: affirming further, that the people inhabiting in the north parts are white of colour, blockiſh vnciuill, fierce and warlike, which qualities increaſe, as they come nearer vnto the pole; whereas the contrarie pole giueth contrarie gifts, blackneſſe wiſdome, ciuilitie, weakeneſſe, and cowardiſe, thus ſaith he. But alas, how farre from probabilitie or as if there were not one and the ſame concluſion to be made of the conſtitutions of their bodies, which dwell vnder both the poles. For in truth his aſſertion holdeth onelie in their perſons that inhabit nére vnto and vnder the equinoctiall. As for the ſmall tarriance of the ſunne with vs, it is alſo confuted by the length

of

Non vi ſed virtute, non armis ſed ingenio vincuntur Angli.

of our dates. Wherefore his reaſon ſeemeth better to vphold that of Alexander ab Alexandro afore alledged, than to proue that we want wit, becauſe our braines are not warmed by the tartance of the ſunne. And thus alſo doth Comineus burden vs after a ſort in his hiſtorie, and after him Bodinus: But thanked be God, that all the wit of his countriemen, if it may be called wit, could neuer compaſſe to doo ſo much in Britaine, as the ſtrength and courage of our Engliſhmen (not without great wiſedome and forecaſt) haue brought to paſſe in France. The Galles in time paſt contemned the Romans (ſaith Cæſar) becauſe of the ſmalneſſe of their ſtature: howbeit, for all their greatneſſe (ſaith he) and at the firſt brunt in the warres, they ſhew themſelues to be but feeble, neither is their courage of any force to ſtand in great calamities. Certes in accuſing our wiſedome in this ſort, he doth (in mine opinion) increaſe our commendation. For if it be a vertue to deale vprightlie with ſingleneſſe of mind, ſincerelie and plainlie, without anie ſuch ſuſpicious ſtretches in all our dealings, as they commonlie practiſe in their affaires, then are our countrimen to be accompted wiſe and vertuous. But if it be a vice to colour craftineſſe, ſubtile practiſes, doubleneſſe, and hollow behauiour, with a cloake of policie, amitie and wiſedome: then are Comineus and his countrimen to be reputed vicious, of whome this prouerbe hath of old time beene vſed as an eare marke of their diſſimulation,

Galli ridendo fidem frangunt. &c.

How theſe latter points take hold in Italie, I meane not to diſcuſſe. How they are dailie practiſed in manie places of the maine, & he accompted moſt wiſe and politike, that can moſt of all diſſemble; here is no place iuſtlie to determine (neither would I wiſh my countrimen to learne anie ſuch wiſedome) but that a king of France could ſaie; *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare*, or *viuere*, their owne hiſtories are teſtimonies ſufficient. Galen, the noble phyſician, transferring the forces of our naturall humors from the bodie to the mind, attributeth to the yellow colour, prudence; to the blacke, conſtancie; to bloud, mirth; to phlegme, courteſie: which being mixed more or leſſe among themſelues, doo yéeld an infinit varietie. By this means therefore it commeth to paſſe, that he whoſe nature inclineth generallie to phlegme, cannot but be courteous: which ioined with ſtrength of bodie, and ſincéritie of behauiour (qualities vniuerſallie granted to remaine ſo well in our nation, as other inhabitants of the north) I cannot ſée what may be an hinderance whie I ſhould not rather conclude, that the Britons doo excell ſuch as dwell in the hoter countries, than for want of craft and ſubtilties to come anie whit behind them. It is but vanitie alſo for ſome to note vs (as I haue often heard in common table talke) as barbarous, becauſe we ſo little regard the ſhedding of our bloud, and rather tremble not when we ſée the liquor of life to go from vs (I vſe their owne words.) Certes if we be barbarous in their eies, becauſe we be rather inflamed than appalled at our wounds, then are thoſe obiectors flat cowards in our iudgement: ſith we thinke it a great péece of manhood to ſtand to our tackling, vntill the laſt drop, as men that may ſpare much becauſe we haue much: whereas they hauing leſſe are afraid to loſe that little which they haue: as Frontinus alſo noteth. As for that which the French write of their owne manhood in their hiſtories, I make little accompt of it: for I am of the opinion, that as an Italian writing of his credit; A papiſt intreating of religion, a Spaniard of his méekeneſſe, or a Scot of his manhood, is not to be builded on; no more is a Frenchman to be truſted in the report of his owne affaires, wherein he doth either diſſemble or exceed, which is a foule vice in ſuch as profeſſe to deale vprightlie. Neither are we ſo hard to ſtrangers as Horace would ſéeme to make vs, ſith we loue them ſo long as they abuſe vs not, & make accompt of them ſo far forth as they deſpiſe vs not. And this is generallie to be verified, in that they vſe our priuileges and commodities for diet, apparell and trade of gaine, in ſo ample manner as we our ſelues enioy them: which is not lawfull for vs to doo in their countries, where no ſtranger is ſuffered to haue woorke, if an home-borne be without. But to proceed with our purpoſe.

With vs (although our good men care not to liue long, but to liue well) ſome doo liue an hundred yéers, verie manie vnto foure ſcore: as for three ſcore, it is taken but for our entrance into age, ſo that in Britaine no man is ſaid to wax old till he draw vnto three ſcore, at which time God ſpéed you well commeth in place; as Epaminondas ſometime ſaid in mirth, affirming that vntill thirtie yeares of age, You are welcome is the beſt ſalutation; and from thence to three ſcore, God kéepe you; but after three ſcore, it is beſt to ſaie, God ſpéed you well; for at that time we begin to grow toward our iournies end, whereon manie a one haue verie good leaue to go. Theſe two are alſo noted in vs (as things apperteining to the firme conſtitutions of our bodies) that there hath not béene ſéene in anie region ſo manie carcaſſes of the dead to remaine from time to time without corruption as in Britaine: and that after death by ſlaughter or otherwiſe, ſuch as remaine vnburied by foure or fiue daies togither, are eaſie to be knowne and diſcerned by their frends and kindred; whereas Tacitus and other complaine of ſundrie nations, ſaieng, that their bodies are *Tam fluidæ ſubſtantiæ*, that within certeine houres the wife ſhall hardlie know hir huſband, the mother hir ſonne, or one frend another after their liues be ended. In like ſort the comelineſſe of our liuing bodies doo continue from midle age (for the moſt) euen to the laſt gaſpe, ſpeciallie in mankind. And albeit that our women through bearing of children doo after fortie begin to wrinkle apace, yet are they not commonlie ſo wretched and hard fauoured to looke vpon in their age, as the French women, and diuerſe of other countries with whom their men alſo doo much participate; and thereto be ſo often wayward and peeuiſh, that nothing in maner may content them.

Salutations according to our ages.

I might here adde ſomewhat alſo of the meane ſtature generallie of our women, whoſe beautie commonlie exceedeth the faireſt of thoſe of the maine, their comlineſſe of perſon and good proportion of limmes, moſt of theirs that come ouer vnto vs from beyond the ſeas. This neuertheleſſe I vtterlie miſlike in the poorer ſort of them, for the wealthier doo ſildome offend herein: that being of themſelues without gouernement, they are ſo careleſſe in the education of their children (wherein their huſbands alſo are to be blamed) by means whereof verie manie of them neither fearing God, neither regarding either maners or obedience, doo oftentimes come to confuſion, which (if anie correction or diſcipline had béene vſed toward them in youth) might haue proued good members of their common-wealth & countrie, by their good ſeruice and induſtrie. I could make report likewiſe of the naturall vices and vertues of all thoſe that are borne within this Iland, but as the full tractation herof craueth a better head than mine to ſet forth the ſame, ſo will I giue place to other men that liſt to take it in hand. Thus much therefore of the conſtitutions of our bodies: and ſo much may ſuffice.

How Britaine at the firſt grew to be *diuided into three portions.*

Cap. 21.

AFter the comming of Brutus into this Iland (which was, as you haue read in the foreſaid treatiſe, about the yeare of the world, 2850, or 1217 before the incarnation of Chriſt, although Goropius after his maner dooth vtterlie denie our hiſtorie in this behalfe) he made a generall ſurueis of the whole Iland from ſide to ſide, by ſuch means to view and ſearch out not onelie the limits and bounds of his dominions, but alſo what commodities this new atchiued conqueſt might yeeld vnto his people. Furthermore, finding out at the laſt alſo a conuenable place wherin to erect a citie, he began there euen the verie ſame which at this daie is called London, naming it Trenouanton, in remembrance of old Troie, from whence his anceſtors proceeded, and for which the Romans pronounced afterward Trinobantum, although the Welſhmen doo call it ſtill Trenewith. This citie was builded (as ſome write) much about the tenth yeare of his reigne, ſo that he liued not aboue fiftéene yeares after he had finiſhed the ſame. But of the reſt of his other acts attempted and donne, before or after the erection of this citie, I find no certeine report, more than that when he had reigned in this Iland after his arriuall by the ſpace of foure and twentie yeares, he finiſhed his daies at Trenouanton aforeſaid, being in his yong and flouriſhing age, where his carcaſe was honourablie interred. As for the maner of his death, I find as yet no mention thereof among ſuch writers as are extant; I meane whether it grew vnto him by defect of nature, or force of grieuous wounds receiued in his warres againſt ſuch as withſtood him from time to time in this Iland, and therefore I can ſaie nothing of that matter. Herein onelie all agree, that during the time of his languiſhing paines, he made a diſpoſition of his whole kingdome, diuiding it into three parts or portions, according to the number of his ſonnes then liuing, whereof the eldeſt exceeded not eight and twentie yeares of age, as my coniecture giueth me.

Locrine. To the eldeſt therefore, whoſe name was Locrine, he gaue the greateſt and beſt region of all the reſt, Lhoegria. which of him to this daie is called Lhoegres among the Britons, but in our language England: of ſuch Engliſh Saxons as made conqueſt of the ſame. This portion alſo is included on the ſouth with the Britiſh ſea, on the eſt with the Germane Ocean, on the north with the Humber, and on the weſt with the Iriſh ſea, and the riuers Dee and Sauerne, whereof in the generall deſcription of this Iland I haue ſpoken more at large. Camber. To Camber his ſecond ſonne he Cambria. aſſigned all that lieth beyond the Sauerne and Dee, toward the weſt (which parcell in theſe daies conteineth Southwales and Northwales) with ſundrie Ilands adiacent to the ſame, the whole being in maner cut off and ſeparated from England or Lhoegria by the ſaid ſtreams, wherby it ſeemeth alſo a peninſula or by-land, if you reſpect the ſmall hillie portion of ground that lieth indifferentlie betweene their maine courſes, or ſuch branches (at the leaſt) as run and fall into them. The Welſhmen or Britons call it by the ancient name ſtill vnto this day, but we Engliſhmen terme it Wales: which denomination we haue from the Saxons, who in time paſt did vſe the word Wallh in ſuch ſort as we doo ſtrange: for as we call all thoſe ſtrangers that are not of our nation, ſo did they name them Wallh which were not of their countrie.

The third and laſt part of the Iland he allotted vnto Albanact his youngeſt ſonne (for he had but three in all, as I haue ſaid before) whoſe portion ſeemed for circuit to be more large than that of Camber, and in maner equall in greatneſſe with the dominions of Locrinus. But if you haue regard to the ſeuerall commodities that are to be reaped by each, you ſhall find them to be not much diſcrepant or differing one from another: for what ſoeuer the firſt & ſecond haue in plentie of corne, fine graſſe, and large cattell, this latter wanteth not in exceeding ſtore of fiſh, rich mettall, quarries of ſtone, and abundance of wild foule: ſo that in mine opinion, there could not be a more equall partition than this made by Brute, and after the aforeſaid maner. This later parcell at the firſt, tooke the name of Albanactus, who called it Albania. Albanact. But now a ſmall portion onelie of the region (being vnder the regiment of a duke) reteineth the ſaid denomination, the reſt being called Scotland, of certeine Scots that came ouer from Ireland to inhabit in thoſe quarters. It is diuided from Lhoegres Albania. alſo by the Solue and the Firth, yet ſome doo note the Humber; ſo that Albania (as Brute left it) conteined all the north part of the Iland that is to be found beyond the aforeſaid ſtreame, vnto the point of Cathneſſe.

To conclude, Brute hauing diuided his kingdome after this maner, and therein contenting himſelfe as it were with the generall title of the whole, it was not long after yer he ended his life; and being ſolemnelie interred at his new citie by his three children, they parted each from other, and tooke poſſeſſion of their prouinces. But Scotland after two Locrine king alſo of Scotland. yeares fell againe into the hands of Locrinus as to the chiefe lord, by the death of his brother Albanact, who was ſlaine by Humber king of the Scithians, and left none iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in that kingdome.

After what maner the ſouereigntie *of this Ile dooth remaine to the princes* of Lhoegres or kings of England.

Cap. 22.

IT is poſſible that ſome of the Scotiſh nation, reading the former chapter, will take offenſe with me for meaning that the principalitie of the north parts of this Ile hath alwais belonged to the kings of Lhoegres. For whoſe more ample ſatisfaction in this behalfe, I will here ſet downe a diſcourſe thereof at large, written by diuerſe, and now finallie brought into one treatiſe, ſufficient (as I thinke) to ſatiſfie the reaſonable, although not halfe enough peraduenture to content a wrangling mind, ſith there is (or at the leaſt wiſe hath beene) nothing more odious among ſome, than to heare that the king of England hath ought to doo in Scotland. The Scots alwaies deſirous to ſhake off the Engliſh ſubiection, haue often made cruell & odious attempts ſo to doo, but in vaine.

How their hiſtoriographers haue attempted to ſhape manie coloured excuſes to auoid ſo manifeſt a title, all men may ſee that read their bookes indifferentlie, whereunto I referre them. For my part there is little or nothing of mine herein, more than onelie the collection and abridgement of a number of fragments togither, wherein cheeflie I haue vſed the helpe of Nicholas Adams a lawier, who wrote thereof

thereof (of ſet purpoſe) to king Edward the firſt, as Leland did the like to king Henrie the eight, Iohn Harding vnto Edward the fourth; beſide three other, whereof the firſt dedicated his treatiſe to Henrie the fourth, the ſecond to Edward the third, and the third to Edward the firſt, as their writings yet extant do abundantlie beare witneſſe. The title alſo that Leland giueth his booke, which I haue had written with his owne hand, beginneth in this maner: "Theſe remembrances following are found in chronicles authoriſed, remaining in diuerſe monaſteries both in England and Scotland, by which it is euidentlie knowne and ſhewed, that the kings of England haue had, and now ought to haue the ſouereigntie ouer all Scotland, with the homage and fealtie of the kings there reigning from time to time, &c. Hereunto you haue heard alreadie, what diuiſion Brute made of this Iland not long before his death, whereof each of his children, ſo ſone as he was interred, tooke ſeiſure and poſſeſſion. Howbeit, after two yeares it happened that Albanact was ſlaine, whereupon Locrinus and Camber raiſing their powers, reuenged his death: and finallie the ſaid Locrinus made an entrance vpon Albania, ſeized it into his owne hands (as eſcheated wholie vnto himſelfe) without yeelding anie part thereof vnto his brother Camber, who made no claime nor title vnto anie portion of the ſame. Hereby then (ſaith Adams) it euidentlie appeareth, that the entire ſeignioꝛie ouer Albania conſiſted in Locrinus, according to which example like law among brethren euer ſince hath continued, in preferring the eldeſt brother to the onelie benefit of the collaterall aſcenſion from the youngeſt, as well in Scotland as in England vnto this daie.

Ebranke the lineall heire from the bodie of this Locrine, that is to ſaie, the ſonne of Hempris, ſonne of Madan, ſonne of the ſame Locrine builded in Albania the caſtell of Maidens, now called Edenborough (ſo called of Aidan ſomtime king of Scotland, but at the firſt named Caſtr Minid Agnes. i. the caſtell on mount Agnes, and the caſtell of virgins) and the caſtell of Alcluith or Alclude, now called Dunbriton, as the Scotiſh Hector Boetius confeſſeth: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that our Ebranke was then thereof ſeized. This Ebranke reigned in the ſaid ſtate ouer them a long time; after whoſe death Albania (as annexed to the empire of Britaine) deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill the time of the two ſiſters ſonnes, Morgan and Conedage, lineall heires from the ſaid Ebranke, who brotherlie at the firſt diuided the realme betweene them; ſo that Morgan had Lhoegres, and Conedage had Albania. But ſhortlie after Morgan the elder brother, pondering in his head the loue of his brother with the affection to a kingdome, excluded nature, and gaue place to ambition, and thereupon denouncing warre, death miſerablie ended his life (as the reward of his vntruth) whereby Conedage obteined the whole empire of all Britaine: in which ſtate he remained during his naturall life.

From him the ſame lineallie deſcended to the onelie king of Britons, vntill (and after) the reigne of Gorbodiam, who had iſſue two ſonnes, Ferrer, and Porrer. This Porrer, requiring like diuiſion of the land, affirming the former partitions to be rather of law than fauor, was by the hands of his elder brother (beſt loued of queene mother) both of his life and hoped kingdome bereaued at once. Whereupon their vnnaturall mother, vſing hir naturall malice for the death of hir one ſonne (without regard of the loſing of both) miſerablie ſlue the other in his bed miſtruſting no ſuch treaſon.

Cloten, by all writers, as well Scotiſh as other, was the next inheritour to the whole empire: but lacking power (the onelie meane in thoſe daies to obteine right) he was contented to diuide the ſame among foure of his kinſmen; ſo that Scater had Albania. But after the death of this Cloten, his ſonne Dunwallo Mulmutius made warre vpon theſe foure kings, and at laſt ouercame them, and ſo recouered the whole dominion. In token of which victoꝛie, he cauſed himſelfe to be crowned with a crowne of gold, the verie firſt of that mettall (if anie at all were before in vſe) that was worne among the kings of this nation. This Dunwallo erected temples, wherein the people ſhould aſſemble for praier; to which temples he gaue benefit of ſanctuarie. He made the law for wager of battell, in caſes of murder and felonie, whereby a theefe that liued and made his art of fighting, ſhould for his purgation fight with the true man whom he had robbed, beleeuing aſſuredlie, that the gods (for then they ſuppoſed manie) would by miracle aſſigne victoꝛie to none but the innocent partie. Certes the priuileges of this law, and benefit of the latter, as well in Scotland as in England, be inioied to this daie, few cauſes by late poſitiue laws among vs excepted, wherein the benefit of wager of battell is reſtreined. By which obedience to his lawes, it doth manifeſtlie appeere, that this Dunwallo was then ſeized of Albania, now called Scotland. This Dunwallo reigned in this eſtate ouer them manie yeares.

Beline and Brenne the ſonnes alſo of Dunwallo, did after their fathers death fauourablie diuide the land betweene them; ſo that Beline had Lhoegres, & Brenne had Albania: but for that this Brenne (a ſubiect) without the conſent of his elder brother and lord, aduentured to marrie with the daughter of the king of Denmarke; Beline ſeized Albania into his owne hands, and thervpon cauſed the notable wales priuileged by Dunwallons lawes to be newlie wrought by mens hands, which for the length extended from the further part of Cornewall, vnto the ſea by north Cathneſſe in Scotland. In like ſort to and for the better maintenance of religion in thoſe daies, he conſtituted miniſters called archflamines, in ſundrie places of this Iland (who in their ſeuerall functions reſembled the biſhops of our times) the one of which remained at Ebranke now called Yorke, and the whole region Caerbrantonica (whereof Ptolomie alſo ſpeaketh but not without wreſting of the name) whoſe power extended to the vttermoſt bounds of Albania, whereby likewiſe appeareth that it was then within his owne dominion. After his death the whole Ile was inioied by the onelie kings of Britaine, vntill the time of Vigenius & Peridurus lineall heires from the ſaid Beline, who fauourablie made partition, ſo that Vigenius had all the land from Humber by ſouth, and Peridurus from thence northwards all Albania, &c. This Vigenius died, and Peridurus ſurniued, and thereby obteined the whole, from whom the ſame quietlie deſcended, and was by his poſſeritie accordinglie inioied, vntill the reigne of Coell the firſt of that name. In his time an obſcure nation (by moſt writers ſuppoſed Scithians) paſſed by ſeas from Ireland, and arriued in that part of Britaine called Albania: againſt whome this Coell aſſembled his power, and being entred Albania to expell them, one Fergus in the night diſguiſed, entered the tent of this Coell, and in his bed traitoꝛouſlie ſlue him.

This Fergus was therfore, in reward of his great proweſſe, made there king, whervpon they ſat downe in that part, with their wiues and children, and called it Scotland, and themſelues Scots: from the beginning of the world, foure thouſand ſix hundred and ſeauentéene yeares after the Scotiſh accompt, which by iuſt computation and confeſſion of all their owne writers, is ſix hundred yeares lacking ten, after that

Brutus

Brutus had reigned ouer the whole Iland, the ſame land being inioied by him and his poſteritie before their comming, during two and fiftie deſcents of the kings of Britaine, which is a large preſcription. Certes this intruſion into a land ſo manie hundred yeares before inhabited, and by ſo manie deſcents of kings quietlie inioied, is the beſt title that all their owne writers can alledge for them. But to proceed. Fergus hereupon immediatlie did diuide Albania alſo among his capteins and their ſouldiers: whereby it moſt euidentlie appeareth, that there were no people of that nation inhabiting there before, in proofe whereof the ſame partition ſhall follow.

Out of Hector Boecius lib. 5.

The lands of Cathnes lieng againſt Orkneie, betweene Dummelbeie and the water of Thane, was giuen vnto one Cornath, a capteine and his people. The lands betweene the water of Thane & Nes, now called Roſſe, being in breadth from Cromart to the mouth of the water of Locht, were giuen to Lutorke, another capteine and his people. The lands betweene Spaie and Nes, from the Almane ſeas to the Ireland ſeas, now called Murraie land, were giuen to one Marroch and his people. The land of Thalia, now called Boin Ainze, Bogewall, Gartot, Formartine, and Bolwguhan, were giuen to one Thalis and his people. The lands of Mar Badezenoch, and Lochquhaber, were giuen to Martach and his people. The lands of Lorne and Kintier, with the hilles and mounteins thereof, lieng from Mar to the Ireland ſeas, were giuen to capteine Manance and his people. The lands of Athole were giuen to Atholus, another capteine and his people. The lands of Strabraun, & Brawdawane lieng weſt from Dunkell, were giuen to Creones & Epidithes two capteins. The lands of Argile, were giuen to Argathelus a capteine. The lands of Linnor & Clidiſdale were allotted to Lolgona a capteine. The lands of Siluria now called Kile, Carrike & Cuningham, were giuen to Silurth another capteine. The lands of Brigance now called Gallowaie, were giuen to the companie called Brigandes, which (as their beſt men) were appointed to dwell next the Britons, who afterward expelled the Britons from Annandale in Albanie, whereby it is confeſſed to be before inhabited by Britons. The reſidue of the land now called Scotland, that is to ſaie: Peirnis, Angus, Steremond, Gowrie, Strahern, Pirth, Fiffe, Striueling, Callender, Calderwood, Lougthian, Mers, Teuedale, with other the Kement Dales, & the Sheriſdome, of Berwicke, were then enioied by a nation mingled in marriage with the Britons, and in their obedience, whoſe capteine called Beringer builded the caſtell and towne of Berwicke vpon Twede, & theſe people were called Picts, vpon whome by the death of this Coell, theſe Scots had opportunitie to vſe wars, whereof they ceaſed not, vntill ſuch time as it pleaſed God to appoint another Coell king of Britons, againſt whoſe name, albeit they hoped for a like victorie to the firſt, yet he preuailed and ceaſed not his warre, vntill theſe Scots were vtterlie expelled out of all the bounds of Britaine, in which they neuer dared to reenter, vntill the troubleſome reigne of Siſilt king of Britons, which was the twelft king after this Coell. During all which time the countrie was reinhabited by the Britons. But then the Scots turning the ciuill diſcord of this realme, betweene this Siſilt and his brother Blede to their beſt aduantage, arriued againe in Albania, & there made one Reuther their king.

Berouicum potiùs à Berubio promontorio.

Upon this their new arriuall, new warre was made vpon them by this Siſilt king of Britons, in which warre Reuther their new king died, and Thereus ſucceeded, againſt whome the warre of Britons ceaſed not, vntill he freelie ſubmitted himſelfe to the ſaid Sicill king of Britons at Ebranke, that is Yorke, where ſhortlie after the tenth yeare of his reigne he died. Finnane brother of Joſine ſucceeded by their election to the kingdome of Scots, who ſhortlie after (compelled by the warres of the ſame Sicill) declared himſelfe ſubiect, and for the better aſſurance of his faith and obeiſance to the king of Britons, deliuered his ſonne Durſtus into the hands of this Sicill: who fantaſieng the child, and hoping by his owne ſucceſſion to alter their ſubtiltie (I will not ſaie duplicitie ſaith Adams) married him in the end to Agaſia his owne daughter.

Durſtus.

This Durſtus was their next king; but for that he had married a Briton woman, (though indeed ſhe was a kings daughter) the Scots hated him for the ſame cauſe, for which they ought rather to haue liked him the better, and therefore not onelie traitorouſlie ſlue him; but further to declare the end of their malice, diſhinherited (as much as in them was) the iſſues of the ſame Durſtus and Agaſia. Hereupon new warre ſprong betweene them and vs, which ceaſed not vntill they were contented to receiue Edeir to their king, the next in blood then liuing, deſcended from Durſtus and Agaſia, and thereby the blood of the Britons, of the part of the mother, was reſtored to the crowne of Albania: ſo that nature, whoſe law is immutable, cauſed this bond of loue to hold. For ſhortlie after this Edeir attended vpon Caſſibelane king of Britons, for the repulſe of Iulius Cæſar, as their owne author Boetius confeſſeth, who commanded the ſame as his ſubiect. But Iulius Cæſar, after his ſecond arriuall, by treaſon of Androgeus preuailed againſt the Britons, and thereupon purſued this Edeir into Scotland; and (as himſelfe ſaith in his commentaries) ſubdued all the Ile of Britaine. Which though the liuing Scots denie it, their dead writers confeſſe that he came beyond Calender wood, and caſt downe Camelon, the principall citie of the Picts. And in token of this victorie, not farre from Carron, builded a round temple of ſtone, which remained in ſome perfection vntill the reigne of our king Edward called the firſt after the conqueſt, by whome it was ſubuerted: but the monument thereof remaineth to this daie.

Walliant

Coill.

Conſtan

Marius.

Marius the ſonne of Aruiragus, being king of all Britaine, in his time one Roderike a Scithian, with a great rabble of needie ſouldiours, came to the water of Frith in Scotland, which is an arme of the ſea, diuiding Pentland from Fiffe: againſt whome this Marius aſſembled a power, by which he ſlue this Rodericke, and diſcomfited his people in Weſtmerland: but to thoſe that remained aliue, he gaue the countrie of Cathneſſe in Scotland, which prooueth it to be within his owne dominion.

Coins.

Coell the ſonne of this Marius had iſſue Lucius, counted the firſt chriſtian king of this nation: he conuerted the three archflamines of this land into biſhoprikes, and ordeined biſhops vnto each of them. The firſt remained at London, and his power extended from the furtheſt part of Cornewall to Humber water. The ſecond dwelled at Yorke, and his power ſtretched from Humber to the furtheſt part of all Scotland. The third abaded at Caerleon vpon the riuer of Wiſke in Glamorgan in Wales, & his power extended from Seuerne through all Wales. Some write that he made but two, and turned their names to archbiſhops, the one to remaine at Canturburie, the other at Yorke: yet they confeſſe that he of Yorke had iuriſdiction through all Scotland: either of which is ſufficient to proue Scotland to be then vnder his dominion.

Seuerus.

Seuerus, by birth a Romane, but in blood a Briton (as ſome thinke) and the lineall heire of the bodie

bodie of Andꝛogeus ſonne of Lud, & nephue of Caſſibelane, was ſhoꝛtlie after emperour & king of Bꝛitons: in whoſe time the people to whom his anceſtoꝛ Marius gaue the land of Cathnelle in Scotland, conſpired with the Scots, & receiued them from the Iles into Scotland. But herevpon this Seuerus came into Scotland, and meeting with their faith and falſe harts togither, dꝛoue them all out of the maine land into Iles, the vttermoſt bounds of all great Bꝛitaine. But notwithſtanding this gloꝛious victoꝛie, the Bꝛitons conſidering their ſeruitude to the Romans, impoſed by treaſon of Andꝛogeus, anceſtoꝛ to this Seuerus, began to hate him, whome yet they had no time to loue, and who in their defenſe and ſuertie had ſlaine of the Scots and their confederats in one battell thirtie thouſand: but ſuch was the conſideration of the commonſtoꝛt in thoſe daies, whoſe malice no time could diminiſh, noꝛ iuſt deſert appeaſe.

Baſſianus. Antoninus Baſſianus bꝛone of a Bꝛiton woman, and Geta bꝛone by a Romane woman, were the ſonnes of this Seuerus, who after the death of their father, by the contrarie voices of their people, contended foꝛ the crowne. Few Bꝛitons held with Baſſianus, fewer Romans with Geta: but the greater number with neither of both. In the end Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus remained emperour, againſt whom Carautius rebelled, who gaue vnto the Scots, Picts, and Scithians, the countrie of Cathnelle in Scotland, which they afterward inhabited, whereby his ſeiſon thereof appeareth.

Coill. Coill, deſcended of the bloud of the ancient kings of this land, was ſhoꝛtlie after king of the Bꝛitons, whoſe onelie daughter and heire called Helen, was married vnto Conſtantius a Romane, who daunted the rebellion of all parts of great Bꝛitaine; and after the death of this Coill was in the right of his wife king thereof, and reigned in his ſtate ouer them thirteene oꝛ foureteene yeares.

Conſtantine. Conſtantine the ſonne of this Conſtance, and Helen, was nert king of Bꝛitons, by the right of his mother, who paſſing to Rome to receiue the empire thereof, deputed one Octauius king of Wales, and duke of the Gewiſſes (which ſome expound to be afterward called weſt Sarons) to haue the gouernment of this dominion. But abuſing the kings innocent goodneſſe, this Octauius defrauded this truſt, and toke vpon him the crowne. Foꝛ which traitoꝛie albeit he was once vanquiſhed by Leonine Traheron, great vncle to Conſtantine: yet after the death of this Traheron, he pꝛeuailed againe, and vſurped ouer all Bꝛitaine. Conſtantine being now emperoꝛ ſent Maximus his kinſman hither (in pꝛoceſſe of time) to deſtroie the ſame Octauius, who in ſingular battell diſcomfited him. Wherevpon this Maximus, as well by the conſent of great Conſtantine, as by the election of all the Bꝛitons, foꝛ that he was a Bꝛiton in bloud, was made king oꝛ rather vicegerent of Bꝛitaine. This Maximus made warre vpon the Scots and Scithians within Bꝛitaine, and ceaſſed not vntill he had ſlaine Eugenius their king, and expelled and dꝛiuen them out of the whole limits and bounds of Bꝛitaine. Finallie he inhabited all Scotland with Bꝛitons, no man, woman, noꝛ child of the Scotiſh nation ſuffered to remaine within it, which (as their Hector Boetius ſaith) was foꝛ their rebellion; and rebellion pꝛoperlie could it not be, except they had beene ſubiects. He ſuffered the Picts alſo to remaine his ſubiects, who made ſolemne othes to him, neuer after to erect anie peculiar king of their owne nation, but to remaine vnder the old empire of the onelie king of Bꝛitaine. I had once an epiſtle by Leland exemplified (as he ſaith) out of a verie ancient recoꝛd which beareth title of Helena vnto hir ſonne Conſtantine, and entreth after this manner; *Domino ſemper Auguſto filio Conſtantino, mater Helena ſemper Auguſta, &c.* And now it repenteth me that I did not exemplifie and conueigh it into this treatiſe whileſt I had his booke. Foꝛ thereby I might haue had great light foꝛ the eſtate of this pꝛeſent diſcourſe: but as then I had no mind to haue trauelled in this matter; neuertheleſſe, if hereafter it come againe to light I would wiſh it were reſerued. It followeth on alſo in this maner (as it is tranſlated out of the Gꝛeeke) *Veritatem ſapientis animus non recuſat, nec fides recta aliquando patitur quamcunque iacturam, &c.*

About fiue and fourtie yeares after this (which was long time after the death of this Maximus) with the helpe of Gouan oꝛ Gonan and Melga, the Scots newlie arriued in Albania, and there created one Fergus the ſecond of that name to be there king. But bicauſe they were before baniſhed the continent land, they crowned him king on their aduenture in Argile, in the fatall chaire of marble, the yeere of our Loꝛd, foure hundꝛed and two and twentie, as they themſelues dꝛo wꝛite.

Maximian. Maximian ſonne of Leonine Traheron, bꝛother to king Coill, and vncle to Helene, was by lineall ſucceſſion nert king of Bꝛitons: but to appeaſe the malice of Dionothus king of Wales, who alſo claimed the kingdome, he maried Othilia eldeſt daughter of Dionothus, and afterwards aſſembled a great power of Bꝛitons, and entered Albania, inuading Gallowaie, Mers, Annandale, Pentland, Carrike, Kill, and Cuningham, and in battell ſlue both this Fergus then king of Scots, and Durſtus the king of Picts, and exiled all their people out of the continent land: wherevpon the few number of Scots then remaining a liue, went to Argile, and there made Eugenius their king. When this Maximian had thus obteined quietneſſe in Bꝛitaine, he departed with his couſine Conan Meridocke into Armorica, where they ſubdued the king, and depopulated the countrie, which he gaue to Conan his couſine, to be afterward inhabited by Bꝛitons, by the name of Bꝛitaine the leſſe: and hereof this realme toke name of Bꝛitaine the great, which name by conſent of foꝛren writers it kæpeth vnto this date.

After the death of Maximian, diſſention being moued betweene the nobles of Bꝛitaine, the Scots ſwarmed togither againe, and came to the wall of Adꝛian, where (this realme being diuided in manie factions) they ouercame one. And herevpon their Hector Boetius (as an hen that foꝛ laieng of one eg, will make a great cakeling) ſolemnlie triumphing foꝛ a conqueſt before the victoꝛie, alledgeth that hereby the Bꝛitons were made tributaries to the Scots, and yet he confeſſeth that they won no moꝛe land, by that ſuppoſed conqueſt, but the ſame poꝛtion betweene them and Humber, which in the old partitions before was annexed to Albania. It is hard to be beleeued, that ſuch a bꝛoken nation as the Scots at that time were, returning from baniſhment within foure yeares before, and ſince in battell loſing both their kings, and the great number of their beſt men, to be thus able to make a conqueſt of great Bꝛitaine; and verie vnlikelie if they had conquered it, they would haue left the hot ſunne of the ſouth parts, to dwell in the cold ſnow in Scotland. Incredible it is, that if they had conquered it, they would not haue deputed officers in it, as in caſes of conqueſt behoueth. And it is beyond all beliefe, that great Bꝛitaine, oꝛ any other countrie, ſhould be won without the comming of anie enimie into it: as they did not, but taried finallie at the ſame wall of Adꝛian, whereof I ſpake before.

But what need I ſpeake of theſe defenſes, when the

the ſame Boecius ſcantlie truſteth his owne beliefe in this tale. For he ſaieth that Galfride, and ſundrie other authentike writers, diuerſlie varie from this part of his ſtorie, wherein his owne thought accuſeth his conſcience of vntruth: herein alſo he further forgetting how it behoueth a lier to be mindfull of his aſſertion, in the fourth chapter next following, wholie bewraieth himſelfe, ſaieng that the confederat kings of Scots and Picts, vpon ciuill warres betweene the Britons (which then followed) hoped ſhortlie to inioie all the land of great Britaine, from beyond Humber vnto the freſh ſea, which hope had bene vaine, and not leſſe than void, if it had béene their owne by anie conqueſt before.

Conſtantine of Britaine, deſcended from Conan king thereof, couſine of Brutes bloud to this Marimian, and his neereſt heire was next king of Britaine, he immediatlie purſued the Scots with wars, and ſhortlie in battell ſlue their king Dongard, in the firſt yeare of his reigne, whereby he recouered Scotland out of their hands, and toke all the holdes thereof into his owne poſſeſſions. Vortiger ſhortlie after obteined the crowne of Britaine, againſt whom the Scots newlie rebelled: for the repreſſing whereof (miſtruſting the Britons to hate him for ſundrie cauſes, as one that to auoid the ſmoke doth oft fall into the fire) receiued Hengeſt a Saxon, and a great number of his countriemen, with whom and a few Britons he entred Scotland & ouercame them, whereupon they toke the Iles, which are their common refuge. He gaue alſo much of Scotland, as Gallowaie, Pentland, Mers and Annandale, with ſundrie other lands to this Hengeſt and his people to inhabit, which they did accordinglie inioie. But when this Hengeſt in proceſſe of time thirſted after the whole kingdome of the ſouth, he was baniſhed, and yet afterward being reſtored, he conſpired with the Scots againſt Aurilambroſe the ſonne of Conſtantine, the iuſt inheritor of this whole dominion. But his vntruth and theirs were both recompenſed togither, for he was taken priſoner by Eldulph de Samor a noble man of Britaine, and his head for his traitorie ſtriken off at the commandement of Aurilambroſe. In the field the Scots were vanquiſhed: but Octa the ſonne of Hengeſt was receiued to mercie, to whome and his people this Aurilambroſe gaue the countrie of Gallowaie in Scotland, for which they became his ſubiects. And hereby appeareth that Scotland was then againe reduced into his hands.

Some thinke the Seimors to come from this man by lineall deſcent and I ſuppoſe no leſſe.

Uter called alſo Pendragon, brother to Aurilambroſe was next king of the Britons, againſt whome, theſe ſworne Saxons now forſworne ſubiects (confederate with the Scots) newlie rebelled: but by his power aſſembled againſt them in Gallowaie in Scotland, they were diſcomfited, & Albania againe recouered vnto his ſubiection. Arthur the ſonne of of this Uter, begotten before the mariage, but lawfullie borne in matrimonie, ſucceeded next to the crowne of great Britaine; whoſe noble acts, though manie vulgar fables haue rather ſtained than commended: yet all the Scotiſh writers confeſſe, that he ſubdued great Britaine, and made it tributarie to him, and ouercame the Saxons then ſcattered as far as Cathneſſe in Scotland: and in all theſe wars againſt them, he had the ſeruice and obeiſance of Scots and Picts. But at the laſt ſetting their feet in the guileſull paths of their predeceſſors, they rebelled and beſieged the citie of Yorke, Howell king of the leſſe Britaine couſine to king Arthur being therein. But he with an hoſt came thither and diſcomfited the Scots, chaſed them into a marſh, and beſieged them there ſo long, that they were almoſt famiſhed: vntill the biſhops, abbats, and men of religion (for as much as they were chriſtened people) beſought him to take them to his mercie and grace, and to grant them a portion of the ſame countrie to dwell in vnder euerlaſting ſubiection. Vpon this he toke them to his grace, homage and fealtie: and when they were ſworne his ſubiects and liegemen, he ordeined his kinſman Anguſian to be their king and gouernour, Urian king of Iland, and Pure-frence king of Orkeneie. He made an archbiſhop of Yorke alſo, whoſe authoritie extended through all Scotland.

Nicholas Adams.

Finallie, the ſaid Arthur holding his roiall feaſt at Cairleon, had there all the kings that were ſubiects vnto him, among which, Anguſian the ſaid king of Scots did his due ſeruice and homage, ſo long as he was with him for the realme of Scotland, & bare king Arthurs ſword afore him. Malgo ſhortlie after ſucceeded in the whole kingdome of great Britaine, who vpon new reſiſtance made, ſubdued Ireland, Iland, the Orchads, Norwaie and Denmarke, and made Ethelfred a Saxon king of Bernicia, that is, Northumberland, Louthian, and much other land of Scotland, which Ethelfred by the ſword obteined at the hands of the wilfull inhabitants, and continued true ſubiect to this Malgo.

Cadwan ſucceeded in the kingdome of great Britaine, who in defenſe of his ſubiects the Scots, made warre vpon this Ethelfred, but at the laſt they agréed, and Cadwan vpon their rebellion gaue all Scotland vnto this Ethelfred, which he thereupon ſubdued and inioied: but afterward in the reigne of Cadwallo that next ſucceeded in great Britaine, he rebelled. Whereupon the ſame Cadwallo came into Scotland, and vpon his treaſon reſeiſed the countrie into his owne hands, and hauing with him all the vicerois of the Saxons, which then inhabited here as his ſubiects, in ſingular battell he ſlue the ſame Ethelfred with his owne hands.

Oſwald was ſhortlie after by Cadwallos gift made king of Bernicia, and he as ſubiect to Cadwallo, and by his commandement diſcomfited the Scots and Picts, and ſubdued all Scotland. Oſwie the brother of this Oſwald, was by the like gift of Cadwallo, made next king of Bernicia, and he by like commandement newlie ſubdued the Scots and Picts, and held them in that obeiſance to this Cadwallo, during eight and twentie yeares. Thus Cadwallo reigned in the whole monarchie of great Britaine, hauing all the ſeuen kings thereof, as well Saxons as others his ſubiects: for albeit the number of Saxons from time to time greatlie increaſed, yet were they alwaies either at the firſt expelled, or elſe made tributarie to the onelie kings of Britons for the time being, as all their owne writers do confeſſe.

Cadwallader was next king of the whole great Britaine, he reigned twelue yeares ouer all the kings thereof, in great peace and tranquillitie: and then vpon the lamentable death of his ſubiects, which died of ſundrie diſeaſes innumerable, he departed into little Britaine. His ſonne and couſine Ivor and Iue, being expelled out of England alſo by the Saxons, went into Wales, where among the Britons they and their poſteritie remained princes. Vpon this great alteration, and warres being through the whole dominion betweene the Britons and Saxons, the Scots thought time to ſlip the collar of obedience, and thereupon entred in league with Charles then king of France, eſtabliſhing it in this wiſe.

1 The iniurie of Engliſhmen done to anie of theſe people, ſhall be perpetuallie holden common to them both.

2 When Frenchmen be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Scots ſhall ſend their armie in defenſe of France, ſo that they be ſupported with monie and vittels

cc bittels by the French.

cc 3 When Scots be inuaded by Engliſhmen, the Frenchmen ſhall come vpon their owne expenſes,
cc to their ſupport and ſuccour.

cc 4 None of the people ſhall take peace or truce with Engliſhmen, without the aduiſe of other, &c.

Nicholas Adams.

Manie diſputable opinions may be had of warre without the praiſing of it, as onlie admittable by inforced neceſſitie, and to be vſed for peace ſake onelie, where here the Scots ſought warre for the loue of warre onelie. For their league giueth no benefit to themſelues, either in free traffike of their owne commodities, or benefit of the French, or other priuiledge to the people of both. What diſcommoditie riſeth by loſing the intercourſe and exchange of our commodities (being in neceſſaries more aboundant than France) the Scots feele, and we perfectlie know. What ruine of their townes, deſtruction of countries, ſlaughter of both peoples, haue by reaſon of this bloudie league chanced, the hiſtories be lamentable to read, and horrible among chriſtian men to be remembred: but God gaue the increaſe according to their ſeed, for as they did hereby ſowe diſſention, ſo did they ſhortlie after reape a bloudie ſlaughter and confuſion. For Alpine their king, poſſeſſing a light mind that would be loſt with a little wind, hoped by this league ſhortlie to ſubdue all great Britaine; and to that end not onelie rebelled in his owne kingdome, but alſo vſurped vpon the kingdome of Picts. Whervpon Edwine king of England, made one Brudeus king of Picts, whom he ſent into Scotland with a great power, where in battell he tooke this Alpine king of Scots priſoner, and diſcomfited his people. And this Alpine being their king found ſubiect and rebell, his head was ſtriken off at a place in Scotland, which thereof is to this daie called Paſalpine, that is to ſaie, the head of Alpine. And this was the firſt effect of their French league.

Odbright king of England, with Ella his ſubiect, and a great number of Britons and Saxons ſhortlie after, for that the Scots had of themſelues elected a new king, entered Scotland, and ceaſſed not his warre againſt them, vntill their king and people fled into the Iles, with whome at the laſt vpon their ſubmiſſion, peace was made in this wiſe.

The water of Frith ſhall be march betweene Scots and Engliſhmen in the eaſt parts, and ſhall be named the Scotiſh ſea.

The water of Cluide to Dunbriton, ſhall be march in the weſt parts betweene the Scots and Britons. This caſtell was before called Alcluide, but now Dunbriton, that is to ſay, the caſtle of Britons, and ſometimes it was deſtroied by the Danes. So the Britons had all the lands from Sterling to the Ireland ſeas, and from the water of Frith & Cluide to Cumber, with all the ſtrengths and commodities thereof: and the Engliſhmen had the lands betweene Sterling and Northumberland. Thus was Cluide march betweene the Scots and the Britons on the one ſide, and the water of Frith named the Scotiſh ſea, march betweene them and Engliſhmen on the other ſide, and Sterling common march to three people, Britons, Engliſhmen, and Scots, howbeit king Odbright had the caſtle of Sterling, where firſt he cauſed to be coined Sterling monie. The Engliſhmen alſo builded a bridge of ſtone, for paſſage ouer the water of Frith, in the middeſt whereof they made a croſſe, vnder which were written theſe verſes:

I am free march, as paſſengers may ken,
To Scots, to Britons, and Engliſhmen.

Not manie yeares after this, Hinguar and Hubba, two Danes, with a great number of people, arriued in Scotland, and ſlue Conſtantine, whom Odbright had before made king: whervpon Edulfe or Ethelwulfe, then king of England, aſſembled his power againſt Hinguar and Hubba, and in one battell ſlue them both; but ſuch of their people as would remaine and become chriſtians, he ſuffered to tarie: the reſt he baniſhed or put to death, &c.

This Ethelwulfe granted the Peter pence, of which albeit Peter & Paule had little need and leſſe right: yet the paiment thereof continued in this realme euer after vntill now of late yeares. But the Scots euer ſince vnto this daie haue, and yet do paie it, by reaſon of that grant, which prooueth them to be then vnder his obeiſance.

Alured or Alfred ſucceeded in the kingdome of England, and reigned noblie ouer the whole monarchie of great Britaine: he made lawes, that perſons excommunicated ſhould be diſabled to ſue or claime anie propertie; which law Gregour, whome this Alured had made king of Scots, obeied; and the ſame law as well in Scotland as in England is holden to this daie, which alſo prooueth him to be high lord of Scotland.

This Alured conſtreined Gregour king of Scots alſo to breake the league with France, for generallie he concluded with him, and ſerued him in all his warres, as well againſt Danes as others, not reſeruing or making anie exception of the former league with France.

The ſaid Alured, after the death of Gregour, had the like ſeruice and obeiſance of Donald king of Scots with fiue thouſand horſſemen, againſt one Gurmond a Dane that then infeſted the realme, and this Donald died in this faith and obeiſance with Alured.

Edward the firſt of that name called Chiſod ſonne of this Alured ſucceeded his father, and was the next king of England: againſt whome Sithric a Dane and the Scots conſpired; but they were ſubdued, and Conſtantine their king brought to obeiſance. He held the realme of Scotland alſo of king Edward, and this doth Marian their owne countrieman a Scot confeſſe: beſide Roger Houeden, and William of Malmeſberie.

In the yeare of our Lord 923, the ſame king Edward was preſident and gouernour of all the people of England, Cumberland, Scots, Danes, and Britons.

King Athelſtane in like ſort conquered Scotland, and as he laie in his tents beſide Yorke, whileſt the warres laſted, the king of Scots feined himſelfe to be a minſtrell, and harped before him onelie to eſpie his ordinance and his people. But being (as their writers confeſſe) corrupted with monie, he ſold his faith and falſe heart together to the Danes, and aided them againſt king Athelſtane at ſundrie times. Howbeit he met with all their vntruthes at Brongingfield in the weſt countrie, as is mentioned in the ninth chapter of the firſt booke of this deſcription, where he diſcomfited the Danes, and ſlue Malcolme deputie in that behalfe to the king of Scots: in which battell the Scots confeſſe themſelues to haue loſt more people than were remembred in anie age before. Then Athelſtane following his good lucke, went throughout all Scotland and wholie ſubdued it, and being in poſſeſſion thereof, gaue land there lieng in Annandale by his deed, the copie whereof doth follow:

I king Athelſtane, giues vnto Paulam, Oddam and Roddam, als good and als faire, as euer they mine were, and thereto witneſſe Mauld my wife.

By which courſe words, not onelie appeareth the plaine ſimplicitie of mens doings in thoſe daies: but alſo a full proofe that he was then ſeized of Scotland. At the laſt alſo he receiued homage of Malcolme king of Scots: but for that he could not be re-

ſtored

lord to his whole kingdome, he entered into religion, and there ſhortlie after died.

When Athelſtane, for his better aſſurance of that countrie there after, thought it beſt to haue two ſtringes to the bowe of their obedience, and therefore not onelie conſtituted one Malcolme to be their king, but alſo appointed one Indulph ſonne of Conſtantine the third, to be called prince of Scotland, to whome he gaue much of Scotland: and for this Malcolme did homage to Athelſtane.

Edmund brother of Athelſtane ſucceeded next king of England, to whome this Indulph then king of Scots not onelie did homage, but alſo ſerued him with ten thouſand Scots, for the expulſion of the Danes out of the realme of England.

Home referre this to an Edward.

Edred or Eldred brother to this Edmund ſucceeded next king of England: he not onelie receiued the homage of Irſe then king of Scots, but alſo the homage of all the barons of Scotland.

Edgar the ſonne of Edmund, brother of Athelſtane, being now of full age, was next king of England: he reigned onelie ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, and receiued homage of Keneth king of Scots for the kingdome of Scotland, and made Malcolme prince thereof.

This Edgar gaue vnto the ſame Keneth the countrie of Louthian in Scotland, which was before ſeized into the hands of Olbright king of England for their rebellion, as is before declared. He inioined Keneth their ſaid king alſo once in euerie yeare at certeine principall feaſts (whereat the king did vſe to weare his crowne) to repaire vnto him into England for the making of lawes: which in thoſe daies was done by the noble men or peeres according to the order of France at this daie. He allowed alſo ſundrie lodgings in England, to him and his ſucceſſours, whereat to lie, and refreſh themſelues in their iourneies, whenſoeuer they ſhould come vp to do their homages: and finallie a peece of ground lieng beſide the new palace of Weſtminſter, vpon which this Keneth builded a houſe, that by him and his poſteritie was inioied vntill the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond. In whoſe time, vpon the rebellion of William king of Scots, it was reſumed into the king of Englands hand. The houſe is decaied, but the ground where it ſtood is called Scotland to this date.

Lawfull age and wardſhip of heires.

Moreouer, Edgar made this law, that no man ſhould ſucceed to his patrimonie or inheritance holden by knights ſeruice, vntill he accompliſhed the age of one and twentie yeares: becauſe by intendment vnder that age, he ſhould not be able in perſon to ſerue his king and countrie according to the tenor of his deed, and the condition of his purchaſe. This law was receiued by the ſame Keneth in Scotland; and as well there as in England is obſerued to this daie: which prooueth alſo that Scotland was then vnder his obeiſance.

In the yeare of our Lord 974, Kinald king of Scots, and Malcolme king of Cumberland, Macon king of Man and the Iles, Duuenall king of South-wales, Siferth and Howell kings of the reſt of Wales, Jacob or James of Gallowaie, & Jukill of Weſtmerland did homage to king Edgar at Cheſter. And on the morrow going by water to the monaſterie of ſaint Johns to ſeruice, and returning home againe: the ſaid Edgar ſitting in a barge, and ſtirring the ſame vpon the water of Dee, made the ſaid kings to row the barge, ſaieng that his ſucceſſors might well be ioifull to haue the prerogatiue of ſo great honour, and the ſuperioritie of ſo manie mightie princes to be ſubiect vnto their monarchie.

Edward, the ſonne of this Edgar, was next king of England, in whoſe time this Keneth king of Scots cauſed Malcolme king of Scotland to be poiſoned. Wherevpon king Edward made warre againſt him, which ceaſed not vntill this Keneth ſubmitted himſelfe, and offered to receiue him for prince of Scotland, whome king Edward would appoint. Herevpon king Edward proclamed one Malcolme to be prince of Scotland, who immediatlie came into England, and there did homage vnto the ſame king Edward.

Edward Confeſſo

Ethelred, brother of this Edward ſucceeded next ouer England, againſt whome Swaine king of Denmarke conſpired with this laſt Malcolme then king of Scots. But ſhortlie after, this Malcolme forrowfullie ſubmitted himſelfe into the defenſe of Ethelred: who conſidering how that which could not be amended, muſt onelie be repented, benignlie receiued him. By helpe of whoſe ſeruice at laſt Ethelred recouered his realme againe out of the hands of Swaine, and reigned ouer the whole monarchie eight and thirtie yeares.

Edmund ſurnamed Ironſide, ſonne of this Ethelred, was next king of England, in whoſe time Canutus a Dane inuaded the realme with much cruelties. But at the laſt he married with Emme ſometime wife vnto Ethelred and mother of this Edmund. Which Emme, as arbitratrix betweene hir naturall loue to the one, and matrimoniall dutie to the other, procured ſuch amitie betweene them in the end, that Edmund was contented to diuide the realme with Canutus: and keeping to himſelfe all England on this ſide Humber, gaue all the reſt beyond Humber, with the ſeigniorie of Scotland to this Canutus. Wherevpon Malcolme then king of Scots (after a little accuſtomable reſiſtance) did homage to the ſame Canutus for the kingdome of Scotland. Thus the ſaid Canutus held the ſame ouer of this Edmund king of England by the like ſeruices, ſo long as they liued togither. This Canutus in memorie of this victorie, and glorie of his ſeigniorie ouer the Scots, commanded Malcolme their king to build a church in Buchquhan in Scotland, (where a field betweene him and them was fought) to be dedicated to Olauus patrone of Norwaie and Denmarke, which church was by the ſame Malcolme accordinglie performed.

William Baſtard.

William Rufus.

Edward called the Confeſſour, ſonne of Ethelred, and brother to Edmund Ironſide, was afterward king of England: he tooke from Malcolme king of Scots his life and his kingdome, and made Malcolme ſonne to the king of Cumberland and Northumberland king of Scots, who did him homage and fealtie.

This Edward peruſed the old lawes of the realme, and somewhat added to ſome of them: as to the law of Edgar for the wardſhip of the lands vntill the heire ſhould accompliſh the age of one and twentie yeares. He added, that the marriage of ſuch heire ſhould alſo belong to the lord of whom the ſame land was holden. Alſo, that euerie woman marrieng a free man, ſhould (notwithſtanding ſhe had no children by that huſband) enioie the third part of his inheritance during hir life: with manie other lawes which the ſame Malcolme king of Scots obeied, and which as well by them in Scotland, as by vs in England be obſerued to this day, and directlie prooueth the whole to be then vnder his obeiſance.

To whome the marriage of the ward perteineth.

Henrie 1.

By reaſon of this law, Malcolme the ſonne of Duncane next inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, being within age, was by the nobles of Scotland deliuered as ward to the cuſtodie alſo of king Edward. During whoſe minoritie, one Makebeth a Scot traitorouſlie vſurped the crowne of Scotland. Againſt whome the ſaid Edward made warre, in

Hewd.

which

which the ſaid Mackbeth was ouercome and ſlaine. Whereupon the ſaid Malcolme was crowned king of Scots at Scone, in the eight yeere of the reigne of king Edward aforeſaid. This Malcolme alſo by tenor of the ſaid new lato of wardſhip, was married vnto Margaret the daughter of Edward ſonne of Edmund Ironſide and Agatha, by the diſpoſition of the ſame king Edward, and at his full age did homage to this king Edward the Confeſſour for the kingdome of Scotland.

Edward the Confeſſour.

Moreouer, Edward of England, hauing no iſſue of his bodie, and miſtruſting that Harald the ſon of Godwine, deſcended of the daughter of Harald Harefot the Dane, would diſpute the crowne, if he ſhould leaue it to his couſine Edgar Atling (being then within age) and partlie by the petition of his ſubiects, who before had ſworne neuer to receiue anie kings ouer them of the Daniſh nation, did by his ſubſtantiall will in writing (as all our clergie writers affirme) demiſe the crowne of great Britaine vnto William Baſtard, then duke of Normandie, and to his heires, conſtituting him his heire teſtamentarie. Alſo there was proximitie in bloud betweene them: for Emme daughter of Richard duke of Normandie was wife vnto Ethelred, on whom he begat Alured and this Edward: and this William was ſon of Robert ſonne of Richard, brother of the whole bloud to the ſame Emme. Whereby appeareth that this William was heire by title, and not by conqueſt, albeit that partlie to extinguiſh the miſtruſt of other titles, and partlie for the glorie of his victorie, he chalenged in the end, the name of a conquerour, and hath beene ſo written euer ſince the time of his arriuall.

William Baſtard.

Furthermore, this William, called the Baſtard and the Conquerour, ſuppoſed not his conqueſt perfect till he had likewiſe ſubdued the Scots. Wherefore to bring the Scots to iuſt obeiſance after his coronation, as heire teſtamentarie to Edward the Confeſſour; he entred Scotland, where after a little reſiſtance made by the inhabitants, the ſaid Malcolme then their king did homage to him at Abirnethie in Scotland for the kingdome of Scotland, as to his ſuperiour alſo by meane of his late conqueſt.

William Rufus.

William ſurnamed Rufus, ſonne to this William called the Conquerour, ſucceeded next in the throne of England, to whome the ſaid Malcolme king of Scots did like homage for the whole kingdome of Scotland. But afterward he rebelled, and was by this William Rufus ſlaine in plaine field. Whereupon the Scotiſhmen did chooſe one Donald or Dunwall to be their king. But this William Rufus deposed him, and created Dunkane ſonne of Malcolme to be their king, who did like homage to him. Finallie, this Dunkane was ſlaine by the Scots, and Dunwall reſtored, who anie againe by this William Rufus was deposed; and Edgar ſon of Malcolme, and brother to the laſt Malcolme, was by him made their king, who did like homage for Scotland to this William Rufus.

Henrie 1.

Henrie called Beauclerke the ſonne of William called the Conqueour, after the death of his brother William Rufus, ſucceeded to the crowne of England, to whome the ſame Edgar king of Scots did homage for Scotland: this Henrie Beauclerke maried Mawd the daughter of Malcolme K. of Scots, and by hir had iſſue Mawd after ward empreſſe.

Alexander the ſonne of Malcolme brother to this Mawd was next king of Scots, he did like homage for the kingdome of Scotland to this Henrie the firſt, as Edgar had done before him.

Mawd.

Mawd called the empreſſe, daughter and heire to Henrie Beauclerke and Mawd his wife, receiued homage of Dauid, brother to hir and to this Alexander next king of Scots, before all the temporall men of England for the kingdome of Scotland. This Mawd the empreſſe gaue vnto Dauid in the marriage, Mawd the daughter and heire of Waldoſius earle of Huntingdon & Northumberland. And herein their euaſion appeareth, by which they allege that their kings homages were made for the earledome of Huntingdon. For this Dauid was the firſt that of their kings was earle of Huntingdon, which was ſince all the homages of their kings before recited, and at the time of this mariage, & long after the ſaid Alexander his brother was king of Scots, doing the homage aforeſaid to Henrie Beauclerke ſon to the aforeſaid ladie, of whome I find this epitaph worthie to be remembred:

Ortu magna, viro maior, ſed maxima partu,
Hic iacet Henrici filia, ſponſa, parens.

In the yeere of our Lord 1136, and firſt yeere of the reigne of king Stephan, the ſaid Dauid king of Scots being required to do his homage, refuſed it: for ſo much as he had done homage to Mawd the empreſſe before time; notwithſtanding the ſonne of the ſaid Dauid did homage to king Stephan.

Henrie 2.

Henrie called Fitz empreſſe, the ſonne of Mawd the empreſſe daughter of Mawd, daughter of Malcolme king of Scots, was next king of England. He receiued homage for Scotland of Malcolme ſonne of Henrie, ſonne of the ſaid Dauid their laſt king. Which Malcolme after this homage attended vpon the ſame king Henrie in his warres againſt Lewis then king of France. Whereby appeareth that their French league was neuer renewed after the laſt diuiſion of their countrie by Egbright king of England. But after theſe warres finiſhed with the French king, this Malcolme being againe in Scotland rebelled: whereupon king Henrie immediatlie ſeized Huntingdon and Northumberland into his owne hands by confiſcation, and made warres vpon him in Scotland: during which the ſame Malcolme died without iſſue of his bodie.

William brother of this Malcolme was next king of Scots, he with all the nobles of Scotland (which could not be now for anie earledome) did homage to the ſonne of Henrie the ſecond; with a reſeruation of the dutie to king Henrie the ſecond his father. Alſo the earledome of Huntingdon was (as ye haue heard) before this forfeited by Malcolme his brother, and neuer after reſtored to the crowne of Scotland.

Becauſe they were taken from him before.

This William did afterward attend vpon the ſame Henrie the ſecond, in his warres in Normandie againſt the French king (notwithſtanding their French league) and then being licenced to depart home in the tenth of this prince, and vpon the fifteenth of Februarie he returned, and vpon the ſixteenth of October did homage to him for the realme of Scotland. In token alſo of his perpetuall ſubiection to the crowne of England, he offered vp his cloake, his ſaddle, and his ſpeare at the high altar in Yorke: whereupon he was permitted to depart home into Scotland, where immediatlie he moued cruell warre in Northumberland againſt the ſame king Henrie, being as yet in Normandie. But God tooke the defenſe of king Henries part, and deliuered the ſame William king of Scots into the hands of a few Engliſhmen, who brought him priſoner to king Henrie into Normandie in the twentith yeere of his reigne. But at the laſt, at the ſute of Dauid his brother, Richard biſhop of ſaint Andrews, and other biſhops and lords, he was put to this fine for the amendment of his treſpaſſe; to wit, to paie ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and to ſurrender all his title to the earldome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, & Northumberland into the hands of king Henrie,

which he did in all things accordinglie, ſealing his charters thereof with the great ſeale of Scotland, and ſignets of his nobilitie yet to be ſeene: wherein it was alſo compriſed, that he and his ſucceſſours ſhould hold the realme of Scotland of the king of England and his ſucceſſours for euer. And hereupon he once againe did homage to the ſame king Henrie, which now could not be for the earledome of Huntingdon, the right whereof was alreadie by him ſurrendred. And for the better aſſurance of this faith alſo, the ſtrengths of Berwike, Edenborough, Rorborough, and Striueling were deliuered into the hands of our king Henrie of England, which their owne writers confeſſe. But Hector Boetius ſaith, that this treſpaſſe was amended by fine of twentie thouſand pounds ſterling, and that the erledome of Huntingdon, Cumberland, and Northumberland were deliuered as morgage into the hands of king Henrie, vntill other ten thouſand pounds ſterling ſhould be to him paid, which is ſo farre from truth, as Hector was (while he liued) from well meaning to our countrie. But if we grant that it is true, yet proueth he not that the monie was paid, nor the land otherwiſe redéemed, or euer after came to anie Scotiſh kings hands. And thus it appeareth that the earledome of Huntingdon was neuer occaſion of the homages of the Scotiſh kings to the kings of England, either before this time or after.

This was done 1175. Moreouer I read this note hereof gathered out of Robertus Montanus or Montenſis that liued in thoſe daies, and was (as I take it) confeſſor to king Henrie. The king of Scots doth homage to king Henrie for the kingdome of Scotland, and is ſent home againe, his biſhops alſo did promiſe to do the like to the archbiſhop of Yorke, and to acknowledge themſelues to be of his prouince and iuriſdiction. By vertue alſo of this compoſition the ſaid Robert ſaith, that *Rex Angliæ dabat honores, epiſcopatus, abbatias, & alias dignitates in Scotia, vel ſaltem eius conſilio dabantur*, that is, The king of England gaue honors, biſhoprikes, abbatſhips, and other dignities in Scotland, or at the leaſtwiſe they were not giuen without his aduiſe and counſell.

At this time Alexander biſhop of Rome (ſuppoſed to haue generall iuriſdiction eccleſiaſticall through chriſtendome) eſtabliſhed the whole cleargie of Scotland (according to the old lawes) vnder the iuriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Yorke.

In the yeare of our Lord 1185, in the moneth of Auguſt, at Cairleil, Rouland Galmant lord of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie with all that held of him.

In the two and twentith yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, Gilbert ſonne of Ferguſe prince of Galwaie, did homage and fealtie to the ſaid king Henrie, and left Donecan his ſonne in hoſtage for conſeruation of his peace.

Richard ſurnamed Cœur de Lion, becauſe of his ſtoutneſſe, and ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England, to whome the ſame William king of Scots did homage at Canturburie for the whole kingdome of Scotland.

This king Richard was taken priſoner by the duke of Oſtrich, for whoſe redemption the whole realme was taxed at great ſummes of monie, vnto the which this William king of Scots (as a ſubiect) was contributorie, and paied two thouſand markes ſterling.

In the yeare of our Lord 1199, John king of England ſent to William king of Scots, to come and do his homage, which William came to Lincolne in the moneth of December the ſame yeare, and did his homage vpon an hill in the preſence of Hubert archbiſhop of Canturburie, and of all the people there aſſembled, and therevnto tooke his oth and was ſworne vpon the croſſe of the ſaid Hubert: alſo he granted by his charter confirmed, that he ſhould haue the mariage of Alexander his ſonne, as his liegeman, alwaies to hold of the king of England: promiſing moreouer that he the ſaid king William and his ſonne Alexander, ſhould kéepe and hold faith and allegiance to Henrie ſonne of the ſaid king John, as to their chiefe lord againſt all maner of men that might liue and die.

Alſo whereas William king of Scots had put John biſhop of ſaint Andrew out of his biſhoprike, pope Clement wrote to Henrie king of England, that he ſhould moue and induce the ſame William; and if néed required by his roiall power and prerogatiue ouer that nation, to compell him to leaue his rancor againſt the ſaid biſhop, and ſuffer him to haue and occupie his ſaid biſhoprike againe.

In the yeare of our Lord 1216, and fiue & twentith of the reigne of Henrie, ſonne to king John, the ſame Henrie and the quéene were at Yorke at the feaſt of Chriſtmaſſe, for the ſolemnization of a mariage made in the feaſt of ſaint Stephan the martyr the ſame yeare, betwéene Alexander king of Scots, and Margaret the kings daughter, and there the ſaid Alexander did homage to Henrie king of England for all the realme of Scotland.

In buls of diuerſe popes were admonitions giuen to the kings of Scots, as appeareth by that of Gregorie the fift and Clement his ſucceſſor, that they ſhould obſerue and trulie kéepe all ſuch appointments, as had béene made betwéene the kings of England and Scotland. And that the kings of Scotland ſhould ſtill hold the realme of Scotland of the kings of England, vpon paine of curſſe and interdiction.

After the death of Alexander king of Scots, Alexander his ſonne, being nine yeares of age, was by the lawes of Edgar, in ward to king Henrie the third, & by the nobles of Scotland brought to Yorke, and there deliuered vnto him. During whoſe minoritie king Henrie gouerned Scotland, and to ſubdue a commotion in this realme, vſed the aid of fiue thouſand Scotiſhmen. But king Henrie died during the nonage of this Alexander, whereby he receiued not his homage, which by reaſon and law was reſpited vntill his full age of one and twentie yeares.

Edward the firſt after the conqueſt, ſonne of this Henrie was next king of England; immediatlie after whoſe coronation, Alexander king of Scots, being then of full age, did homage to him for Scotland at Weſtminſter, ſwearing (as all the reſt did) after this maner.

I. D. N. king of Scots ſhall be true and faithfull vnto you lord E. by the grace of God king of England, the noble and ſuperior lord of the kingdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the ſame kingdome, the which I hold and claime to hold of you. And I ſhall beare you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honour againſt all men, faithfullie I ſhall knowlege and ſhall doo you ſeruice due vnto you of the kingdome of Scotland aforeſaid, as God me ſo helpe and theſe holie euangelies.

This Alexander king of Scots died, leauing one onelie daughter called Margaret for his heire, who before had maried Hanigo, ſonne to Magnus king of Norwaie, which daughter alſo ſhortlie after died, leauing one onelie daughter hir heire, of the age of two yeares, whoſe cuſtodie and mariage by the lawes of king Edgar, and Edward the confeſſor, belonged to Edward the firſt: wherupon the nobles of Scotland were commanded by our king Edward to ſend into Norwaie, to conueie this yong quéene into

England

England to him, whome he intended to haue mar-
ried to his ſonne Edward: and ſo to haue made a per-
fect vnion long wiſhed for betweene both realmes.
Herevpon their nobles at that time conſidering the
ſame tranquillitie that manie of them haue ſince
refuſed, ſtood not vpon ſhifts and delaies of minori-
tie nor contempt, but moſt gladlie conſented, and
therevpon ſent two noble men of Scotland into
Norwaie, for hir to be brought to this king Edward,
but ſhe died before their comming thither, and there-
fore they required nothing but to inioie the lawfull
liberties that they had quietlie poſſeſſed in the laſt
king Alexanders time.

After the death of this Margaret, the Scots were
deſtitute of anie heire to the crowne from this Alex-
ander their laſt king, at which time this Edward de-
ſcended from the bodie of Mawd daughter of Mal-
colme ſometime king of Scots, being then in the
greateſt broile of his warres with France, minded
not to take the poſſeſſion of that kingdome in his
owne right, but was contented to eſtabliſh Baliol
to be king thereof, the weake title betweene him,
Bruſe, & Haſtings, being by the humble petition of
all the realme of Scotland cõmitted to the determi-
nation of king Edward, wherein by autentike writ-
ting they confeſſed the ſuperioritie of the realme to
remaine in king Edward, ſealed with the ſeales of
foure biſhops, ſeuen earles, and twelue barons of
Scotland, and which ſhortlie after was by the whole
aſſent of the three eſtates of Scotland, in their ſo-
lemne parlement confeſſed and enacted accordingly,
as moſt euidentlie doth appeare.

The Baliol in this wiſe made king of Scotland,
did immediatlie make his homage and fealtie at
Newcaſtell vpon ſaint Stæuens daie (as did like-
wiſe all the lords of Scotland, each one ſetting his
hand to the compoſition in writing) to king Edward
of England for the kingdome of Scotland: but
ſhortlie after defrauding the benigne goodneſſe of
his ſuperiour, he rebelled, and did verie much hurt in
England. Herevpon king Edward inuaded Scot-
land, ſeized into his hands the greater part of the
countrie, and tooke all the ſtrengths thereof. Wher-
vpon Baliol king of Scots came vnto him to
Pauntroſſe in Scotland with a white wand in his
hand, and there reſigned the crowne of Scotland,
with all his right, title, and intereſt to the ſame, into
the hands of king Edward, and thereof made his
charter in writing, dated and ſealed the fourth yeare
of his reigne. All the nobles and gentlemen of Scot-
land alſo repaired to Berwike, and did homage and
fealtie to king Edward, there becomming his ſub-
iects. For the better aſſurance of whoſe oths alſo,
king Edward kept all the ſtrengths and holdes of
Scotland in his owne hands; and herevpon all their
lawes, proceſſes, all iudgements, gifts of aſſiſes
and others, paſſed vnder the name and authoritie of
king Edward. Leland touching the ſame rehearſall,
writeth thereof in this maner.

"In the yeare of our Lord 1295, the ſame John
king of Scots, contrarie to his faith and allegiance
rebelled againſt king Edward, and came into Eng-
land, and burnt and ſlue without all modeſtie and
mercie. Wherevpon king Edward with a great hoſt
went to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, paſſed the water of
Tweed, beſieged Berwike, and got it. Alſo he wan
the caſtell of Dunbar, and there were ſlaine at this
brunt 15700 Scots. Then he proceeded further, and
gat the caſtell of Rokeſborow, and the caſtell of E-
denborow, Strifuelin and Gedworth, and his peo-
ple harried all the land. In the meane ſeaſon, the ſaid
king John of Scots, conſidering that he was not of
power to withſtand king Edward, ſent his letters
and beſought him of treatie and peace, which our
prince benignlie granted, and ſent to him againe
that he ſhould come to the towre of Brechin, and
bring thither the great lords of Scotland with him.
The king of England ſent thither Antonie Becke
biſhop of Durham, with his roiall power, to con-
clude the ſaid treatiſe. And there it was agreed that
the ſaid John and all the Scots ſhould vtterlie ſub-
mit themſelues to the kings will. And to the end the
ſubmiſſion ſhould be perfourmed accordinglie, the
king of Scots laid his ſonne in hoſtage and pledge
vnto him. There alſo he made his letters ſealed
with the common ſeale of Scotland, by the which he
knowledging his ſimplenes and great offenſe done
to his lord king Edward of England, by his full
power and free will yeelded vp all the land of Scot-
land, with all the people and homage of the ſame.
Then our king went forth to ſee the mounteins, and
vnderſtanding that all was in quiet and peace, he
turned to the abbeie of Scone, which was of chanons
regular, where he tooke the ſtone called the Regall of
Scotland, vpon which the kings of that nation were
wont to ſit, at the time of their coronations for a
throne, & ſent it to the abbeie of Weſtminſter, com-
manding to make a chaire therof for the prieſts that
ſhould ſing maſſe at the high altar: which chaire was
made, and ſtandeth yet there at this daie to be ſeene.

The Scots
dreame that
this was the
ſtone wherevpon
Jacob ſlept
when he fled
into Meſo-
potamia.

In the yeare of our Lord 1296, the king held his
parlement at Berwike: and there he tooke homage
ſingularlie of diuerſe of the lords & nobles of Scot-
land. And for a perpetuall memorie of the ſame, they
made their letters patents ſealed with their ſeales,
and then the king of England made William War-
reine earle of Surrie and Southſax lord Warden
of Scotland, Hugh of Crellingham treaſurer, and
William Ormeſbie iuſtice of Scotland, and forth-
with ſent king John to the Tower of London, and
John Comin, and the earle Badenauth, the earle of
Bohan, and other lords into England to diuerſe pla-
ces on this ſide of the Trent.

And after that, in the yeare of our Lord 1297, at
the feaſt of Chriſtmas, the king called before him the
ſaid John king of Scots, although he had committed
him to ward: and ſaid that he would burne or de-
ſtroie their caſtels, townes and lands, if he were not
recompenſed for his coſts and damages ſuſteined
in the warres; but king John and the other that were
in ward, anſwered that they had nothing, ſith their
liues, their deaths, and goods were in his hands. The
king vpon that anſwer moued with pitie, granted
them their liues; ſo that they would do their ho-
mage, and make their oth ſolemnelie at the high al-
tar (in the church of the abbeie of Weſtminſter) vpon
the euchariſt, that they and euerie of them ſhould
hold and keepe true faith, obedience, and allegiance
to the ſaid king Edward and his heires kings of
England for euer. And where the ſaid king of Scots
ſaw the kings banner of England diſplaied, he and
all his power ſhould draw therevnto. And that nei-
ther he or anie of his from thenceforth ſhould beare
armes againſt the king of England or anie of his
bloud. Finallie, the king rewarding with great
gifts the ſaid king John and his lords, ſuffered them
to depart. But they went into Scotland alwaie ima-
gining (notwithſtanding this their ſubmiſſion) how
they might oppreſſe king Edward, and diſturbe his
realme. The Scots ſent alſo to the king of France
for ſuccour and helpe, who ſent them ſhips to Ber-
wike furniſhed with men of armes, the king of En-
gland then being in Flanders.

In the yeare of our Lord 1298, the king went in-
to Scotland with a great hoſt, and the Scots alſo aſ-
ſembled in great number, but the king fought with
them at Fawkirke on S. Marie Magdalens daie,
where were ſlaine three ſcore thouſand Scots, & Wil-

liam Wallcis that was their capteine fled, who being taken afterward, was hanged, drawen, & quartered at London, for his treſpaſſes.

After this the Scots rebelled againe, and all the lords of Scotland choſe Robert Bruſe to be king, except onelie Iohn Commin earle of Carrike, who would not conſent thereto bicauſe of his oth made to the king of England. Wherefore Robert Bruſe ſlue him at Dumfriſe, and then was crowned at Schone abbeie. Herevpon the king of England aſſembled a great hoaſt, and rode through all Scotland, diſcomfited Robert Bruſe, ſlue eight thouſand Scots, & tooke the moſt part of all the lords of Scotland, putting the temporall lords to death bicauſe they were forſworne.

This was done vpon the nine & twentith of Ianuarie, 1306.

Edward borne at Carnaruan ſonne of this Edward, was next king of England, who from the beginning of his reigne enioied Scotland peaceablie, dooing in all things as is aboue ſaid of king Edward his father, vntill toward the later end of his reigne, about which time this Robert Bruſe conſpired againſt him, and with the helpe of a few forſworne Scots, forſwore himſelfe king of Scots. Herevpon this Edward with Thomas earle of Lancaſter and manie other lords made warre vpon him, about the feaſt of Marie Magdalene, the ſaid Bruſe and his partakers being alreadie accurſſed by the pope for breaking the truce that he had eſtabliſhed betwixt them. But being infortunate in his firſt warres againſt him, he ſuffered Edward the ſonne of Baliol to proclame himſelfe king of Scots; and neuertheleſſe held forth his warres againſt Bruſe, before the ending of which he died, as I read.

Edward borne at Windſore ſonne of Edward the ſecond was next king of England, at the age of fiftéene yeares, in whoſe minoritie the Scots practiſed with Iſabell mother to this Edward, and with Roger Mortimer earle of the March to haue their homages releaſed: whoſe good will therein they obteined, ſo that for the ſame releaſe they ſhould paie to this king Edward thirtie thouſand pounds ſterling, in three yeares next following, that is to ſaie, ten thouſand pounds ſterling yerelie. But bicauſe the nobilitie and commons of this realme would not by parlement conſent vnto it, their king being within age, the ſame releaſe proceeded not, albeit the Scots ceaſed not their practiſes with this queene and earle. But before thoſe three yeares, in which their monie (if the bargaine had taken place) ſhould haue béene paied, were expired, our king Edward inuaded Scotland, and cealled not the warre, vntill Dauid the ſonne of Robert le Bruſe (then by their election king of Scotland) abſolutelie ſubmitted himſelfe vnto him. But for that the ſaid Dauid Bruſe had before by practiſe of the queene and the earle of March, married Iane the ſiſter of this king Edward: he moued by naturall zeale to his ſiſter, was contented to giue the realme of Scotland to this Dauid Bruſe, and to the heires that ſhould be begotten of the bodie of the ſaid Iane (ſauing the reuerſion and meane homages to this king Edward and to his owne children) wherewith the ſame Dauid Bruſe was right well contented, and therevpon immediatlie made his homage for all the realme of Scotland to him.

Howbeit, ſhortlie after cauſeleſſe conceiued cauſe of diſpleaſure, this Dauid procured to diſſolue this ſame eſtate tailé, and therevpon not onelie rebelled in Scotland, but alſo inuaded England, whileſt king Edward was occupied about his wars in France. But this Dauid was not onelie expelled England in the end, but alſo thinking no place a ſufficient defenſe to his vntruth, of his owne accord fled out of Scotland: whereby the countries of Annandale, Gallowaie, Mars, Teuidale, Tweedale, and Ethrike were ſeized into the king of Englands hands, and new marches ſet betweene England and Scotland at Cockburnes path & Soutrie hedge. Which when this Dauid went about to recouer againe, his power was diſcomfited, and himſelfe by a few Engliſhmen taken & brought into England, where he remained priſoner eleuen yeares after his ſaid apprehenſion.

During this time, king Edward enioied Scotland peaceablie, and then at the contemplation and wearie ſuit of his louing wife Quéene Philip, wife of this Dauid, he was contented once againe to reſtore him to the kingdome of Scotland. Wherevpon it was concluded, that for this rebellion Dauid ſhould paie to king Edward, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſterling, and therewith all ſtraie all his holdes and fortreſſes ſtanding againſt the Engliſh borders, and further aſſure the crowne of Scotland to the children of this king Edward for lacke of heire of his owne bodie, all which things he did accordinglie. And for the better aſſurance of his obeiſance alſo, he afterward deliuered into the hands of king Edward ſundrie noble men of Scotland in this behalfe as his pledges. This is the effect of the hiſtorie of Dauid, touching his dooings. Now let vs ſée what was done by Edward Baliol, whereof our chronicles do report, that in the yéere of our Lord 1326, Edward the third, king of England, was crowned at Weſtminſter, and in the fift yeare of his reigne Edward Baliol right heire to the kingdome of Scotland came in, and claimed it as due to him. Sundrie lords and gentlemen alſo, which had title to diuerſe lands there, either by themſelues, or by their wiues, did the like. Wherevpon the ſaid Baliol and they went into Scotland by ſea, and landing at Kinghorne with 3000 Engliſhmen, diſcomfited 10000 Scots, and ſlue 1200, and then went forth to Dunfermeline, where the Scots aſſembled againſt them with 40000 men, and in the feaſt of ſaint Laurence, at a place called Gaſtmore (or otherwiſe Gladmore) were ſlaine fiue earls, thirtéene barons, a hundred and three score knights, two thouſand men of armes, and manie other, in all fortie thouſand: and there were ſlaine on the Engliſh part but thirtéene perſons onelie, if the number be not corrupted.

In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward, he aſſembled a great hoaſt, and came to Berwike vpon Tweed, and laid ſiege therto. To him alſo came Edward Baliol king of Scots, with a great power to ſtrengthen & aid him againſt the Scots, who came out of Scotland in foure batels well armed & araied.

Edward king of England, and Edward king of Scots, apparelled their people either of them in foure battels: and vpon Halidon hill, beſide Berwike, met theſe two hoaſts, and there were diſcomfited of the Scots ſiue and twentie thouſand and ſeauen hundred, whereof were ſlaine eight earles, a thouſand and three hundred knights and gentlemen. This victorie done, the king returned to Berwike, & then the towne with the caſtell were yéelded vp vnto him. In the eight yeare of the reigne of king Edward of England, Edward Baliol king of Scots came to Newcaſtell vpon Tine, and did homage for all the realme of Scotland.

In the yeare of our Lord 1346, Dauid Bruſe by the prouocation of the king of France rebelled, and came into England with a great hoaſt vnto Neuils croſſe: but the archbiſhop of Yorke, with diuerſe temporall men, fought with him; and the ſaid king of Scots was taken, and William earle of Duglas with Morrise earle of Strathorne were brought to London, and manie other lords ſlaine, which with Dauid did homage to Edward king of England.

And in the thirtith yeare of the kings reigne, and the yeare of our Lord 1355, the Scots wonne the towne of Berwicke, but not the caſtell. Herevpon

the

the king came thither with a great hoaſt, and anon the towne was yelded vp without anie reſiſtance.

Edward Baliell, conſidering that God did ſo manie marueilous and gratious things for king Edward, at his owne will gaue vp the crowne and the realme of Scotland to king Edward of England at Rokeſburough, by his letters patents. And anon after the king of England, in preſence of all his lords ſpirituall and temporall, let crowne himſelfe king there of the realme of Scotland, & ordeined all things to his intent, and ſo came ouer into England.

Richard the ſonne of Edward, called the Blacke prince, ſonne of this king Edward, was next king of England, who for that the ſaid Jane, the wife of the ſaid king Dauid of Scotland was deceaſſed without iſſue, and being informed how the Scots deuiſed to their vttermoſt power to breake the limitation of this inheritance touching the crowne of Scotland, made forthwith warre againſt them, wherein he burnt Edenburough, ſpoiled all their countrie, toke all their holds, & held continuallie war againſt them vntill his death, which was Anno Dom. 1389.

Henrie the fourth of that name was next king of England, he continued theſe warres begun againſt them by king Richard, and ceaſſed not vntill Robert king of Scots (the third of that name) reſigned his crowne by appointment of this king Henrie, and deliuered his ſonne James, being then of the age of nine yeares, into his hands to remaine at his cuſtodie, wardſhip and diſpoſition, as of his ſuperiour lord, according to the old lawes of king Edward the confeſſor. All this was done Anno Dom. 1404, which was within fiue yeares after the death of king Richard. This Henrie the fourth reigned in this eſtate ouer them fourteene yeares.

Henrie the fift of that name, ſonne to this king Henrie the fourth, was next king of England. He made warres againſt the French king, in all which this Iames then king of Scots attended vpon him, as vpon his ſuperiour lord, with a conuenient number of Scots, notwithſtanding their league with France. But this Henrie reigned but nine yeares, whereby the homage of this James their king (hauing not fullie accompliſhed the age of one & twentie yeares) was by reaſon and law reſpited. Finallie the ſaid James with diuerſe other lords attended vpon the corps of the ſaid Henrie vnto Weſtminſter, as to his dutie apperteined.

Henrie the firſt, the ſonne of this Henrie the fift, was next king of England, to whome the ſeigniorie of Scotland & cuſtodie of this James by right, law, and reaſon deſcended, married the ſame James king of Scots to Jane daughter of Iohn earle of Summerſet, at ſaint Marie ouer Ile in Southwarke, and toke for the value of this mariage, the ſumme of one hundred thouſand markes ſtarling.

This James king of Scots at his full age, did homage to the ſame king Henrie the firſt, for the kingdome of Scotland at Windſore, in the moneth of Januarie.

Since which time, vntill the daies of king Henrie the ſeuenth, grandfather to our ſouereigne ladie that now is, albeit this realme hath beene moleſted with diuerſitie of titles, in which vnmeet time neither law nor reaſon admit preſcription to the preiudice of anie right: yet did king Edward the fourth next king of England, by preparation of war againſt the Scots in the latter end of his reigne, ſufficientlie by all lawes induce to the continuance of his claime to the ſame ſuperioritie ouer them.

After whoſe death, vnto the beginning of the reigne of our ſouereigne lord king Henrie the eight, exceeded not the number of ſeauen and twentie yeares, about which time the impediment of our claime of the Scots part, chanced by the nonage of James their laſt king, which ſo continued the ſpace of one and twentie yeares. And like as his minoritie was by all law and reaſon an impediment to himſelfe to make homage; ſo was the ſame by like reaſon an impediment to the king of this realme to demand anie, ſo that the whole time of intermiſſion of our claime in the time of the ſaid king Henrie the eight, is deduced vnto the number of thirteene yeares. And thus much for this matter.

Of the wall ſometime builded for a partition betweene England and the Picts and Scots.

Chap. 23.

HAuing hitherto diſcourſed vpon the title of the kings of England, vnto the Scotiſh kingdome: I haue now thought good to adde herevnto the deſcription of two walles that were (in times paſt) limits vnto both the ſaid regions, and therefore to be touched in this firſt booke, as generallie apertinent vnto the eſtate of the whole Iland; and no leſſe famous than that which Anaſtaſius Dicorus made afterward from the Eurine vnto the Thracian ſea, conteining 420 furlongs in length, and twelue foot in breadth, & diſtant from Conſtantinople 280 furlongs, albeit that of Hadrian was made of turfe and timber. The author therefore of the firſt wall was Hadrian the emperour, who (as Ælius Spartianus ſaith) erected the ſame of foure ſcore miles in length, twelue foot in heigth, and eight in breadth, to diuide the barbarous Britons from the more ciuill ſort, which then were generallie called by the name of Romans ouer all. *The firſt beginner of the Picts wall.*

After his time Seuerus the emperour comming againe into this Ile (where he had ſerued before in repreſſion of the tumults here begun, after the death of Lucius) amongſt other things he made another wall (but of ſtone) betweene eightie and a hundred miles from the firſt, & of thirtie two miles in length, reaching on both ſides alſo to the ſea, of whome the Britons called it S. Murſeueri, or Gwall Seueri, that is, The wall of Seuerus, or Seuerus dale, which later indureth vntill theſe daies in freſh memorie, by reaſon of the ruines & ſquare ſtones there oft found, whoſe inſcriptions declare the authors of that worke. It is worthie the noting alſo, how that in this voiage he loſt 50000 men in the Scotiſh ſide, by one occaſion and other, which hinderance ſo incenſed him, that he determined vtterlie to extinguiſh their memorie from vnder heauen, and had ſo done in deed, if his life had indured but vntill another yeare. Sextus Aurelius writing of Seuerus, addeth, how that the wall made by this prince conteined two and thirtie miles, whereby the breadth of this Iland there, and length of the wall conteineth onelie ſo manie miles, as may be gathered by his words. But chéeflie for the length of the wall, Spartianus who touching it among other things ſaith of Seuerus as followeth: *Britanniam (quod maximum eius imperij decus eſt) muro per tranſuerſam inſulam ducto, vtring, ad finem oceani muniuit*, that is, He fortified Britaine (which is one of the chéefe acts recorded of his time) with a wall made ouerthwart the Ile, that reached on both ſides euen to the verie Ocean. *The finiſher of the wall.* *The wall goeth not ſtreict by a line, but in and out in manie places.*

What this wall was of ſtone alſo, the ruines therof (which haue miniſtred much matter to ſuch as dwell neere therevnto in their buildings) is triall ſufficient. Hereby in like ſort it commeth to paſſe, that where *The ſtuffe of the wall.*

the ſoile about it is leaſt inhabited, there is moſt mention of the ſaid wall, which was wrought of ſquared ſtone, as vntill this daie maie euidentlie be confirmed. Howbeit, theſe two walles were not the onelie partitions betweene theſe two kingdoms, ſith Iulius Capitolinus in vita Antonini Pij doth write of another that Lollius Vrbicus made beyond the ſame, of turffe, in the time of the ſaid prince, who (for his victories in Britaine) was alſo called Britannicus, which neuertheleſſe was often throwne downe by the Scots, and eſtſoones repared againe, vntill it was giuen ouer and relinquiſhed altogither. It runneth (as I take it) alſo within the wall about an arrow ſhot from that of ſtone: but how farre it went, as yet I cannot find. This onlie remaineth certeine, that the walles made by Hadrian & Seuerus, were ditched with notable ditches and rampires made in ſuch wiſe, that the Scotiſh aduerſarie had much a do to enter and ſcale the ſame in his aſſaults. And yet for all this, I read that the Scots oftentimes pulled downe great parcels of the ſame, to make their acceſſe more eaſie into the ſouth parts: but as it was eſtſoons repared againe, ſo the laſt time of all it was amended by the Romane ſoldiors, which came ouer verie little before the time of Mortiger, at which ſeaſon the land was in maner left void of ſoldiors and munition. Betwirt Thirlewall and the north Tine, are alſo in the waſte grounds, manie parcels of that wall of Seuerus yet ſtanding, whereof the common people do babble manie things.

Two other wals.

Rampire.

Beginning therefore with the courſe thereof, from the weſt ſea, I find that it runneth from Bolneſſe to Burgh, about foure miles, and likewiſe from thence within halfe a mile of Carleill, and leſſe on the north ſide, and beneath the confluence of the Peder and the Eden. From hence it goeth to Terrebie, a village about a mile from Caerleill, then through the baronie of Linſocke, and Gilleſland, on the north ſide of the riuer Irding or Arding, and a quarter of a mile from the abbeie of Leuercoſt. Thence three miles aboue Leuercoſt, and aboue the confluence of Arding, and the Pultroſe becke (which diuideth Gilleſland in Cumberland, from ſouth Tindale in Northumberland) it goeth to Thirlwall caſtell, then to the wall towne, nert of all ouer the riuer to Siwenſheld, Carraw (peraduenture Cairuorcen tower) to Walwic, and ſo ouer ſouth Tine, to Cockelie tower, Portgate, Halton ſhcles, Winchcſter, Rutcheſter, Heddon, Walhottle, Denton, and to Newcaſtell, where it is thought that ſaint Nicholas church ſtandeth on the ſame. Howbeit Leland ſaith, that it goeth within a mile of Newcaſtell, and then croketh vp toward Tinmouth vnto Walleſend, three miles from the mouth of the ſaid riuer, ſo called becauſe the aforeſaid wall did end at the ſame place. And thus much I read of the Pictiſh wall. As for the Romane coine that is often found in the courſe thereof, the curious bricks about the ſame nere vnto Caerleill, beſide the excellent cornellines and other coſtlie ſtones alreadie intailed for ſeales oftentimes taken vp in thoſe quarters, I paſſe them ouer as not incident to my purpoſe.

The courſe of the wall from weſt to eaſt.

In like maner I would gladlie alſo haue ſet downe the courſe of Offaes ditch, which was march betweene the Mercian dominions, and the Welſhmen in his time: but for ſo much as the tractation thereof is not to be referred to this place, becauſe it is not a thing generall to the whole Iland, I omit to ſpeake of that alſo. Yet thus much will I note here, as well by the report of one (who ſaith how he did tread it out) that he followed it from the Dee to Kirnaburgh hill through Treuelach forreſt, by eſt of Crekith Cauch hill, Montgomerie caſtell, the New caſtell and Diſcoid, and hauing brought it hitherto, either loſt it, or ſought after it no further: as by the teſtimonie of another, who writing thereof, ſaith, that it ſtretched from the ſouth ſide by Briſtow, along vnder the mounteins of Wales northwards, ouer the riuer of Sauerne, and to the verie mouth alſo of the Dee, where it falleth into the ſea. And ſo much of ſuch things as concerne the generall eſtate of the whole Iland, which labour herein I could verie well haue ſpared, and would, if Quintus had performed the requeſt of Cicero his brother, who promiſed to ſend him ouer a ſound aduertiſement of the condition of Britaine in thoſe daies: as appeareth in the ſecond booke of his familiar epiſtles, where he ſaith; *Arodo mihi date Britanniam, quam pingam coloribus tuis penicillo meo, &c.* But ſithence that was not performed, and the treatiſe of Demetrius and other of the ſame argument are periſhed, which were of ſome value, let this trifle (I beſeech you) not be reiected, till ſome other man of better ſkill ſhall haue drawne a more abſolute peece of workemanſhip, whereunto my vnſkilfulneſſe (I hope) ſhall prooue no hinderance.

Of the maruels of *England*.

Chap. 24.

SUch as haue written of the wonders of our countrie in old time, haue ſpoken (no doubt) of manie things, which deſerue no credit at all: and therefore in ſeeking thankes of their poſteritie by their trauell in this behalfe; they haue reaped the reward of luſt reproch, and in ſtéed of fame purchaſed vnto themſelues nought elſe but méere diſcredit in their better and more learned treatiſes. The like commonlie happeneth alſo to ſuch, as in reſpect of lucre do publiſh vnprofitable and pernicious volumes, wherby they do conſume their times in vaine, and in manifold wiſe become preiudiciall vnto their common wealths. For my part I will not touch anie man herein particularlie, no not our Demetrius, of whom Plutarch ſpeaketh in his oracles (if thoſe bookes were written by him, for ſome thinke that Plutarch neuer wrote them, although Euſebius lib. 4. cap. 8. doth acknowledge them to be his) which Demetrius left ſundrie treatiſes behind him, conteining wonderfull things collected of our Iland. But ſith that in my time they are found to be falſe, it ſhould be far vnmeet to remember them anie more: for who is he which will beléeue, that infernall ſpirits can die and giue vp their ghoſts like mortall men? though Saxo ſéeme to conſent vnto him in this behalfe. In ſpeaking alſo of the out Iles, he ſaith thus: Beyond Britaine are manie deſolate Ilands, whereof ſome are dedicated to the Gods, ſome to the noble Heroes. I ſailed (ſaith he) by the helpe of the king vnto one that laie nére hand, onelie to ſee and view the ſame, in which I found few inhabitants, and yet ſuch as were there, were reputed and taken for men of great pietie and holineſſe. During the time alſo that I remained in the ſame, it was vexed with great ſtorme and tempeſt, which cauſed me not a little to doubt of my ſafe returne. In the end, demanding of the inhabitants what the cauſe ſhould be of this ſo great and ſodden mutation of the aire? they anſwered, that either ſome of the Gods, or at the leaſt of the Heroes were latelie deceaſed: for as a candle (ſaid they) hurteth none whileſt it burneth, but being ſtenderlie put out annoieth manie with the filthie ſauour: ſo theſe Gods, whileſt they liued, were either

not

not hurtfull, or verie beneficiall to mankind; but being once deceaſſed, they ſo moue the heauens and aire, that much miſcheefe doth inſue eftſoones vpon the ſame.

Being alſo inquiſitiue of the ſtate of other Iles not farre off, they told him further, how there was one hard by, wherin Saturne being ouertaken with a dead ſléepe, was watched by Briareus as he lai, which Saturne alſo had manie ſpirits attending vpon him in ſundrie functions and offices. By which reports it is eaſie to conceiue, with what vaine ſtuffe that volume of Demetrius is interlaced. But of ſuch writers as we haue to to manie, ſo among the ſaid rable Geruaſe of Tilberie is not the leaſt famous, a man as it were euen ſold to vtter matters of more admiration than credit to the world. For what a tale telleth he in his *De otio imperiali*, of Wandleburie hilles, that lie within ſight & by ſouth of Cambridge (where the Vandals incamped ſometime, when they entered into this Iland) and of a ſpirit that would of cuſtome in a meane ſhine night (if he were chalenged and called therevnto) run at tilt and turneie in compleat armor with anie knight or gentleman whomſoeuer, in that place: and how one Oſbert of Barnewell, hearing the report thereof, armed himſelfe, and being well mounted, rode thither alone with one eſquier, and called for him, who forthwith appeared in rich armour, and anſwered his chalenge, ſo that running togither verie fiercelie, they met with ſuch rigor, that the anſwerer was ouerthrowne and borne downe to the ground. After this they bickered on foot ſo long, till Oſbert ouercame and draue him to flight, who departed, leauing his horſſe behind him, which was of huge ſtature, blacke (as he ſaith) of colour, with his furniture of the ſame hue, and whereupon he ſeized, giuing him vnto his page, who carried him home, and there kept him till it was néere daie, during which ſpace he was ſéene of manie. But when the daie light began to ſhew it ſelfe ſomewhat cléere, the beaſt ſtamped and snorted, and forthwith breaking his raine, he ran awaie, and was no more heard of to his knowledge in that countrie. In the meane ſeaſon Oſbert being verie faint, and waxing wearie (for he was ſore wounded in the thigh, which either he knew not of, or at the leaſtwiſe diſſembled to know it) cauſed his leg-harneſſe or ſtéelebootes to be pulled off, which his frends ſaw to be full of bloud ſpilled in the votage. But let who ſo liſt beléeue it, ſith it is either a fable deuiſed, or ſome diueliſh illuſion, if anie ſuch thing were done. And on mine owne behalfe, hauing (I hope) the feare of God before my eies, I purpoſe here to ſet downe no more than either I know my ſelfe to be true, or am crediblie informed to be ſo, by ſuch godly men, as to whom nothing is more deare than to ſpeake the truth, and not anie thing more odious than to diſcredit themſelues by lieng. In writing therefore of the wonders of England, I find that there are foure notable things, which for their rareneſſe amongſt the common ſort, are taken for the foure miracles and wonders of the land.

Foure wonders of England.

The firſt of theſe is a vehement and ſtrong wind, which iſſueth out of the hilles called the Peke, ſo violent and ſtrong, that at certeine times if a man doo caſt his cote or cloake into the caue from whence it iſſueth, it driueth the ſame backe againe, hoiſing it aloft into the open aire with great force and vehemencie. Of this alſo Giraldus ſpeaketh.

The ſecond is the miraculous ſtanding or rather hanging of certeine ſtones vpon the plaine of Saliſburie, whereof the place is called Stonehenge. And to ſaie the truth, they may well be wondered at, not onelie for the manner of poſition, whereby they become verie difficult to be numbred, but alſo for their greatneſſe & ſtrange maner of lieng of ſome of them one vpon another, which ſéemeth to be with ſo tickle hold, that few men go vnder them without feare of their preſent ruine. How and when theſe ſtones were brought thither, as yet I can not read; howbeit it is moſt likelie, that they were raiſed there by the Britons, after the ſlaughter of their nobilitie at the deadlie banket, which Hengiſt and his Saxons prouided for them, where they were alſo buried, and Vortigerne their king apprehended and led awaie as captiue. I haue heard that the like are to be ſéene in Ireland; but how true it is as yet I can not learne. The report goeth alſo, that theſe were brought from thence, but by what ſhip on the ſea, and cariage by land, I thinke few men can eaſelie imagine.

The third is an ample and large hole vnder the ground, which ſome call *Carcer Æoli*, but in Engliſh Chedderhole, whereinto manie men haue entred & walked verie farre. Howbeit, as the paſſage is large and nothing noiſome: ſo diuerſe that haue aduentured to go into the ſame, could neuer as yet find the end of that waie, neither ſée anie other thing than prætie riuerets and ſtreames, which they often croſſed as they went from place to place. This Chedderhole or Chedder rocke is in Summerſetſhire, and thence the ſaid waters run till they méet with the ſecond Ar that riſeth in Dwkie hole.

The fourth is no leſſe notable than anie of the other. For weſtward vpon certeine hilles a man ſhall ſée the clouds gather togither in faire weather vnto a certeine thickneſſe, and by and by to ſpread themſelues abroad and water their fields about them, as it were vpon the ſudden. The cauſes of which diſperſion, as they are vtterlie vnknowne: ſo manie men coniecture great ſtore of water to be in thoſe hilles, & verie néere at hand, if it were néedfull to be ſought for.

Beſides theſe foure maruelles, there is a little rockie Ile in Aber Barrie (a riueret that falleth into the Sauerne ſea) called Barrie, which hath a riſt or cliſt nert the firſt ſhore; wherevnto if a man doo laie his eare, he ſhall heare ſuch noiſes as are commonlie made in ſmiths forges, to wit, clinking of iron barres, beating with hammers, blowing of beſlowſes, and ſuch like: whereof the ſuperſtitious ſort doo gather manie toies, as the gentiles did in old time of their lame god Vulcans pot. The riuer that runneth by Cheſter changeth hir chanell euerie moneth: the cauſe whereof as yet I can not learne; neither doth it ſwell by force of anie land-flood, but by ſome vehement wind it oft ouer-runneth hir banks. In Snowdonie are two lakes, whereof one beareth a mouable Iland, which is carried to and fro as the wind bloweth. The other hath three kinds of fiſhes in it, as eéles, trowts, and perches: but herein reſteth the wonder, that all thoſe haue but one eie a péece onelie, and the ſame ſituate in the right ſide of their heads. And this I find to be confirmed alſo by authors: There is a well in the forreſt of Gnareſborow, whereof the ſaid forreſt doth take the name; which water, beſide that it is cold as Stix, in a certeine period of time knowne, conuerteth wood, fleſh, leaues of trées, and moſſe into hard ſtone, without alteration or changing of ſhape. The like alſo is ſéene there in frogs, wormes, and ſuch like liuing creatures as fall into the ſame, and find no readie iſſue. Of this ſpring alſo Leland writeth thus; A little aboue March (but at the further banke of Mide riuer as I came) I ſaw a well of wonderfull nature called Dropping well, becauſe the water thereof diſtilleth out of great rockes hard by into it continuallie, which is ſo cold, and thereto of ſuch nature, that what thing ſoeuer falleth out of thoſe rocks into this pit, or groweth néere thereto, or be caſt into it by mans hand,

hand, it turneth into ſtone. It may be (ſaith he) that ſome ſand or other fine ground iſſueth out with this water from theſe hard rocks, which cleauing vnto thoſe things, giueth them in time the forme of ſtones &c. Neere vnto the place where Winburne monaſterie ſometimes ſtood, alſo not farre from Bath there is a faire wood, whereof if you take anie peece, and pitch it into the ground thereabouts, or throw it into the water, within twelue moneths it will turne into hard ſtone. In part of the hilles eaſt ſoutheaſt of Alderleie, a mile from Kingſwood, are ſtones dailie found, perfectlie faſhioned like cockles and mightie oiſters, which ſome dreame haue lien there euer ſince the floud. In the cliffs betweene the Blacke head and Trewardeth baie in Cornwall, is a certeine caue, where things appeare like images guilded, on the ſides of the ſame, which I take to be nothing but the ſhining of the bright ore of coppar and other mettals readie at hand to be found there, if anie diligence were vſed. Howbeit, becauſe it is much maruelled at as a rare thing, I doo not thinke it to be vnmeet to be placed amongſt our wonders. Maiſter Guiſe had of late, and ſtill hath (for aught that I know) a manor in Glocеſterſhire, where certeine okes doo grow, whoſe rootes are verie hard ſtone. And beſide this, the ground is ſo fertile there (as they ſaie) that if a man hew a ſtake of anie wood, and pitch it into the earth, it will grow and take rooting beyond all expectation. Silueceſter towne alſo is ſaid to conteine foureſcore acres of land within the walles, whereof ſome is corne-ground (as Leland ſaith) and the graine which is growing therein doth come to verie good perfection till it be readie to be cut downe: but euen then, or about that time it vaniſheth away & becommeth altogither vnprofitable. Is it any wonder (thinke you) to tell of ſundrie caues neere to Brow-ham, on the weſt ſide of the riuer Aimote, wherein are halles, chambers, and all offices of houſhold cut out of the hard rocke? If it be, then may we increaſe the number of maruels verie much by a rehearſall of other alſo. For we haue manie of the like, as one neere ſaint Aſaphs vpon the banke of Elwie, and about the head of Uendraeth Uchan in Wales, whereinto men haue often entred and walked, and yet found nothing but large roomes, and ſandie ground vnder their feet, and other elſe-where. But ſith theſe things are not ſtrange, I let them alone, and go forward with the reſt.

In the pariſh of Landſarnam in Wales, and in the ſide of a ſtonie hill, is a place wherein are foure and twentie ſeats hewen out of the hard rockes; but who did cut them, and to what end, as yet it is not learned. As for the huge ſtone that lieth at Pember in Guitherie pariſh, and of the notable carcaſſe that is affirmed to lie vnder the ſame, there is no cauſe to touch it here: yet were it well done to haue it remoued, though it were but onlie to ſee what it is, which the people haue in ſo great eſtimation & reuerence. There is alſo a pole in Logh Taw, among the blacke mounteins in Brecknockſhire, where (as is ſaid) is the head of Taw that commeth to Swanſeie, which hath ſuch a propertie, that it will breed no fiſh at all, & if anie be caſt into it, they die without recouerie: but this peraduenture may grow through the accidentall corruption of the water, rather than the naturall force of the element it ſelfe. There is alſo a lin in Wales, which in the one ſide beareth trowts ſo red as ſamons, and in the other, which is the weſterlie ſide, verie white and delicate. I heare alſo of two welles not far from Landien, which ſtand verie neere together, and yet are of ſuch diuerſitie of nature, that the one beareth ſope, and is a maruellous fine water; the other altogither of contrarie qualities. Which is not a little to be muſed at, conſidering (I ſaie) that they participate of one ſoile, and riſe ſo nigh one to another. I haue notice giuen me moreouer of a ſtone not farre from ſaint Dauids, which is verie great, as a bed, or ſuch like thing: and being raiſed vp, a man may ſtirre it with his thumbe; but not with his ſhoulder or force of his whole bodie.

There is a well not farre from ſtonie Stratford, which conuerteth manie things into ſtone; and an other in Wales, which is ſaid to double or triple the force of anie edge tole that is quenched in the ſame. In Tegenia, a parcell of Wales, there is a noble well (I meane in the pariſh of Bulken) which is of maruellous nature, and much like to another well at Seuill in Spaine; for although it be ſix miles from the ſea, it ebbeth and floweth twiſe in one daie, alwaies ebbing when the ſea doth vſe to flow, and in flowing likewiſe when the ſea doth vſe to ebbe; whereof ſome doo fable, that this well is ladie and miſtreſſe of the ocean. Not farre from thence alſo is a medicinable ſpring called Schinant of old time, but now Wenefrides well, in the edges whereof doth breed a verie odoriferous and delectable moſſe, wherewith the head of the ſmeller is maruellouſlie refreſhed. Other welles and water-courſes we haue likewiſe, which at ſome times burſt out into huge ſtreames, though at other ſeaſons they run but verie ſoftlie, whereby the people gather ſome alteration of eſtate to be at hand. And ſuch a one there is at Henlete, & an other at Croidon; & ſuch a one alſo in the golden dale beſide Anderne in Picardie, whereof the common ſort imagine manie things. Some of the greater ſort alſo giue ouer to run at all in ſuch times, whereof they conceiue the like opinion. And of the ſame nature, though of no great quantitie, is a pit or well at Langleie parke in Kent, whereof (by good hap) it was my lucke to read a notable hiſtorie in an ancient chronicle that I ſaw of late. What the ſoliſh people dreame of the hell Kettles, it is not worthie the rehearſall; yet to the end the lewd opinion conceiued of them may grow into contempt, I will ſaie thus much alſo of thoſe pits. There are certeine pits, or rather three little poles, a mile from Darlington, and a quarter of a mile diſtant from the Theſe banks which the people call the Kettles of hell, or the diuels Kettles, as if he ſhould ſeeth ſoules of ſinfull men and women in them. They adde alſo, that the ſpirits haue oft beene heard to crie and yell about them, with other like talke ſauoring altogether of pagan infidelitie. The truth is, and of this opinion alſo was Cutbert Tunſtall late biſhop of Durham, a man (notwithſtanding the baſeneſſe of his birth, being begotten by one Tunſtall vpon a daughter of the houſe of the Commers, as Leland ſaith) of great learning and iudgement, that the cole-mines in thoſe places are kindled, or if there be no coles, there may a mine of ſome other vnctuous matter be ſet on fire, which being here and there conſumed, the earth falleth in, and ſo doth leaue a pit. Indeed the water is now and then warme (as they ſaie) and beſide that it is not cleere: the people ſuppoſe them to be an hundred fadam deepe. The biggeſt of them alſo hath an iſſue into the Theſe, as experience hath confirmed. For doctor Bellowes *alias* Belzis made report, how a ducke marked after the faſhion of the duckes of the biſhoprike of Durham, was put into the ſame betwixt Darlington and Theſe banke, and afterward ſeene at a bridge not farre from maiſter Clereuax houſe. If it were worth the noting, I would alſo make relation of manie wooden croſſes found verie often about Haliſdon, whereof the old inhabitants conceiued an opinion that they were fallen from heauen; whereas in truth, they were made and borne by king Oſwald and his men in the battell wherein they preuailed ſometimes againſt the Britiſh infidels,

vpon

vpon a ſuperſtitious imagination, that thoſe croſſes ſhould be their defenſe and ſhield againſt their aduerſaries. Beda calleth the place where the ſaid field was fought, Heauen field; it lieth not far from the Pictiſh wall, and the famous monaſterie of Hagoldſtad. But more of this elſewhere. Neither will I ſpeake of the little billets ſéene in manie places of our Ile, whereof though the vnſkilfull people babble manie things: yet are they nothing elſe but *Tumuli* or graues of former times, as appeareth by ſuch toms & carcaſſes as be daily found in the ſame, when they be digged downe. The like fond imagination haue they of a kind of lunarie, which is to be found in manie places, although not ſo well knowen by the forme vnto them, as by the effect thereof, becauſe it now and then openeth the lockes hanging on the horſes feet as hit vpon it where it groweth in their feeding. Roger Bacon our countrieman noteth it to grow plentiouſlie in Tuthill fields about London. I haue heard of it to be within compaſſe of the parith where I dwell, and do take it for none other than the Sfera Cauallo, whereof Mathiolus and the herbariſts do write, albeit that it hath not béene my lucke at anie time to behold it. Plinie calleth it Aethiopis: and Aelianus, Oppianus, Kyramis, and Trebius haue written manie ſuperſtitious things thereof, but eſpeciallie our Chymiſts, who make it of farre more vertue than our ſmiths do their ferne ſeed, whereof they babble manie wonders, and prate of ſuch effects as may well be performed indeed when the ferne beareth ſeed, which is commonly *Ad calendas Græcas*, for before it will not be found. But to proceed. There is a well in Darbieſhire called Tideſwell (ſo named of the word tide, or to ebbe and flow) whoſe water often ſeemeth to riſe and fall, as the ſea which is fortie miles from it doth vſuallie accuſtome to ebbe and flow. And hereof an opinion is growen that it keepeth an ordinarie courſe as the ſea doth. Howbeit, ſith diuerſe are knowne to haue watched the ſame, it may be that at ſometimes it riſeth, but not continuallie; and that it ſo doth I am fullie perſuaded to beléeue. But euen inough of the wonders of our countrie, leaſt I doo ſéeme by talking longer of them, wonderoullie to ouerſhot my ſelfe, and forget how much doth reſt behind of the deſcription of my countrie. As for thoſe that are to be touched of Scotland, the deſcription of that part ſhall in ſome part remember them.

The Contents of the ſecond Booke.

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Of the ancient and preſent eſtate *of the church of England.*

Chap. 1.

THere are now two prouinces onelie in England, of which the firſt and greateſt is ſubiect to the ſée of Canturburie, comprehending a parte of Lhoegres, whole Cambria, & alſo Ireland, which in time paſt were ſeuerall, & brought into one by the archbiſhop of the ſaid ſée & aſſiſtance of the pope; who in reſpect of méed, did yéeld vnto the ambitious deſires of ſundrie archbiſhops of Canturburie, as I haue elſewhere declared. The ſecond prouince is vnder the ſée of Yorke, and of theſe; either hath hir archbiſhop reſident commonlie within hir owne limits, who hath not onelie the cheefe dealing in matters apperteining to the hierarchie and iuriſdiction of the church; but alſo great authoritie in ciuill affaires touching the gouernement of the common wealth: ſo far forth as their commiſſions and ſeuerall circuits do extend.

In old time there were three archbiſhops, and ſo manie prouinces in this Ile; of which one kept at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon vpon Uſke. But as that of London was tranſlated to Canturburie by Auguſtine, and that of Yorke remaineth (notwithſtanding that the greateſt part of his iuriſdiction is now bereft him and giuen to the Scotiſh archbiſhop) ſo that of Caerleon is vtterlie extinguiſhed, and the gouernement of the countrie vnited to that of Canturburie in ſpirituall cauſes: after it was once before remoued to S. Da-

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uſos in Wales by Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Sarons, where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie is commonlie called primat of all England; and in the coronations of the kings of this land, and all other times, wherein it ſhall pleaſe the prince to weare and put on his crowne, his office is to ſet it vpon their heads. They beare alſo the name of their high chapleins continuallie, although not a few of them haue preſumed (in time paſt) to be their equals, and void of ſubiection vnto them. That this is true, it may eaſilie appéere by their owne acts yet kept in records beſide their epiſtles & anſwers written or in print; wherein they haue ſought not onelie to match but alſo to mate them with great rigor and more than open tyrannie. Our aduerſaries will peraduenture denie this abſolutelie, as they dw manie other things apparant, though not without ſhameleſſe impudencie, or at the leaſt wiſe defend it as iuſt and not ſwaruing from common equitie; bicauſe they imagine euerie archbiſhop to be the kings equall in his owne prouince. But how well their doing herein agreeth with the ſaieng of Peter, & examples of the primitiue church, it may eaſilie appéere. Some examples alſo of their demeanor (I meane in the time of poperie) I will not let to remember, leaſt they ſhould ſaie I ſpeake of malice, and without all ground of likelihod.

Of their practiſes with meane perſons I ſpeake not, neither will I begin at Dunſtane the author of all their pride and preſumption here in England. But for ſomuch as the dealing of Robert the Norman againſt earle Godwine is a rare hiſtorie, and deſerueth to be remembred, I will touch it in this place; proteſting to deale withall in more faithfull maner than it hath heretofore béene deliuered vnto vs by the Norman writers, or French Engliſh, who (of ſet purpoſe) haue ſo defaced earle Godwine, that were it not for the teſtimonie of one or two méere Engliſhmen liuing in thoſe daies, it ſhould be impoſſible for me (or anie other) at this preſent to declare the truth of that matter according to hir circumſtances. Marke therefore what I ſaie. For the truth is, that ſuch Normans as came in with Emma in the time of Ethelred, and Canutus, and the Confeſſor, did fall by ſundrie means into ſuch fauor with thoſe princes, that the gentlemen did grow to beare great rule in the court, and their clearkes to be poſſeſſors of the beſt benefices in the land. Herevpon therefore one Robert, a ſolie ambitious prieſt, gat firſt to be biſhop of London, and after the death of Eadſius, to be archbiſhop of Canturburie by the gift of king Edward; leauing his former ſée to William his countrieman. Alſo alſo a Norman was preferred to Lincolne, and other to other places, as the king did thinke conuenient.

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uſos in Wales by Dauid ſucceſſor to Dubritius, and vncle to king Arthur, in the 519 of Grace, to the end that he and his clearkes might be further off from the crueltie of the Sarons, where it remained till the time of the Baſtard, and for a ſeaſon after, before it was annexed vnto the ſée of Canturburie.

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incounter with them in the field. The king ſeing what was done, commanded the Londoners not to aid nor vittell them. But the citizens made anſwer, how the quarrell of Godwine was the cauſe of the whole realme, which he had in maner giuen ouer vnto the ſpoile of the French: and therevpon they not onelie vittelled them aboundantlie, but alſo receiued the earle and his chiefe frends into the citie, where they lodged them at their eaſe, till the kings power was readie to ioine with them in battell.

Great reſort alſo was made vnto them from all places of the realme, ſo that the earles armie was wonderfullie increaſed, and the daie and place choſen wherein the battell ſhould be fought. But when the armies met, the kings ſide began ſome to flée to the earle, other to laie downe their weapons, and not a few to run awaie out right; the reſt telling him plainelie that they would neuer fight againſt their owne countriemen, to mainteine Frenchmens quarrels. The Normans alſo ſeing the ſequele, fled awaie ſo faſt as they might gallop, leaning the king in the field to ſhift for himſelfe (as he beſt might) whileſt they did ſaue themſelues elſewhere.

In the meane ſeaſon the earles power would haue ſet vpon the king, either to his ſlaughter, or apprehenſion; but he ſtaied them, ſaieng after this maner: The king is my ſonne (as you all know) and it is not for a father to deale ſo hardlie with his child, neither a ſubiect with his ſouereigne; it is not he that hath hurt or done me this iniurie, but the proud Normans that are about him: wherfore to gaine a kingdome, I will do him no violence. And therewithall caſting aſide his battell ax he ran to the king, that ſtood altogither amazed, and falling at his fét he craued his peace, accuſed the archbiſhop, required that his cauſe might be heard in open aſſemblie of his péeres; and finallie determined as truth and equitie ſhould deſerue.

The king (after he had pauſed a prettie while) ſeing his old father in law to lie groueling at his fét, and conceiuing with himſelfe that his ſute was not vnreaſonable; ſeing alſo his children, and the reſt of the greateſt barons of the land to kneele before him, and make the like requeſt: he lifted vp the earle by the hand, bad him be of good comfort, pardoned all that was paſt, and frendlie hauing kiſſed him and his ſonnes vpon the cheekes, he lead them to his palace, called home the quéene, and ſummoned all his lords vnto a councell.

Wherein it is much to read, how manie billes were preſented againſt the biſhop & his Normans; ſome conteining matter of rape, other of robberie, extortion, murder, manſlaughter, high treaſon, adulterie; and not a few of batterie. Wherwith the king (as a man now awaked out of ſléepe) was ſo offended, that vpon conſultation had of theſe things, he baniſhed all the Normans out of the land, onelie three or foure excepted, whome he reteined for ſundrie neceſſarie cauſes, albeit they came neuer more ſo néere him afterward as to be of his priuie councell.

After this alſo the earle liued almoſt two yeares, and then falling into an apoplexie, as he ſat with the king at the table, he was taken vp and carried into the kings bedchamber, where (after a few daies) he made an end of his life. And thus much of our firſt broile raiſed by the cleargie, and practiſe of the archbiſhop. I would intreat of all the like examples of tyrannie, practiſed by the prelats of this ſée, againſt their lords and ſouereignes: but then I ſhould rather write an hiſtorie than a deſcription of this Iland.

Wherefore I refer you to thoſe reports of Anſelme and Becket, ſufficientlie penned by other; the which Anſelme alſo making a ſhew, as if he had binerie vnwilling to be placed in the ſée of Canturburie, gaue this anſwer to the letters of ſuch his frends, as did make requeſt vnto him to take the charge vpon him. *Secularia negotia neſcio, quia ſcire nolo, eorum námque occupationes horreo, liberum affectans animum. Voluntati ſacrarum intendo ſcripturarum, vos diſſonantiam facitis, verendúmque eſt nè aratrum ſanctæ eccleſiæ, quod in Anglia duo boues validi & pari fortitudine, ad bonum certantes, id eſt rex & archiepiſcopus, debeant trahere, nunc oue vetula cum tauro indomito iugata, diſtorqueatur à recto. Ego ouis vetula, qui ſi quietus eſſem, verbi Dei lacte, & operimento lanæ, aliquibus poſſem fortaſſis non ingratus eſſe, ſed ſi me cum hoc tauro coniungitis, videbitis pro diſparilitate trahentium, aratrum non rectè procedere, &c.* Which is in Engliſh thus: Of ſecular affaires I haue no ſkill, becauſe I will not know them, for I euen abhor the troubles that riſe about them, as one that deſireth to haue his mind at libertie. I apply my whole indeuor to the rule of the ſcriptures, you lead me to the contrarie. And it is to be feared leaſt the plough of holie church, which two ſtrong oxen of equall force, and both like earneſt to contend vnto that which is good (that is the king and the archbiſhop) ought to draw, ſhould thereby now ſwarue from the right forrow, by matching of an old ſhéepe with a wild vntamed bull. I am that old ſhéepe, who if I might be quiet, could peraduenture ſhew my ſelfe not altogither vngratfull to ſome, by féeding them with the milke of the word of God, and couering them with woll: but if you match me with this bull, you ſhall ſée that thorough want of equalitie in draught the plough will not go to right, &c: as followeth in the proceſſe of his letters. The ſaid Thomas Becket was ſo proud, that he wrote to king Henrie the ſecond, as to his lord, to his king, and to his ſonne, offering him his counſell, his reuerence, and due correction, &c. Others in like ſort haue proteſted, that they ought nothing to the kings of this land, but their counſell onelie, reſeruing all obedience vnto the ſée of Rome. Thomas Becket.

And as the old cocke of Canturburie did crow in this behalfe, ſo the yong cockerels of other ſées did imitate his demeanor, as may be ſéene by this one example alſo in king Stephans time, worthie to be remembred; vnto whome the biſhop of London would not ſo much as ſweare to be true ſubiect: wherein alſo he was mainteined by the pope, as appeareth by theſe letters.

Eugenius epiſcopus ſeruus ſeruorum Dei, dilecto in Chriſto filio Stephano illuſtri regi Anglorũ ſalutẽ, & apoſtolicã benedictionẽ. Ad hæc ſuperna prouidẽtia in eccleſia pontifices ordinauit, vt Chriſtianus populus ab eis paſcua vitæ reciperet, & tam principes ſeculares, quàm inferioris conditionis homines, ipſis pontificibus tanquam Chriſti vicariis reuerentiam exhiberent. Venerabilis ſiquidem frater noſter Robertus London epiſcopus, tanquam vir ſapiens & honeſtus, & relligionis amator, à nobilitate tua benignè tractandus eſt, & pro collata à Deo prudentia propenſiùs honorandus. Quia ergò, ſicut in veritate comperimus cum animæ ſuæ ſalute, ac ſine ordinis periculo, fidelitate quæ ab eo requiritur aſtringi non poteſt: volumus, & ex paterno tibi affectu conſulimus, quatenus prædictum fratrem noſtrum ſuper hoc nullatenus inquietes, immò pro beati Petri & noſtra reuerentia, eum in amorem & gratiam tuam recipias. Cùm autem illud iuramentum præſtare non poſſit, ſufficiat diſcretioni tuæ, vt ſimplici & veraci verbo promittat, quòd læſionem tibi vel terræ tuæ non inferat: Vale. Dat. Meldis 6. cal. Iulij.

Thus we ſée, that kings were to rule no further than it pleaſed the pope to like of; neither to challenge more obedience of their ſubiects than ſtood al-

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ſo with their good will and pleaſure. He wrote in like ſort vnto queene Mawd about the ſame matter, making hir Samſons calfe (the better to bring his purpoſe to paſſe) as appeareth by the ſame letter here inſuing.

Solomone atteſtante, didicimus quòd mulier ſapiens ædificat domum; inſipiens autem conſtructam deſtruet manibus. Gaudemus pro te, & deuotionis ſtudium in Domino collaudamus; quoniam ſicut religioſorum relatione accepimus, timorem Dei præ oculis habens, operibus pietatis intẽdis, & perſonas eccleſiaſticas & diligis & honoras. Vt ergo de bono in melius (inſpirante Domino) proficere valeas, nobilitatẽ tuam in Domino rogamus, & rogando monemus, & exhortamur in Domino, quatenus bonis initijs exitus meliores iniungas, & venerabilem fratrem noſtrum Robertum London epiſcopũ, pro illius reuerentia, qui cùm olim diues eſſet, pro nobis pauper fieri voluit, attentiùs diligas, & honores. Apud virum tuum & dilectum filium noſtrum Stephanum, inſignem regem Anglorum efficere ſtudeas, vt monitis, hortatu, & cõſilio tuo, ipſum in benignitatem & dilectionem ſuam ſuſcipiat, & pro beati Petri, & noſtra reuerentia propenſiùs habeat commendatum. Et quia ſicut (veritate teſte) attendimus eum ſine ſalute, & ſui ordinis periculo, præfato filio noſtro aſtringi non poſſe; volumus, & paterno ſibi & tibi affectu conſulimus, vt vobis ſufficiat, veraci & ſimplici verbo promiſſionẽ ab eo ſuſcipere, quòd læſionem vel detrimentum ei, vel terræ ſuæ nõ inferat. Dat. vt ſupra.

Is it not ſtrange, that a peeuiſh order of religion (deuiſed by man) ſhould breake the expreſſe law of God, who commandeth all men to honour and obeie their kings and princes, in whome ſome part of the power of God is manifeſt and laid open vnto vs? And euen vnto this end the cardinall of Oſtia alſo wrote to the canons of Paules, after this maner; couertlie incouraging them to ſtand to their election of the ſaid Robert, who was no more willing to giue ouer his new biſhoprike, than they carefull to offend the king; but rather imagined which waie to keepe it ſtill maugre his diſpleaſure: & yet not to ſweare obedience vnto him, for all that he ſhould be able to do or performe vnto the contrarie.

Humilis Dei gratia Hoſtienſis epiſcopus, Londinenſis eccleſiæ canonicis ſpiritũ conſilij in Domino. Sicut rationi contraria prorſus eſt abijcienda petitio, ita in hijs, quæ iuſtè deſyderantur, effectum negare omninò non conuenit. Sanè nuper accepimus, quòd Londinenſis eccleſia, diu proprio deſtituta paſtore, communi voto, & pari aſſenſu cleri & populi, venerabilem filium noſtrum Robertum, eiuſdem eccleſiæ archidiaconum, in paſtorem & epiſcopum animarum ſuarum ſuſceperit & elegerit. Nouimus quidem eum eſſe perſonam, quam ſapientia deſuper ei attributa, & honeſtas conuerſationis, & morum reuerentia plurimùm commẽdabilem reddidit. Inde eſt quòd fraternitati veſtræ mandando conſulimus, vt propoſito veſtro bono (quod vt credimus ex Deo eſt) & vt ex literis domini papæ cognoſcetis, non tepidè, non lentè debitum finem imponatis: ne tam nobilis eccleſia, ſub occaſione huiuſmodi ſpiritualium, quod abſit, & temporalium detrimentum patiatur. Ipſius námque induſtria credimus, quòd antiqua religio, & forma diſciplinæ, & grauitas habitus, in eccleſia veſtra reparari: & ſi quæ fuerint ipſius contentiones, ex paſtoris abſentia, Dei gratia cooperante, & eodem præſente, poterint reformari. Dat. &c.

Hereby you ſee how king Stephan was dealt withall. And albeit the archbiſhop of Canturburie is not openlie to be touched herewith, yet it is not to be doubted, but he was a doer in it, ſo far as might tend to the maintenance of the right and prerogatiue of holie church. And euen no leſſe vnquietneſſe had another of our princes with Iohn of Arundell, who fled to Rome for feare of his head, and cauſed the pope to write an ambitious and contumelious letter vnto his ſouereigne about his reſtitution. But when (by the kings letters yet extant) & beginning thus; *Thomas proditionis non expers noſtræ regiæ maieſtati inſidias fabricauit,* the pope vnderſtood the botome of the matter, he was contented that Thomas ſhould be depriued, and another archbiſhop choſen in his ſted.

Neither did this pride ſtaie at archbiſhops and biſhops, but deſcended lower, euen to the rake-helles of the clergie and puddels of all vngodlineſſe. For beſide the iniurie receiued of their ſuperiors, how was K. Iohn dealt withall by the vile Ciſtertians at Lincolne in the ſecond of his reigne? Certes, when he had (vpon iuſt occaſion) conceiued ſome grudge againſt them for their ambitious demeanor; and vpon denaall to paie ſuch ſummes of monie as were allotted vnto them, he had cauſed ſeizure to be made of ſuch horſſes, ſwine, neate, and other things of theirs, as were mainteined in his forreſts. They denounced him as fait amongſt themſelues with bell, booke and candle, to be accurſſed and excommunicated. Herevnto they ſo handled the matter with the pope and their frends, that the king was faine to yeeld to their good graces: inſomuch that a meeting for pacification was appointed betweene them at Lincolne, by meanes of the preſent archbiſhop of Canturburie, who went oft betweene him and the Ciſtertian commiſſioners before the matter could be finiſhed. In the end, the king himſelfe came alſo vnto the ſaid commiſſioners as they ſat in their chapiter houſe, and there with teares fell downe at their feet, crauing pardon for his treſpaſſes againſt them, and heartilie requiring that they would (from thenceforth) commend him and his realme in their praiers vnto the protection of the almightie, and receiue him into their fraternitie: promiſing moreouer full ſatisfaction of their damages ſuſteined; and to build an houſe of their order in whatſoeuer place of England it ſhould pleaſe them to aſſigne. And this he confirmed by charter, bearing date the ſeauen and twentith of Nouember, after the Scottiſh king was returned into Scotland, & departed from the king. Whereby (and by other the like, as betweene Iohn Stratford and Edward the third, &c.) a man may eaſilie conceiue how proud the clergie-men haue beene in former times, as wholie preſuming vpon the primaſſie of their pope. More matter could I alledge of theſe and the like brothes, not to be found among our common diſcographers: howbeit reſeruing the ſame vnto places more conuenient, I will ceaſſe to ſpeake of them at this time, and go forward with ſuch other things as my purpoſe is to ſpeake of. At the firſt therefore there was like and equall authoritie in both our archbiſhops: but as he of Canturburie hath long ſince obteined the prerogatiue aboue Worke (although I ſaie not without great trouble, ſute, ſome bloudſhed & contention) ſo the archbiſhop of Worke is neuertheleſſe written primate of England, as one contenting himſelfe with a peece of a title at the leaſt, when (all) could not be gotten. And as he of Canturburie crowneth the king, ſo this of Worke doth the like to the queene, whoſe perpetuall chapleine he is; & hath beene from time to time, ſince the determination of this controuerſie, as writers doo report. The firſt alſo hath vnder his iuriſdiction to

Forſitan naturalem.

the

Twentie one biſhoprikes vnder ỹ ſee of Canturburie. Onelie foure ſees vnder the archbiſhop of Yorke.

the number of one and twentie inferiour biſhops, the other hath onlie foure, by reaſon that the churches of Scotland are now remoued from his obedience vnto an archbiſhop of their owne, whereby the greatneſſe and circuit of the iuriſdiction of Yorke is not a little diminiſhed. In like ſort each of theſe ſcauen and twentie ſées haue their cathedrall churches, wherein the deanes (a calling not knowne in England before the conqueſt) do beare the cheefe rule, being men eſpeciallie choſen to that vocation, both for their learning and godlineſſe ſo neere as can be poſſible. Theſe cathedrall churches haue in like maner other dignities and canonries ſtill remaining vnto them, as heeretofore vnder the popiſh regiment. Howbeit thoſe that are choſen to the ſame are no idle and vnprofitable perſons (as in times paſt they haue béene when moſt of theſe liuings were either furniſhed with ſtrangers, eſpeciallie out of Italie, boies, or ſuch idiots as had leaſt ſkill of all in diſcharging of thoſe functions, wherevnto they were called by vertue of theſe ſtipends) but ſuch as by preaching and teaching can and do learnedlie ſet forth the glorie of God, and further the ouerthrow of antichriſt to the vttermoſt of their powers.

Deanes.

Canonries.

Theſe churches are called cathedrall, becauſe the biſhops dwell or lie neere vnto the ſame, as bound to keepe continuall reſidence within their iuriſdictions, for the better ouerſight and gouernance of the ſame: the word being deriued *A cathedra*, that is to ſaie a chaire or ſeat where he reſteth, and for the moſt part abideth. At the firſt there was but one church in euerie iuriſdiction, wherinto no man entred to praie, but with ſome oblation or other toward the maintenance of the paſtor. For as it was reputed an infamie to paſſe by anie of them without viſitation: ſo it was a no leſſe reproch to appeare emptie before the Lord. And for this occaſion alſo they were builded verie huge and great, for otherwiſe they were not capable of ſuch multitudes as came dailie vnto them, to heare the word, and receiue the ſacraments.

But as the number of chriſtians increaſed, ſo firſt monaſteries, then finallie pariſh churches were builded in euerie iuriſdiction: from whence I take our deanerie churches to haue their originall, now called mother churches, and their incumbents archpreeſts; the reſt being added ſince the conqueſt, either by the lords of euerie towne, or zealous men, loth to trauell farre, and willing to haue ſome eaſe by building them neere hand. Vnto theſe deanerie churches alſo the cleargie in old time of the ſame deanrie were appointed to repaire at ſundrie ſeaſons, there to receiue wholeſome ordinances, and to conſult vpon the neceſſarie affaires of the whole iuriſdiction; if neceſſitie ſo required: and ſome image hereof is yet to be ſeene in the north parts. But as the number of churches increaſed, ſo the repaire of the faithfull vnto the cathedrals did diminiſh: whereby they now become eſpeciallie in their nether parts rather markets and ſhops for merchandize, than ſolemn places of praier, wherevnto they were firſt erected. Moreouer in the ſaid cathedrall churches vpon ſundaies and feſtiuall daies, the canons do make certeine ordinarie ſermons by courſe, wherevnto great numbers of all eſtates do orderlie reſort: and vpon the working daies thrise in the weeke, one of the ſaid canons, or ſome other in his ſtéed, doth read and expound ſome peece of holie ſcripture, wherevnto the people do verie reuerentlie repaire. The biſhops themſelues in like ſort are not idle in their callings, for being now exempt from court and councell, which is one (and a no ſmall) peece of their felicitie (although Richard archbiſhop of Canturburie thought otherwiſe, as yet appeareth by his letters to pope Alexander; *Epiſtola* 44. Petri Bleſenſis, where he ſaith; Becauſe the cleargie of his time were ſomewhat narrowlie looked vnto, *Supra dorſum eccleſiæ fabricant peccatores, &c.*) they ſo aplie their minds to the ſetting forth of the word, that there are verie few of them, which do not euerie ſundaie or oftener reſort to ſome place or other, within their iuriſdictions, where they expound the ſcriptures with much grauitie and ſkill; and yet not without the great miſliking and contempt of ſuch as hate the word. Of their manifold tranſlations from one ſée to another I will ſaie nothing, which is not now done for the beneſit of the flocke, as the preferment of the partie fauoured, and aduantage vnto the prince, a matter in time paſt much doubted of, to wit, whether a biſhop or paſtor might be tranſlated from one ſée to another; & left vndecided, till preſcription by rotall authoritie made it good. For among princes a thing once done, is well done, and to be done oftentimes, though no warrant be to be found therefore.

Ordinarie ſermons.

Ordinarie expoſitions of the ſcriptures

The biſhops preach diligentlie, whoſe predeceſſors heretofore haue beene occupied in temporall affairs.

They haue vnder them alſo their archdeacons, ſome one, diuerſe two, and manie foure or mo, as their circuits are in quantitie, which archdeacons are termed in law the biſhops eies: and theſe (beſide their ordinarie courts, which are holden within ſo manie or more of their ſeuerall deanries by themſelues or their officials once in a moneth at the leaſt) do keepe yearelie two viſitations or ſynods (as the biſhop doth in euerie third yeare, wherein he confirmeth ſome children, though moſt care but a litle for that ceremonie) in which they make diligent inquiſition and ſearch, as well for the doctrine and behauiour of the miniſters, as the orderlie dealing of the pariſhioners in reſorting to their pariſh churches and conformitie vnto religion. They puniſh alſo with great ſeueritie all ſuch treſpaſſers, either in perſon or by the purſſe (where permutation of penance is thought more greeuous to the offendor) as are preſented vnto them: or if the cauſe be of the more weight, as in caſes of hereſie, pertinacie, contempt, and ſuch like, they referre them either to the biſhop of the dioceſſe, or his chancellor, or elſe to ſundrie graue perſons ſet in authoritie, by vertue of an high commiſſion directed vnto them from the prince to that end, who in verie courteous maner do ſée the offendors gentlie reformed, or elſe ſeuerlie puniſhed, if neceſſitie ſo inforce.

Archdecons.

High commiſſioners.

Beſide this, in manie of our archdeaconries we haue an exerciſe latelie begun, which for the moſt part is called a prophеſie or conference, and erected onelie for the examination or triall of the diligence of the cleargie in their ſtudie of holie ſcriptures. Howbeit, ſuch is the thirſtie deſire of the people in theſe daies to heare the word of God, that they alſo haue as it were with zealous violence intruded themſelues among them (but as hearers onelie) to come by more knowledge through their preſence at the ſame. Herein alſo (for the moſt part) two of the yonger ſort of miniſters do expound each after other ſome peece of the ſcriptures ordinarilie appointed vnto them in their courſes (wherein they orderlie go through with ſome one of the euangeliſts, or of the epiſtles, as it pleaſeth the whole aſſemblie to chooſe at the firſt in euerie of theſe conferences) and when they haue ſpent an houre or a little more betweene them, then commeth one of the better learned ſort, who being a graduat for the moſt part, or knowne to be a preacher ſufficientlie authoriſed, & of a ſound iudgement, ſupplieth the roome of a moderator, making firſt a breefe rehearſall of their diſcourſes, and then adding what him thinketh good of his owne knowledge, wherby two houres are thus commonlie ſpent at this moſt profitable meeting. When all is done, if the firſt ſpeakers haue ſhewed anie peece of diligence, they are commended for their trauell, and in-

A prophеſie or conference.

couraged to go forward. If they haue béene found to be ſlacke, or not ſound in deliuerie of their doctrine, their negligence and error is openlie reproued before all their brethren, who go aſide of purpoſe from the laitie, after the exerciſe ended, to iudge of theſe matters, and conſult of the next ſpeakers and quantitie of the text to be handled in that place. The laitie neuer ſpeake of courſe (except ſome vaine and buſie head will now and then intrude themſelues with offenſe) but are onelie hearers; and as it is vſed in ſome places weékelie, in other once in foureteene daies, in diuerſe monethlie, and elſewhere twiſe in a yeare, ſo is it a notable ſpurre vnto all the miniſters, thereby to aplie their bookes, which otherwiſe (as in times paſt) would giue themſelues to hawking, hunting, tables, cards, dice, tipling at the alehouſe, ſhooting of matches, and other like vanities, nothing commendable in ſuch as ſhould be godlie and zealous ſtewards of the good gifts of God, faithfull diſtributors of his word vnto the people, and diligent paſtors according to their calling.

But alas! as ſathan the author of all miſchéefe hath in ſundrie manners heretofore hindered the erection and maintenance of manie good things: ſo in this he hath ſtirred vp aduerſaries of late vnto this moſt profitable exerciſe, who not regarding the commoditie that riſeth thereby ſo well to the hearers as ſpekers; but either ſtumbling (I cannot tell how) at words and termes, or at the leaſt wiſe not liking to here of the reprehenſion of vice, or peraduenture taking a miſliking at the ſlender demeanours of ſuch negligent miniſters, as now and then in their courſes do occupie the romes, haue either by their owne practiſe, their ſiniſter information, or ſuggeſtions made vpon ſurmiſes vnto other procured the ſuppreſſion of theſe conferences, condemning them as hurtfull, pernicious, and daillie breéders of no ſmall hurt & inconuenience. But hereof let God be iudge, vnto whome the cauſe belongeth.

Miniſters & deacons.

Our elders or miniſters and deacons (for ſubdeacons and the other inferiour orders, ſometime vſed in popiſh church we haue not) are made according to a certeine forme of conſecration concluded vpon in the time of king Edward the firſt, by the clergie of England, and ſone after confirmed by the three eſtates of the realme, in the high court of parlement. And out of the firſt ſort, that is to ſaie, of ſuch as are called to the miniſterie (without reſpect whether they be married or not) are biſhops, deanes, archdeacons, & ſuch as haue the higher places in the hierarchie of the church elected; and theſe alſo as all the reſt, at the firſt comming vnto anie ſpirituall promotion, do yéeld vnto the prince the entire tare of that their liuing for one whole yeare, if it amount in value vnto ten pounds and vpwards, and this vnder the name and title of firſt fruits.

With vs alſo it is permitted, that a ſufficient man may (by diſpenſation from the prince) hold two liuings, not diſtant either from other aboue thirtie miles; whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as hir maieſtie doth reape ſome commoditie by the facultie, ſo the vnition of two in one man doth bring oftentimes more benefit to one of them in a moneth (I meane for doctrine) than they haue had before peraduenture in manie yeares.

Manie exclame againſt ſuch faculties, as if there were mo good preachers that want maintenance, than liuings to mainteine them. In déed when a liuing is void, there are ſo manie ſutors for it, that a man would thinke the report to be true and moſt certeine: but when it commeth to the triall, who are ſufficient, and who not, who are ſtaied men in conuerſation, iudgement, and learning; of that great number you ſhall hardlie find one or two, ſuch as they ought to be: and yet none more earneſt to make ſute, to promiſe largelie, beare a better ſhew, or find fault with the ſtate of things than they. Neuertheleſſe, I do not thinke that their exclamations if they were wiſelie handled, are altogither grounded vpon rumors or ambitious minds, if you reſpect the ſtate of the thing it ſelfe, and not the neceſſitie growing through want of able men, to furniſh out all the cures in England, which both our vniuerſities are neuer able to performe. For if you obſerue what numbers of preachers Cambridge and Oxford do yearelie ſend forth; and how manie new compoſitions are made in the court of firſt fruits, by the deaths of the laſt incumbents: you ſhall ſone ſée a difference. Wherefore, if in countrie townes & cities, yea euen in London it ſelfe, foure or fiue of the litle churches were brought into one, the inconuenience would in great part be redreſſed.

And to ſaie truth, one moſt commonlie of theſe ſmall liuings is of ſo little value, that it is not able to mainteine a meane ſcholar; much leſſe a learned man, as not being aboue ten, twelue, ſixteene, ſeuenteene, twentie, or thirtie pounds at the moſt, toward their charges, which now (more than before time) do go out of the ſame. I ſaie more than before, becauſe euerie ſmall trifle, noble mans requeſt, or courteſie craued by the biſhop, doth impoſe and command a twentith part, a three ſcore part, or two pence in the pound, &c: out of our liuings, which hitherto hath not béene vſuallie granted, but by conſent of a ſynod, wherein things were decided according to equitie, and the power ſort conſidered of, which now are equallie burdened.

We paie alſo the tenths of our liuings to the prince yearelie, according to ſuch valuation of ech of them, as hath béene latelie made: which neuertheleſſe in time paſt were not annuall but voluntarie, & paid at requeſt of king or pope. Herevpon alſo hangeth a pleaſant ſtorie though done of late yeares, to wit 1452, at which time the cleargie ſéeing the continuall loſſes that the king of England ſuſteined in France, vpon ſome motion of releéfe made, granted in an open conuocation to giue him two tenths toward the recouerie of Burdeaux, which his grace verie thankefullie receiued. It fortuned alſo at the ſame time that Vincentius Clemens the popes factor was here in England, who hearing what the clergie had done, came into the conuocation houſe alſo in great haſt and leſſe ſpéed, where, in a ſolemne oration he earneſtlie required them to be no leſſe fauourable to their ſpirituall father the pope, and mother the ſée of Rome, than they had ſhewed themſelues vnto his vaſſall and inferiour, meaning their ſoueraigne lord in temporall iuriſdiction, &c. In deliuering alſo the cauſe of his ſute, he ſhewed how greéuouſlie the pope was diſturbed by cutthroates, varlots, and harlots, which do now ſo abound in Rome, that his holineſſe is in daillie danger to be made awaie amongſt them. To be ſhort when this fine tale was told, one of the companie ſtood vp and ſaid vnto him; My lord we haue heard your requeſt, and as we thinke it deſerueth litle conſideration and leſſe eare, for how would you haue vs to contribute to his aid in ſuppreſſion of ſuch, as he and ſuch as you are do continuall vphold, it is not vnknowen in this houſe what rule is kept in Rome.

I grant (quoth Vincent) that there wanteth iuſt reformation of manie things in that citie, which would haue béene made ſoner, but now it is too late: neuertheleſſe I beſéech you to write vnto his holineſſe, with requeſt that he would leaue and abandon that Babylon, which is but a ſinke of miſchiefe, and kéepe his court elſewhere in place of better fame. And this he ſhall be the better able alſo to performe, if by your liberalitie

liberalitie extended towards him, vnto whome you are moſt bound, he be incouraged thereto. Manie other words paſſed to and fro amongſt them, howbeit in the end Vincent ouercame not, but was diſmiſſed without anie penie obteined. But to returne to our tenths, a paiement firſt as deuiſed by the pope, and afterward taken vp as by the preſcription of the king, wherevnto we may ioine alſo our firſt fruits, which is one whole yeares commoditie of our liuing, due at our entrance into the ſame, the tenths abated vnto the princes cofers, and paid commonlie in two yeares. For the receipt alſo of theſe two paiments, an eſpeciall office or court is erected, which beareth name of firſt fruits and tenths, wherevnto if the partie to be preferred, do not make his dutifull repaire by an appointed time after poſſeſſion taken, there to compound for the paiment of his ſaid fruits, he incurreth the danger of a great penaltie, limited by a certeine ſtatute prouided in that behalfe, againſt ſuch as do intrude into the eccleſiaſticall function, and refuſe to paie the accuſtomed duties belonging to the ſame.

They paie likewiſe ſubſidies with the temporaltie, but in ſuch ſort, that if theſe paie after foure ſhillings for land, the cleargie contribute commonlie after ſix ſhillings of the pound, ſo that of a benefice of twentie pounds by the yeare, the incumbent thinketh himſelfe well acquited, if all ordinarie paiments being diſcharged he may reſerue thirteene pounds ſix ſhillings eight pence towards his owne ſuſtentation, and maintenance of his familie. Seldome alſo are they without the compaſſe of a ſubſidie, for if they be one yeare cleare from this paiement, a thing not often ſeene of late yeares, they are like in the next to heare of another grant: ſo that I ſaie againe they are ſeldome without the limit of a ſubſidie. Herein alſo they ſomewhat find themſelues grieued, that the laitie may at euerie taxation helpe themſelues, and ſo they do through conſideration had of their decaie and hinderance, and yet their impoueriſhment cannot but touch alſo the parſon or vicar, vnto whom ſuch libertie is denied, as is dailie to be ſeene in their accompts and tithings.

Some of them alſo, after the mariages of their children, will haue their proportions qualified, or by friendſhip get themſelues quite out of the booke. But what ſtand I vpon theſe things, who haue rather to complaine of the iniurie offered by ſome of our neighbors of the laitie, which dailie indeuor to bring vs alſo within the compaſſe of their fifteens or taxes for their owne eaſe, whereas the taxe of the whole realme, which is commonlie greater in the champeigne than woodland ſoile, amounteth onelie to 379 30 pounds nine pence halfepenie, is a burden eaſie inough to be borne vpon ſo manie ſhoulders, without the helpe of the cleargie, whoſe tenths and ſubſidies make vp commonlie a double, if not troubleſome vnto their aforeſaid paiments. Sometimes alſo we are threatned with a *Melius inquirendum*, as if our liuings were not racked high inough alreadie. But if a man ſhould ſeeke out where all thoſe church lands, which in time paſt did contribute vnto the old ſumme required or to be made vp, no doubt no ſmall number of the laitie of all ſtates ſhould be contributors alſo with vs, the prince not defrauded of hir expectation and right. We are alſo charged with armor & munitions from thirtie pounds vpwards, a thing more needfull than diuerſe other charges impoſed vpon vs are conuenient, by which & other burdens our eaſe groweth to be more heauie by a great deale (notwithſtanding our immunitie from temporall ſeruices) than that of the laitie, and for ought that I ſee not likelie to be diminiſhed, as if the church were now become the aſſe whereon euerie market man is to ride and caſt his wallet.

The other paiments due vnto the archbiſhop and biſhop at their ſeuerall viſitations (of which the firſt is double to the latter) and ſuch alſo as the archdeacon receiueth at his ſynods, &c: remaine ſtill as they did without anie alteration, onelie this I thinke be added within memorie of man, that at the comming of euerie prince, his appointed officers do commonlie viſit the whole realme vnder the forme of an eccleſiaſticall inquiſition, in which the clergie do vſualie paie double fees, as vnto the archbiſhop. Hereby then, and by thoſe alreadie remembred, it is found that the church of England, is no leſſe commodious to the princes coffers than the ſtate of the laitie, if it do not farre exceed the ſame, ſince their paiments are certeine, continuall, and ſeldome abated, howſoeuer they gather vp their owne duties with grudging, murmuring, ſute, and ſlanderous ſpeeches of the paiers, or haue their liuings otherwiſe hardlie valued vnto the vttermoſt farding, or ſhrewdlie cancelled by the couetouſneſſe of the patrones, of whome ſome do beſtow aduouſons of benefices vpon their bakers, butlers, cookes, good archers, falconers, and horſekeepers, in ſtead of other recompenſe, for their long and faithfull ſeruice, which they imploie afterward vnto their moſt aduantage.

Certes here they reſemble the pope verie much, for as he ſendeth out his idols, ſo do they their paraſites, pages, chamberleins, ſtewards, grooms, & lackies; and yet theſe be the men that firſt exclame of the inſufficiencie of the miniſters, as hoping thereby in due time to get alſo their glebes and grounds into their hands. In times paſt biſhoprikes went almoſt after the ſame maner vnder the laie princes, and then vnder the pope, ſo that he which helped a clerke vnto a ſee, was ſure to haue a preſent or purſe fine, if not an annuall penſion, beſides that which went to the popes coffers, and was thought to be verie good merchandize. Hereof one example may be touched, as of a thing done in my yonger daies, whileſt queene Marie bare the ſwaie and gouerned in this land. After the death of Stephan Gardiner, the ſee of Wincheſter was void for a ſeaſon, during which time cardinall Pole made ſeizure vpon the reuenues and commodities of the ſame, pretending authoritie therevnto *Sede vacante*, by vertue of his place. With this act of his the biſhop of Lincolne called White tooke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſtepped in like a mate, with full purpoſe (as he ſaid) to keepe that ſee from ruine. He wrote alſo to Paulus the fourth pope, requiring that he might be preferred therevnto, promiſing ſo as he might be *Compos voti*, to paie to the popes coffers 1600 pounds yearlie during his naturall life, and for one yeare after. But the pope nothing liking of his motion, and yet deſirous to reape a further benefit, firſt ſhewed himſelfe to ſtomach his ſimonicall practiſe verie grieuoullie, conſidering the dangerouſneſſe of the time and preſent eſtate of the church of England, which hong as yet in balance readie to yeeld anie waie, ſauing forth right, as he alledged in his letters. By which replie he ſo terrified the poore biſhop, that he was driuen vnto another iſſue, I meane to recouer the popes good will, with a further ſumme than ſtood with his eaſe to part withall. In the end when the pope had gotten this fleece, a new deuiſe was found, and meanes made to and by the prince, that White might be biſhop of Wincheſter, which at the laſt he obteined, but in ſuch wiſe as that the pope and his nereſt friends did loſe but a little by it. I could if need were ſet downe a report of diuerſe other the like practiſes, but this ſhall ſuffice in ſtead of all the reſt, leaſt in reprehending of vice I might ſhew my ſelfe to be a teacher of vngodlineſſe, or to ſcatter more vngratious ſeed in lewd ground

alreadie choked with wickednesse.

To proceed therefore with the reſt, I thinke it good also to remember, that the names vsuallie giuen vnto such as feed the flocke remaine in like sort as in times past, so that these words, parson, vicar, curat, and such are not yet abolished more than the canon law it selfe, which is dailie pleaded, as I haue said elsewhere; although the statutes of the realme haue greatlie infringed the large scope, and brought the exercise of the same into some narrower limits. There is nothing read in our churches but the canonicall scriptures, whereby it commeth to passe that the psalter is said ouer once in thirtie daies, the new testament foure times, and the old testament once in the yeare. And hereunto if the curat be adiudged by the bishop or his deputies, sufficientlie instructed in the holie scriptures, and therewithall able to teach, he permitteth him to make some exposition or exhortation in his parish, vnto amendment of life. And for so much as our churches and vniuersities haue béene so spoiled in time of errour, as there cannot yet be had such number of able pastours as may suffice for euerie parish to haue one: there are (beside foure sermons appointed by publike order in the yeare) certeine sermons or homilies (deuised by sundrie learned men, confirmed for sound doctrine by consent of the diuines, and publike authoritie of the prince) and those appointed to be read by the curats of meane vnderstanding (which homilies do comprehend the principall parts of christian doctrine, as of originall sinne, of iustification by faith, of charitie, and such like) vpon the sabbaoth daies, vnto the congregation. And after a certeine number of psalmes read, which are limited according to the daies of the month, for morning and euening praier, we haue two lessons, whereof the first is taken out of the old testament, the second out of the new, and of these latter that in the morning is out of the gospels, the other in the after none out of some one of the epistles. After morning praier also we haue the letanie and suffrages, an inuocation in mine opinion not deuised without the great assistance of the spirit of God, although manie curious mindsicke persons vtterlie condemne it as superstitious and sauoring of coniuration and sorcerie.

This being done, we proceed vnto the communion, if anie communicants be to receiue the eucharist, if not we read the decalog, epistle and gospell with the Nicene creed (of some in derision called the drie communion) and then proceed vnto an homilie or sermon, which hath a psalme before and after it, and finallie vnto the baptisme of such infants as on euerie sabaoth daie (if occasion so require) are brought vnto the churches: and thus is the forenoone bestowed. In the after none likewise we meet againe, and after the psalmes and lessons ended we haue commonlie a sermon, or at the least wise our youth catechised by the space of an houre. And thus do we spend the sabaoth daie in good and godlie exercises, all done in our vulgar tong, that each one present may heare and vnderstand the same, which also in cathedrall and collegiat churches is so ordered, that the psalmes onelie are song by note, the rest being read (as in common parish churches) by the minister with a lowd voice, sauing that in the administration of the communion the quier singeth the answers, the creed, and sundrie other things appointed, but in so plaine, I saie, and distinct maner, that each one present may vnderstand what they sing, euerie word hauing but one note, though the whole harmonie consist of manie parts, and those verie cunninglie set by the skilfull in that science.

Certes this translation of the seruice of the church into the vulgar tong, hath not a litle offended the pope almost in euerie age, as a thing verie often attempted by diuers princes, but neuer generallie obteined, for feare least the consenting thervnto might breed the ouerthrow (as it would in deed) of all his religion and hierarchie: neuertheless in some places where the kings and princes dwelled not vnder his nose, it was performed maugre his resistance. Vratislaus duke of Boheme, would long since haue done the like also in his kingdome, but not daring to venter so farre without the consent of the pope, he wrote vnto him thereof, and receiued his answer inhibitorie vnto all his proceeding in the same.

Gregorius septimus Vratislao Bohemorum duci, &c. Quia nobilitas tua postulat, quòd secundùm Sclauonicam linguam apud vos diuinum celebrari annueremus officium, scias nos huic petitioni tuæ nequaquàm posse fauere, ex hoc nempe se voluentibus liquet, non immerito sacram scripturam optimo Deo placuisse quibusdam locis esse occultam; ne si ad liquidum cunctis pateret, forte vilesceret, & subiaceret despectui, aut prauè intellecta à mediocribus in errorem induceret. Neque enim ad excusationem iuuat, quòd quidam viri hoc, quod simplex populus quærit patienter tulerunt, seu incorrectum dimiserunt: cum primitiua ecclesia multa dissimulauerit, quæ à sanctis patribus postmodum, firmata christianitate & religione crescente, subtili examinatione correcta sunt: vnde id nè fiat, quod à vestris imprudenter exposcitur, authoritate beati Petri inhibemus; téque ad honorem optimi Dei huic vanæ temeritati viribus totis resistere præcipimus, &c. Datum Romæ, &c.

I would set downe two or three more of the like instruments passed from that see vnto the like end, but this shall suffice, being lesse common than the other, which are to be had more plentifullie.

As for our churches themselues, belles, and times of morning and euening praier, remaine as in times past, sauing that all images, shrines, tabernacles, rodlofts, and monuments of idolatrie are remoued, taken downe, and defaced; onelie the storie in glasse windowes excepted, which for want of sufficient store of new stuffe, and by reason of extreame charge that should grow by the alteration of the same into white panes throughout the realme, are not altogither abolished in most places at once, but by little and little suffered to decaie, that white glasse may be prouided and set vp in their rowmes. Finallie, whereas there was wont to be a great partition betweene the quire and the bodie of the church; now it is either verie small or none at all: and to saie the truth altogither needlesse, sith the minister saith his seruice commonlie in the bodie of the church, with his face toward the people, in a little tabernacle of wainscot prouided for the purpose: by which means the ignorant do not onelie learne diuerse of the psalmes and vsuall praiers by heart, but also such as can read, do praie togither with him: so that the whole congregation at one instant powre out their petitions vnto the liuing God, for the whole estate of his church in most earnest and feruent manner. Our holie and festiuall daies are verie well reduced also vnto a lesse number; for whereas (not long since) we had vnder the pope foure score and fiftéene, called festiuall, and thirtie *Profesti*, beside the sundaies, they are all brought vnto seauen and twentie: and with them the superfluous numbers of idle waks, guilds, fraternities, church-ales, helpe-ales, and soule-ales, called also dirge-ales, with the heathnish rioting at bride-ales, are well diminished and laid aside. And no great matter were it if the feasts of all our apostles, euangelists, and martyrs, with that of all saints, were brought to the holie daies that follow vpon Christmasse, Easter, and Whitsuntide; and those of the virgine Marie, with the rest vtterlie remoued from the calendars, as neither necessarie nor commendable in a reformed church.

The

Apparell. The apparell in like ſort of our clergie men is comlie, & in truth, more decent than euer it was in the popiſh church: before the vniuerſities bound their graduats vnto a ſtable attire, afterward vſurped alſo euen by the blind ſir Johns. For if you peruſe well my chronologie inſuing, you ſhall find, that they went either in diuerſe colors like plaiers, or in garments of light hew, as yellow, red, greene, &c: with their ſhoes piked, their haire criſped, their girdles armed with ſiluer; their ſhoes, ſpurres, bridles, &c: buckled with like mettall: their apparell (for the moſt part) of ſilke, and richlie furred; their cappes laced and buttned with gold: ſo that to meet a prieſt in thoſe daies, was to behold a peacocke that ſpreadeth his taile when he danſeth before the henne: which now (I ſaie) is well reformed. Touching hoſpitalitie, there was neuer anie greater vſed in England, ſith by reaſon that marriage is permitted to him that will chooſe that kind of life, their meat and drinke is more orderlie and frugallie dreſſed; their furniture of houſhold more conuenient, and better looked vnto; and the poore oftener fed generallie than heretofore they haue beene, when onlie a few biſhops, and double or treble beneficed men did make good cheere at Chriſtmaſſe onelie, or otherwiſe kept great houſes for the interteinment of the rich, which did often ſee and viſit them. It is thought much peraduenture, that ſome biſhops, &c: in our time do come ſhort of the ancient gluttonie and prodigalitie of their predeceſſors: but to ſuch as do conſider of the curtailing of their liuings, or exceſſiue prices whervnto things are growen, and how their courſe is limited by law, and eſtate looked into on euery ſide, the cauſe of their ſo doing is well inough perceiued. This alſo offendeth manie, that they ſhould after their deaths leaue their ſubſtances to their wiues and children: whereas they conſider not, that in old time ſuch as had no lemans nor baſtards (verie few were there God wot of this ſort) did leaue their goods and poſſeſſions to their brethren and kinſfolks, whereby (as I can ſhew by good record) manie houſes of gentilitie haue growen and beene erected. If in anie age ſome one of them did found a college, almeſhouſe, or ſchole, if you looke vnto theſe our times, you ſhall ſee no fewer deeds of charitie done, nor better grounded vpon the right ſtub of pietie than before. If you ſaie that their wiues be fond, after the deceaſſe of their huſbands, and beſtow themſelues not ſo adviſedlie as their calling requireth, which God knoweth theſe curious ſurueiors make ſmall account of in truth, further than thereby to gather matter of reprehenſion: I beſeech you then to looke into all ſtates of the laitie, & tell me whether ſome ducheſſes, counteſſes, barons, or knights wiues, do not fullie ſo often offend in the like as they ſor Eue will be Eue though Adam would ſaie naie. Not a few alſo find fault with our thred-bare gowns, as if not our patrones but our wiues were cauſes of our woo. But if it were knowne to all, that I know to haue beene performed of late in Eſſex, where a miniſter taking a benefice (of leſſe than twentie pounds in the Queenes bookes ſo farre as I remember) was inforced to paie to his patrone, twentie quarters of otes, ten quarters of wheat, and ſirteene yerelie of barleie, which he called hawkes meat; and another left the like in farme to his patrone for ten pounds by the yere, which is well worth fortie at the leaſt, the cauſe of our thred-bare gownes would eaſilie appeere, for ſuch patrons do ſcrape the woll from our cloakes. Wherfore I may well ſaie, that ſuch a thred-bare miniſter is either an ill man, or hath an ill patrone, or both: and when ſuch cokes & cobling ſhifters ſhall be removed and weeded out of the miniſterie, I doubt not but our patrons will prooue better men, and be reformed whether they will or not, or elſe the ſingle minded biſhops ſhall ſee the liuing beſtowed vpon ſuch as do deſerue it. When the Pragmatike ſanction tooke place firſt in France, it was ſuppoſed that theſe enormities ſhould vtterlie haue ceaſed: but when the elections of biſhops came once into the hands of the canons and ſpirituall men, it grew to be farre worſe. For they alſo within a while waxing couetous, by their owne experience learned aforehand, raiſed the markets, and ſought after new gaines by the gifts of the greateſt liuings in that countrie, wherein (as Machiauell writeth) are eighténe archbiſhoprikes, one hundred fortie and fiue biſhoprikes, 740 abbies, elcuen vniuerſities, 1000700 ſteeples (if his report be found.) Some are of the opinion, that if ſufficient men in euerie towne might be ſent for from the vniuerſities, this miſchiefe would ſone be remedied; but I am cleane of another mind. For when I conſider whereunto the gifts of felowſhips in ſome places are growen: the profit that ariſeth at ſundrie elections of ſcholars out of grammar ſcholes, to the poſers, ſchoolemaſters, and preferrers of them to our vniuerſities, the gifts of a great number of almeſhouſes builded for the maimed and impotent ſouldiors, by princes and good men heretofore moued with a pittifull conſideration of the poore diſtreſſed: how rewards, penſions, and annuities alſo do reigne in other caſes, wherby the giuer is brought ſomtimes into extreame miſerie, & that not ſo much as the name of a common ſouldior is not obteined oftentimes, without a What will you giue me? I am brought into ſuch a miſtruſt of the ſequele of this deuiſe, that I dare pronounce (almoſt for certeine) that if Homer were now aliue, it ſhould be ſaid to him;

Tuque licèt venias muſis comitatus Homere,
Si nihil attuleris ibis Homere foras.

More I could ſaie, and more I would ſaie of theſe and other things, were it not that in mine owne iudgement I haue ſaid inough alreadie for the aduertiſement of ſuch as be wiſe. Neuertheleſſe, before I finiſh this chapter, I will adde a word or two (ſo briefle as I can) of the old eſtate of cathedrall churches, which I haue collected togither here and there among the writers, and whereby it ſhall eaſilie be ſeene what they were, and how neere the gouernment of ours do in theſe daies approch vnto them, for that there is an irreconcilable ods betweene them and thoſe of the papiſts. I hope there is no learned man indeed, but will acknowlege and yeeld vnto it.

We find therefore in the time of the primitiue church, that there was in euerie ſee or iuriſdiction one ſchole at the leaſt, whereinto ſuch as were catechiſſes in chriſtian religion did reſort. And hereof as we may find great teſtimonie for Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, and Hieruſalem; ſo no ſmall notice is left of the like in the inferior ſort, if the names of ſuch as taught in them be called to mind, & the hiſtories well read which make report of the ſame. Theſe ſcholes were vnder the iuriſdiction of the biſhops, and from thence did they & the reſt of the elders chooſe out ſuch as were the ripeſt ſcholars, and willing to ſerue in the miniſterie, whome they placed alſo in their cathedrall churches, there not onelie to be further inſtructed in the knowledge of the word, but alſo to inure them to the deliuerie of the ſame vnto the people in ſound maner, to miniſter the ſacraments, to viſit the ſicke and brethren impriſoned, and to performe ſuch other duties as then belonged to their charges. The biſhop himſelfe and elders of the church were alſo hearers and examiners of their doctrine, and being in proceſſe of time found meet workmen for the lords haruеſt, they were forthwith ſent abroade (after impoſition of hands, and praier generallie

Hoſpitalitie.

Marriage.

Thred-bare gownes from whence they come.

Number of churches in France.

Pietie paſſing.

Old eſtate of cathedrall churches.

made for their good proceeding) to ſome place or other then deſtitute of hir paſtor, and other taken from the ſchole alſo placed in their romes. What number of ſuch clerks belonged now and then to ſome one ſée, the chronologie following ſhall eaſilie declare: and in like ſort what officers, widowes, and other perſons were dailie maintained in thoſe ſeaſons by the offerings and oblations of the faithfull, it is incredible to be reported, if we compare the ſame with the decaies and ablations ſéene and practiſed at this preſent. But what is that in all the world which auarice and negligence will not corrupt and impaire? And as this is a paterne of the eſtate of the cathedrall churches in thoſe times, ſo I wiſh that the like order of gouernment might once againe be reſtored vnto the ſame, which may be done with eaſe, ſith the ſchooles are alreadie builded in euerie dioceſſe, the vniuerſities, places of their preferment vnto further knowledge, and the cathedrall churches great inough to receiue ſo manie as ſhall come from thence to be inſtructed vnto doctrine. But one hinderance of this is alreadie and more & more to be looked for (beſide the plucking and ſnatching commonlie ſéene from ſuch houſes and the church) and that is, the generall contempt of the miniſterie, and ſmall conſideration of their former paines taken, whereby leſſe and leſſe hope of competent maintenance by preaching the word is likelie to inſue. Wherefore the greateſt part of the more excellent wits chooſe rather to imploy their ſtudies vnto phyſike and the lawes, vtterlie giuing ouer the ſtudie of the ſcriptures, for feare leaſt they ſhould in time not get their bread by the ſame. By this meanes alſo the ſtalles in their quéeres would be better filled, which now (for the moſt part) are emptie, and prebends ſhould be prebends indéed, there to liue till they were preferred to ſome eccleſiaſticall function, and then other men choſen to ſucceed them in their romes, whereas now prebends are but ſuperfluous additaments vnto former exceſſes, & perpetuall commodities vnto the owners, which before time were but temporall (as I haue ſaid before.) But as I haue good leiſure to wiſh for theſe things: ſo it ſhall be a longer time before it will be brought to paſſe. Neuertheleſſe, as I will praie for a reformation in this behalfe, ſo will I here conclude this my diſcourſe of the eſtate of our churches, and go in hand with the limits and bounds of our ſeuerall ſées, in ſuch order as they ſhall come vnto my preſent remembrance.

Of the number of biſhoprikes and *their ſeuerall circuits.*

Chap. 2.

HAuing alreadie ſpoken generally of the ſtate of our church, now will I touch the ſées ſeuerallie, ſaieng ſo much of each of them as ſhall be conuenient for the time, and not onelie out of the ancient, but alſo the later writers, and ſomewhat of mine owne experience, beginning firſt with the ſée of Canturburie, as the moſt notable, whoſe archbiſhop is the primat of all this land for eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, and moſt accompted of commonlie, bicauſe he is nearer to the prince, and readie at euerie call.

Canturburie. The iuriſdiction of Canturburie therefore, erected firſt by Auguſtine the monke, in the time of Ethelbert king of Kent, if you haue reſpect to hir prouinciall regiment, extendeth it ſelfe ouer all the ſouth and weſt parts of this Iland, and Ireland, as I haue noted in the chapter precedent, and few ſhires there are wherein the archbiſhop hath not ſome peculiars. But if you regard the ſame onelie that was and is proper vnto his ſée, from the beginning, it reacheth but ouer one parcell of Kent, which Rudburne calleth Cantwarland, the iuriſdiction of Rocheſter including the reſt: ſo that in this one countie the greateſt archbiſhoprike and the leaſt biſhoprike of all are linked in togither. That of Canturburie hath vnder it one archdeaconrie, who hath iuriſdiction ouer eleauen deanries or a hundred ſixtie one pariſh churches; & in the popiſh time in ſted of the 3093 pounds, eightéene ſhillings, halfepenie, farthing, which it now paieth vnto hir maieſtie, vnder the name of firſt frutes, there went out of this ſée to Rome, at euerie alienation 10000 ducates or florens, beſide 5000 that the new elect did vſuallie paie for his pall, each ducat being then worth an Engliſh crowne or thereabout, as I haue béene informed.

Rocheſter. The ſée of Rocheſter is alſo included within the limits of Kent, being erected by Auguſtine in the 604 of Grace, and reigne of Ceolrik ouer the weſt-Saxons. The biſhop of this ſée hath one archdeacon, vnder whoſe gouernment in cauſes eccleſiaſticall are three deanries, or 132 pariſh churches: ſo that hereby it is to be gathered, that there are 393 pariſh churches in Kent, ouer which the ſaid two archdeacons haue eſpeciall cure & charge. He was wont to paie alſo vnto the court of Rome at his admiſſion to that ſée 1300 ducats or florens, as I read, which was an hard valuation, conſidering the ſmalneſſe of circuit belonging to his ſée. Howbeit, in my time it is ſo farre from eaſe by diminution, that it is raiſed to 1432 crownes, &c: or as we reſolue them into our pounds, 358 pounds, three ſhillings, ſix pence, halfepennie, farthing, a reckoning a great deale more preciſelie made than anie biſhop of that ſée doth take any great delight in. He was croſſe-bearer in times paſt vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie. And there are and haue béene few ſées in England, which at one time or other haue not fetched their biſhops for the moſt part from this ſée: for as it is of it ſelfe but a ſmall thing in déed, ſo it is commonlie a preparatiue to an higher place. But of all that euer poſſeſſed it, Thomas Kempe had the beſt lucke, who being but a poore mans ſonne of Wie (vnto which towne he was a great benefactor) grew firſt to be doctor of both lawes, then of diuinitie; and afterward being promoted to this ſée, he was tranſlated from thence to Chicheſter, thirdlie to London, nert of all to Yorke, and finallie after ſeauen and twentie yeares to Canturburie, where he became alſo cardinall, deacon, and then preeſt in the court of Rome, according to this verſe, *Bis primas, ter præſes, bis cardine functus.* Certes I note this man, bicauſe he bare ſome fauour to the furtherance of the goſpell, and to that end he either builded or repared the pulpit in Paules churchyard, and toke order for the continuall maintenance of a ſermon there vpon the ſabaoth, which doth continue vnto my time, as a place from whence the ſoundeſt doctrine is alwaies to be looked for, and for ſuch ſtrangers to reſort vnto as haue no habitation in anie pariſh within the citie where it ſtandeth.

London. The ſée of London was erected at the firſt by Lucius, who made it of an archeflamine and temple of Iupiter an archbiſhops ſée, and temple vnto the liuing God, and ſo it continued, vntill Auguſtine tranſlated the title thereof to Canturburie. The names of the archbiſhops of London are theſe; Theon, Eluan, Cadoc, Owen, Conan, Palladius, Stephan, Iltutus reſtitutus, anno 350, Theodromus, Theodredus, Hilarius, Faſtidius, anno 420, Guittelinus, Vodinus ſlaine by the Saxons, and Theonus Iunior. But

for

for their iuſt order of ſucceſſion as yet I am not reſolued, neuertheleſſe the firſt biſhop there was ordeined by Auguſtine the monke, in the yeare of Chriſt 604, in the time of Ceolryc, after he had remoued his ſée further off into Kent: I wote not vpon what ſecret occaſion, if not the ſpéedie hearing of newes from Rome, and readineſſe to flée out of the land, if any trouble ſhould betide him. For iuriſdiction it includeth Eſſex, Middleſex, and part of Herefordſhire, which is neither more nor leſſe in quantitie than the ancient kingdome of the eaſt Angles, before it was vnited to the weſt Saxons. The cathedrall church belonging to this ſée, was firſt begun by Ethelbert of Kent, Indic. 1. 598 of Inuber as I find, whileſt he held that part of the ſaid kingdome vnder his gouernement. Afterward when the Danes had ſundrie times defaced it, it was repared and made vp with hard ſtone, but in the end it was taken downe, and wholie reedified by Pawrice biſhop of that ſée, and ſometimes chapleine to the baſtard Henrie the firſt, allowing him ſtone and ſtuffe from Bainards caſtell néere vnto Ludgate, then ruinous for the furtherance of his workes. Howbeit the mould of the quire was not ſtatelie inough in the eies of ſome of his ſucceſſors; wherefore in the yeare of Grace 1256, it was taken downe and brought into another forme, and called the new worke, at which time alſo the bodies of diuerſe kings and biſhops were taken vp and beſtowed in the walles, to the end their memories ſhould be of longer continuance. The iuriſdiction of this ſée alſo vnder the biſhop, is committed to foure archdeacons, to wit, of London, Eſſex, Middleſex, and Colcheſter, who haue amongſt them to the number of 363 parith churches, or thereabouts, beſide the peculiars belonging to the archbiſhop and chapiter of that houſe, and at euerie alienation the biſhop paieth for his owne part 1119 pounds, eight ſhillings and foure pence (but in old time 3000 florens) which diuerſe ſuppoſe to be more, than (as it now ſtandeth) the biſhop is able to make of it. Of the archdeconrie, of S. Albons added therevnto by king Henrie the eight (whereby the biſhop hath fiue cies) I ſpeake not, for although it be vnder the biſhop of London for viſitations and ſynods, yet is it otherwiſe reputed as member of the ſée of Lincolne, and therefore worthilie called an exempt, it hath alſo fiue and twentie pariſhes, of which foure are in Buckingham, the reſt in Herefordſhire.

Chicheſter. The firſt beginning of the ſée of Chicheſter was in the Ile of Seales or Seolſeie, and from thence tranſlated to Chicheſter, in the time of William the baſtard, and generall remouing of ſées from ſmall villages vnto the greater townes. It conteineth Suſſex onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, wherein are fiftéene deanries, and 551 parith churches, it paid at euerie alienation to the ſée of Rome 333 ducats: and after Edbert the firſt biſhop, one Cella ſucceeded, after whome the pontificall chaire (not then worth 677 pounds by the yéere as now it is) was void by many yeares. It was erected in Seoleſeie alſo 711, by the decrée of a ſynod holden in Suſſex, which borowed it from the iuriſdiction of Wincheſter, whereof before it was reputed a parcell. Of all the biſhops that haue béene in this ſée, Thomas Kempe alwaies excepted, I read not of ante one that hath béene of more eſtimation than William Read, ſometime fellow of Merteine college in Oxford, doctor of diuinitie, and the moſt profound aſtronomer that liued in his time, as appeareth by his collection which ſometime I did poſſeſſe; his image is yet in the libzarie there, and manie inſtruments of aſtronomie reſerued in that houſe (a college erected ſometime by Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter, and lord chancellor of England) he builded alſo the caſtell of Amberleie from the verie foundation, as Edward Scozie or Stozie his ſucceſſor did the new croſſe in the market place of Chicheſter.

Wincheſter. The biſhop of Wincheſter was ſometime called biſhop of the weſt Saxons, and of Dorcheſter, which towne was giuen to Birinus and his ſucceſſors, by Kinigils and Oſwald of the Northumbers, in whoſe time it was erected by Birinus and his fellowes. In my time it hath iuriſdiction onelie ouer Hamſhire, Surrie, Jardeſeie, Gardeſeie, and the Wight, conteining eight deaneries, two hundred ſeuentie and ſix pariſh churches, and beſide all this he is perpetuall prelate to the honorable order of the Garter, deuiſed by Edward the third: he paid in old time to Rome 12000 ducates or florens, but now his firſt fruits are 2491 pounds nine ſhillings eight pence halfe penie. Canturburie was ſaid to be the higher racke, but Wincheſter hath borne the name to be the better mangier. There are alſo which make Lucius to be the firſt founder of an houſe of prater in Wincheſter, as Kinigils did build the ſecond, and Kinwaldus his ſonne the third; but you ſhall ſée the truth hereof in the chronologie inſuing. And herevnto if the old catalog of the biſhops of this ſée be well conſidered of, and the acts of the greateſt part of them indifferentlie weighed, as they are to be read in our hiſtories, you ſhall find the moſt egregious hypocrites, the ſtouteſt warriours, the cruelleſt tyrants, the richeſt monimongers, and politike counſellors in temporall affaires to haue, I wote not by what ſecret working of the diuine prouidence, bene placed herein Wincheſter, ſince the foundation of that ſée, which was erected by Birinus 639 (whome pope Honorius ſent hither out of Italie) and firſt planted at Dorcheſter, in the time of Kinigils, then tranſlated to Wincheſter, where it doth yet continue.

Saliſburie. Saliſburie was made the chéefe ſée of Shirburne by biſhop Harman (predeceſſor to Oſmond) who brought it from Shirburne to that citie; it hath now Barkeſhire, Wilſhire, and Dorſetſhire vnder hir iuriſdiction. For after the death of Hedda, which was 704, Wincheſter was diuided in two, ſo that onelie Hamſhire and Surrie were left vnto it, and Wilton, Dorſet, Barkeſhire, Summerſet, Deuon & Cornewill aſſigned vnto Shirburne till other order was taken. Biſhop Adelme did firſt ſit in that biſhoprike (704 as I ſaid) and placed his chaire at Shirburne vpon the ſaid diuiſion. And as manie lerned biſhops did ſucceed him in that rome, before and after it was remoued to Sarum; ſo there was neuer a more noble ornament to that ſée than biſhop Juell, of whoſe great learning and iudgement the world it ſelfe beareth witneſſe, notwithſtanding that the papiſts prefer S. Oſmond (as they call him) becauſe he builded the minſter there, and made the portelle called *Ordinale eccleſiaſtici officij*, which old prieſts were wont to vſe. The biſhops alſo of this ſée were ſometimes called biſhops of Sunning, of their old manſion houſe neere vnto Reading (as it ſhould ſeeme) and among thoſe that liued before the ſaid Juell, one Roger builded the caſtell of the Vies in the time of Henrie the firſt, taken in thoſe daies for the ſtrongeſt hold in England, as vnto whoſe gate there were regals and gripes for ſix or ſeuen port cullices. Finallie this ſée paid vnto Rome 4000 florens, but vnto hir maieſtie in my time 1367 pounds twelue ſhillings eight pence, as I did find of late.

Exceſter. Exceſter hath Deuonſhire and Cornewall, ſometime two ſeuerall biſhoprikes, but in the end brought into one of Cornewall, and from thence to Exceſter in the time of the Baſtard or ſone after. It began vpon this occaſion, Anno Gratiæ 905, in a prouinciall councell holden by the elder Edward Plegimond archbiſhop of Canturburie, among the Gewiſes,

wherein it was found, that the ſee of Wincheſter had not onelie béene without hir paſtor by the ſpace of ſeuen yéres, but alſo that hir iuriſdiction was farre greater than two men were able well to gouerne; therefore from the former two, to wit, Wincheſter and Shirburne, three other were taken, whereby that ſee was now diuided into fiue parts; the latter three being Welles, Kirton, and Cornwall: this of Cornwall hauing hir ſee then at ſaint Patroks, not farre from north-Wales vpon the riuer Helmouth: he of Deuon holding his iuriſdiction in Deuonſhire, Kirton, or Criditoc: and the biſhop of Welles being allowed Dorſet and Barkſhires for his part, to gouerne and looke vnto according to his charge. Finallie, the ſe two of Deuon and Cornwall being vnited, the valuation thereof was tared by the ſée of Rome at ſir thouſand ducats or ſlozens, which were trulie paid at euerie alienation; but verie hardlie (as I geſſe) ſith that in my time, wherein all things are racked to the verie vttermoſt, I find that it is little worth aboue fiue hundred pounds by the yére, bicauſe hir tenths are but fiftie.

Bath. Bath, whoſe ſée was ſometime at Welles, before Johne the biſhop there annexed the church of Bath vnto it, which was 1094, hath Summerſetſhire onlie, and the valuation thereof in the court of Rome was foure hundred & thirtie ſlozens: but in hir maieſties books I find it fiue hundred thirtie and three pounds, and about one od ſhilling: which declareth a preciſe examination of the eſtate of that ſée. Of the erection of this biſhoprike, mentioned in the diſcourſe of Exceſter, I find the former aſſertion confirmed by another author, and in ſomewhat more large maner, which I will alſo remember, onelie bicauſe it pleaſeth me ſomewhat better than the words before alleged out of the former writer. This biſhoprike (ſaith he) was erected 905, in a councell holden among the Gewiſes, whereat king Edward of the weſt-Saxons, and Plegmond archbiſhop of Canturburie were preſent. For that part of the countrie had béene ſeuen yéres without anie paſtorall cure. And therfore in this councell it was agréed, that for the two biſhoprikes (whereof one was at Wincheſter, another at Shireburne) there ſhould be fiue ordeined, whereby the people there might be the better inſtructed. By this meanes Frithſtan was placed at Wincheſter, and Ethelme at Shireburne, both of them being then void. Shireburne alſo ſuſteined the ſubdiuiſion; ſo that Werſtane was made biſhop of Criditoc or Deuonſhire (whoſe ſée was at Kirton) Herſtan of Cornwall, and Eadulfe of Welles, vnto whome Barkſhire and Dorſetſhire were appointed. But now you ſée what alteration is made, by conſideration of the limits of their preſent iuriſdictions.

The biſhoprike of Shirborne diuided into three.

Worceſter. Worceſter ſometime called *Epiſcopatus Wicciorum* (that is, the biſhoprike of the Wiccies or Huiccies) hath Worceſter, & part of Warwikeſhires. And before the biſhoprike of Gloceſter was taken out of the ſame, it paid to the pope two thouſand ducats of gold at euerie change of prelat: but now the valuation thereof is one thouſand fortie nine pounds, ſeauen pence halfe penie farthing (except my remembrance dow deceiue me.) This ſée was begunne either in, or not long before the time of Offa king of the eaſt-Angles, and Boſelus was the firſt biſhop there; after whome ſucceeded Oſſort, then Egwine who went in pilgrimage to Rome, with Kinredus of Mercia and the ſaid Offa, and there gat a monaſterie (which he builded in Worceſter) confirmed by Conſtantine the pope. In this ſée was one of your lordſhips anceſtors ſometime biſhop, whoſe name was Cobham, and doctor both of diuinitie and of the canon law, who, during the time of his pontificalitie there, builded the vault of the north ſide of the bodie of the church, and there lieth buried in the ſame (as I haue béene informed.) Certes this man was once elected, and ſhould haue béene archbiſhop of Canturburie in the rome of Reginald that died 1313 vnder Edward the ſecond: but the pope fruſtrated his election, fearing leaſt he would haue ſhewed himſelfe more affectionate towards his prince than to his court of Rome; wherefore he gaue Canturburie to the biſhop of Worceſter then being. And furthermore, leaſt he ſhould ſeeme altogither to reiect the ſaid Thomas and diſpleaſe the king, he gaue him in the end the biſhoprike of Worceſter, whereinto he entred 1317, *Martij* 31, being thurſdaie (as appeareth by the regiſter of that houſe) after long plée holden for the aforeſaid ſée of Canturburie in the court of Rome, wherein moſt monis did offenſe preuaile. This is alſo notable of that ſée, that fiue Italians ſucceeded each other in the ſame, by the popes prouiſion; as Egidius, Sylueſter, Egidius his nephue (for nephues might ſay in thoſe daies; Father ſhall I call you vncle? And vncles alſo; Son I muſt call thée nephue) Iulius de Medices, afterward pope Clement, and Hieronymus de Nugutijs, men verie likelie, no doubt, to benefit the common people by their doctrine. Some of theſe being at the firſt but poore men in Rome, and yet able by ſelling all they had to make a round ſumme againſt a rainie daie, came firſt into fauor with the pope, then into familiaritie, finallie into orders; and from thence into the beſt liuings of the church, farre off where their parentage could not eaſilie be heard of, nor made knowne vnto their neighbours.

Gloceſter. Gloceſter hath Gloceſterſhire onelie, wherein are nine deanries, and to the number of 294 pariſh churches, as I find by good record. But it neuer paid anie thing to Rome, bicauſe it was erected by king Henrie the eight, after he had aboliſhed the vſurped authoritie of the pope, except in quéene Maries, if anie ſuch thing were demanded, as I doubt not but it was: yet is it worth yeerlie 315 pounds, ſeauen ſhillings three pence, as the booke of firſt fruits declareth.

Hereford. Hereford hath Herefordſhire and part of Shropſhire, and it paid to Rome at euerie alienation 1800 ducats at the leaſt, but in my time it paieth vnto hir maieſties cofers 768 pounds, ten ſhillings, ten pence, halfe penie, farthing. In this ſée there was a biſhop ſometime called Johne Bruton, vpon whome the king then reigning, by likelihood for want of competent maintenance, beſtowed the keeping of his wardrobe, which he held long time with great honour, as his regiſter ſaith. A wonderfull preferment that biſhops ſhould be preferred from the pulpit, to the cuſtodie of wardrobes: but ſuch was the time. Neuertheleſſe his honorable cuſtodie of that charge is more ſolemnlie remembred, than anie good ſermon that euer he made, which function peraduenture he committed to his ſuffragane, ſith biſhops in thoſe daies had ſo much buſineſſe in the court, that they could not attend to doctrine and exhortation.

Lichfield. Lichfield, whereunto Couentrie was added, in the time of Henrie the firſt, at the earneſt ſute of Robert biſhop of that ſée, hath Staffordſhire, Darbiſhire, part of Shropſhire, and the reſt of Warwikeſhire, that is void of ſubiection to the ſée of Worceſter ſhire. It was erected in the time of Peada king of the ſouth Mercians, which laie on this ſide the Trent, and therein one Dinas was inſtalled, about the yeare of Grace 656, after whom Bellac firſt, then Tunher an Engliſhman ſucceeded, this later being well learned, and conſecrated by the Scots. In the time of the baſtard, I wot not vpon what occaſion, one Peter biſhop of this ſée tranſlated his chaire

to

to Cheſter, and there held it for a ſeaſon, whereby it came to paſſe that the biſhops of Lichfield were for a while called biſhops of Cheſter. But Robert his ſucceſſor not liking of this preſident, remoued his chaire from Cheſter to Couentrie, and there held it whileſt he liued, whereby the originall diuiſion of the biſhoprike of Lichfield into Licheſtield, Cheſter, and Couentrie, doth eaſilie appeare, although in my time Lichfield and Couentrie be vnited, and Cheſter remaineth a biſhoprike by it ſelfe. It paid the pope at euerie alienation 1733 florens, or (as ſome old bookes haue) 3000, a good round ſumme, but not without a iuſt puniſhment, as one ſaith, ſith that anno 765, Eadulfe biſhop there vnder Offa king of Mercia, would by his helpe haue bereaued the archbiſhop of Canturburie of his pall, & ſo did in deed vnder pope Hadrian, holding the ſame vntill things were reduced vnto their ancient forme. Before the time alſo of biſhop Langton, the prebends of this ſee laie here and there abroad in the citie, where the vicars alſo had an houſe, of which this honeſt biſhop miſliked not a little for ſundrie cauſes; wherefore he began their cloſe, and beſtowed ſo much in building the ſame, and paning the ſtreets, that his hungrie kinſmen did not a little grudge at his expenſes, thinking that his emptie cofers would neuer make them gentlemen, for which preferment the friends of moſt biſhops gaped earneſtlie in thoſe daies. King John was the greateſt benefactor vnto this ſee, next vnto Offa; and it is called Lichfield, *Quaſi mortuorum campus*, becauſe of the great ſlaughter of chriſtians made there (as ſome write) vnder Diocleſian. Howbeit in my time the valuation thereof is 703 pounds, fiue ſhillings two pence, halfepenie, farthing, a ſumme verie narrowlie caſt by that auditor which tooke it firſt in hand.

Oxford hath Oxfordſhire onelie, a verie yong iuriſdiction, erected by king Henrie the eight, & where in the time of queene Marie, one Goldwell was biſhop, who (as I remember) was a Jeſuit, dwelling in Rome, and more conuerſant (as the conſtant fame went) in the blacke art, than ſkilfull in the ſcriptures, and yet he was of great countenance amongſt the Romane monarchs. It is ſaid that obſeruing the canons of his order, he regarded not the temporalities of that ſee: but I haue heard ſince that he will well inough that became of thoſe commodities, for by one meane and other he found the ſweetneſſe of 354 pounds ſirteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie, yearelie growing to him, which was euen inough (if not too much) for the maintenance of a frier toward the drawing out of circles, characters, & lineaments of imagerie, wherein he was paſſing ſkilfull, as the fame then went in Rome, and not vnheard of in Oxford.

Elie. Elie hath Cambridgſhire, and the Ile of Elie. It was erected 1109 by Henrie the firſt, being before a rich and wealthie abbeie. One Hereie alſo was made biſhop there, as I haue found in a regiſter, belonging ſometime to that houſe being tranſlated from Bangor. Finallie it paid to the pope at euerie alienation 7000 ducats, as the regiſters there do teſtifie at large. Albeit that in my time I find a note of 2134 pounds ſirteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing, whole diſme ioined to thoſe of all the biſhoprikes in England, do yeeld yearelie to hir maieſties cofers 23370 pounds ſirteene ſhillings three pence halfe penie farthing: whereby alſo the huge ſums of monie going out of this land to the court of Rome doth in ſome meaſure appeere. Ethelwold afterward biſhop of Winchester builded the firſt monaſterie of Elie vpon the ruines of a nunrie then in the kings hands, howbeit the ſame houſe, whereof he himſelfe was abbat, was yer long deſtroied by enimies, and he in lieu of his old preferment rewarded by king Edgar, with the aforeſaid biſhoprike, from whence with more than lionlike boldneſſe he expelled the ſecular prieſts, and ſtored with monkes prouided from Abandune neere Oxford, by the helpe of Edgar and Dunſtane then metropolitane of England. There was ſometime a greeuous contention betweene Thomas Lild biſhop of this ſee, and the king of England, about the yeare of Grace 1355, which I will here deliuer out of an old record, becauſe the matter is ſo partiallie penned by ſome of the brethren of that houſe, in fauour of the biſhop; & for that I was alſo abuſed with the ſame in the entrance thereof at the firſt into my chronologie. The blacke prince fauoring one Robert Stretton his chapleine, a man vnlearned and not worthie the name of a clearke, the matter went on ſo farre, that what for loue, and ſomewhat elſe, of a canon of Lichfield he was choſen biſhop of that ſee. Herevpon the pope vnderſtanding what he was by his Nuncio here in England, ſtaied his conſecration by his letters for a time, and in the meane ſeaſon committed his examination to the archbiſhop of Canturburie, and the biſhop of Rocheſter, who felt and dealt ſo fauourablie with him in golden reaſoning, that his worthineſſe was commended to the popes holineſſe, & to Rome he goeth. Being come to Rome the pope himſelfe apoſed him, and after ſecret conference vtterlie diſableth his election, till he had proued by ſubſtantiall argument and of great weight before him alſo, that he was not ſo lightlie to be reiected. Which kind of reaſoning ſo well pleaſed his holineſſe, that *Ex mera plenitudine poteſtatis*, he was made capable of the benefice and ſo returneth into England; when he came home, this biſhop being in the kings preſence told him how he had done he will not what in preferring ſo vnmeet a man vnto ſo high a calling. With which ſpeach the king was ſo offended, that he commanded him out of hand to auoid out of his preſence. In like ſort the ladie Make then ducheſſe of Lancaſter, ſtanding by, and hearing the king hir couſine to gather vp the biſhop ſo roundlie, and thereto an old grudge againſt him for ſome other matter, doth preſentlie picke a quarrell againſt him about certeine lands then in his poſſeſſion, which he defended & in the end obteined againſt hir by plee and courſe of law yer long alſo afore hapned in a part of hir houſe, for which ſhe accuſed the biſhop, and in the end by verdict of twelue men found that he was priuie vnto the fact of his men in the ſaid fact, wherfore he was condemned in nine hundred pounds damages, which he paid euerie penie.

Neuertheleſſe, being ſore grieued, that ſhe had (as he ſaid) wreſted out ſuch a verdict againſt him, and therein packed vp a queſt at hir owne choiſe: he taketh his horſſe, goeth to the court, and there complaineth to the king of his great iniurie receiued at hir hands. But in the deliuerie of his tale, his ſpeech was ſo blockiſh, & termes ſo euill fauoredlie (though malicioulie) placed, that the king tooke yet more offenſe with him than before; inſomuch that he led him with him into the parlement houſe, for then was that court holden, and there before the lords accuſed him of no ſmall miſdemeanor toward his perſon by his rude and threatening ſpeeches. But the biſhop egerlie denieth the kings obiections, which he ſtill auoucheth vpon his honor; and in the end confirmeth his allegations by witneſſe: wherevpon he is baniſhed from the kings preſence during his naturall life by verdict of that houſe. In the meane time the ducheſſe hearing what was done, ſhe beginneth a new to be dealing with him: and in a brabling fraie betweene their ſeruants one of hir men was ſlaine: for which he was called before the magiſtrat, as chiefe acceſſarie vnto the fact. But he fearing the ſequele

of

of his third cauſe by his ſucceſſe had in the two firſt, hideth himſelfe after he had ſold all his mouables, and committed the monie vnto his truſtie friends. And being found giltie by the inqueſt, the king ſeizeth vpon his poſſeſſions, and calleth vp the biſhop to anſwer vnto the treſpaſſe. To be ſhort, vpon ſafe conduct the biſhop commeth to the kings preſence, where he denieth that he was acceſſarie to the fact, either before, at, or after the deed committed, and thereupon craueth to be tried by his peeres. But this petition was in vaine: for ſentence paſſeth againſt him alſo by the kings owne mouth. Whereupon he craueth helpe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and priuileges of the church, hoping by ſuch meanes to be ſolemnlie reſcued. But they fearing the kings diſpleaſure, who bare ſmall fauour to the clergie of his time, gaue ouer to vſe anie ſuch meanes; but rather willed him to ſubmit himſelfe vnto the kings mercie, which he refuſed, ſtanding vpon his innocencie from the firſt vnto the laſt. Finallie, growing into choler, that the malice of a woman ſhould ſo preuaile againſt him, he writeth to Rome, requiring that his caſe might be heard there, as a place wherein greater iuſtice (ſaith he) is to be loked for than to be found in England. Vpon the peruſall of theſe his letters alſo, his accuſers were called thither. But for ſo much as they appeered not at their peremptorie times, they were excommunicated. Such of them alſo as died before their reconciliations were taken out of the churchyards, and buried in the fields and dung-hilles, *vnde timor & turba* (ſaith my note) *in Anglia*. For the king inhibited the bringing in and receipt of all proceſſes, billes, and whatſoeuer inſtruments ſhould come from Rome: ſuch alſo as aduentured contrarie to this prohibition to bring them in, were either diſmembred of ſome ioint, or hanged by the necks. Which rage ſo incenſed the pope, that he wrote in verie vehement maner to the king of England, threatening far greater curſſes, except he did the ſooner ſtaie the furie of the lady, reconcile himſelf vnto the biſhop, and finallie, making him amends for all his loſſes ſuſteined in theſe broiles. Long it was yer the king would be brought to peace. Neuertheleſſe, in the end he wrote to Rome about a reconciliation to be had betweene them: but yer all things were concluded, God himſelfe did end the quarrell, by taking awaie the biſhop. And thus much out of an old pamphlet in effect word for word: but I haue ſomewhat framed the forme of the report after the order that Stephan Birchington doth deliuer it, who alſo hath the ſame in manner as I deliuer it.

Norwich. The ſee of Norwich called in old time *Epiſcopatus Donnicenſis, Dononiæ*, or *Eaſtanglorum*, was erected at Felſtow or Felixſtow, where Felix of Burgundie (ſometime ſchoolemaſter to Sigebert of the eaſt-Angles, by whoſe perſuaſion alſo the ſaid Sigebert erected the vniuerſitie at Cambridge) being made biſhop of the eaſt-Angles firſt placed his ſee, afterward it was remoued from thence to Donwich, & thence to Helmham, *Anno* 870, about the death of Celnothus of Canturburie; thirdlie, to Theodford, or Thetford; & finallie, after the time of the Baſtard, to Norwich. For iuriſdiction it conteineth in our daies Norffolke and Suffolke onelie, whereas at the firſt it included Cambridgeſhire alſo, and ſo much as laie within the kingdome of the eaſt-Angles. It began about the yeere 632, vnder Cerpenwald king of the eaſt-Sarons, who beſtowed it vpon Felix, whome pope Honorius alſo confirmed, and after which he held it by the ſpace of ſeauentene yeeres. It paid ſometimes at euerie alienation 5000 ducats to Rome. But in my time hir maieſtie hath 899 pounds, 8 ſhillings 7 pence farthing, as I haue been informed. In the ſame iuriſdiction alſo there were once 1563 pariſh churches, and 88 religious houſes: but in our daies I can not heare of more churches than 1200: and yet of theſe I know one conuerted into a barne, whileſt the people heare ſeruice further off vpon a greene: their bell alſo when I heard a ſermon there preached in the greene, hanged in an oke for want of a ſteeple. But now I vnderſtand that the oke likewiſe is gone. There is neuertheleſſe a litle chappellet hard by on that common, but nothing capable of the multitude of Aſhlie towne that ſhould come to the ſame in ſuch wiſe, if they did repaire thither as they ought.

Peterborow. Peterborow, ſometimes a notable monaſterie, hath Northampton and Rutland ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction, a dioceſſe erected alſo by king Henrie the eight. It neuer paid firſt fruits to the pope before queene Maries daies (if it were then deliuered) whereof I doubt, becauſe it was not recorded in his ancient regiſter of tenths and fruits, although peraduenture the collectors left it not vngathered, I wot not for what purpoſe; it yeeldeth now foure hundred and fiftie pounds, one penie abated. I haue ſeene and had an ancient tarre of the lands of this monaſterie, which agreeth verie well with the hiſtorie of Hugo le Blanc monke of that houſe. In the charter alſo of donation annexed to the ſame, I ſaw one of Wulfhere king of Mercia, ſigned with his owne, & the marks of Sigher king of Suſſex, Sebbie of Eſſex, with the additions of their names: the reſt of the witneſſes alſo inſued in this order:

Ethelred brother to Wulfehere,
Kindburg and Kindſwith ſiſters to Wulfhere,
Deuſdedit archbiſhop,
Ithamar biſhop of Rocheſter,
Wina biſhop of London,
Iarnman biſhop of Mearc,
Wilfride and Eoppa prieſts,
Saxulfe the abbat.

Then all the earles and eldermen of England in order; and after all theſe, the name of pope Agatho, who confirmed the inſtrument at the ſute of Wilfride archbiſhop of Yorke, in a councell holden at Rome 680, of a hundred & fiue and twentie biſhops, wherein alſo theſe churches were appropriated to the ſaid monaſterie, to wit, Breding, Keping, Tedenac, Swineſhened, Lufgerd, Edelminglond, and Barchaing: whereby we haue in part an euident teſtimonie how long the practiſe of appropriation of benefices hath beene vſed to the hinderance of the goſpell, and maintenance of idle monks, an humane inuention grounded vpon hypocriſie.

Britſtow. Britſtow hath Dorſetſhire ſometime belonging to Saliſburie, a ſee alſo latelie erected by king Henrie the eight, who tooke no ſmall care for the church of Chriſt, and therefore eaſed a number of ancient ſees of ſome part of their huge and ouer-large circuits, and beſtowed thoſe portions deduced, vpon ſuch other erections as he had appointed for the better regiment and feeding of the flocke: the value thereof is three hundred foure ſcore and three pounds, eight ſhillings, and foure pence (as I haue beene informed.)

Lincolne. Lincolne of all other of late times was the greateſt; and albeit that out of it were taken the ſees of Oxford and Peterborow, yet it ſtill reteineth Lincolne, Leiceſter, Huntingdon, Bedford, Buckingham ſhires, and the reſt of Hertford; ſo that it extendeth from the Thames vnto the Humber, and paid vnto the pope fiue thouſand ducats (as appeareth by his note) at euerie alienation. In my time, and by reaſon of his diminution it yeeldeth a tribute to whom tribute belongeth, of the valuation of eight hundred ninetie and nine pounds, eight ſhillings, ſeauen pence farthing. It began ſince the conqueſt,

about

about the beginning of William Rufus, by one Remigius, who remoued his ſée from Dorcheſter to Lincolne (not without licence well paid for vnto the king.) And thus much of the biſhoprikes which lie within Lhoegres or England, as it was left vnto Locrinus. Now it followeth that I proceed with Wales.

Landaffe. Landaffe, or the church of Taw hath eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction in Glamorgan, Monmouth, Brechnoch, and Radnor ſhires. And although it paid ſeuen hundred ducats at euerie exchange of prelat; yet is it ſcarſelie worth one hundred fiftie and fiue pounds by the yeare (as I haue heard reported.) Certes it is a poore biſhoprike, & (as I haue heard) the late incumbent thereof being called for not long ſince by the lord preſident in open court made anſwer. The daffe is here, but the land is gone. What he meant by it I can not well tell; but I hope, that in the ſéed time and the frée planting of the goſpell, the meate of the labourer ſhall not be diminiſhed and withdrawen.

S. Dauids. S. Dauids hath Penbroke and Caermardine ſhires, whoſe liuerie or firſt fruits to the ſée of Rome was one thouſand and fiue hundred ducats, at the hardeſt (as I thinke.) For if record be of anie ſufficient credit, it is little aboue the value of foure hundred fiftie and ſeauen pounds, one ſhilling, and ten pence farthing, in our time, and ſo it paieth vnto hir maieſties coffers; but in time paſt I thinke it was farre better. The preſent biſhop miſliketh verie much of the cold ſituation of his cathedrall church; and therfore he would gladlie pull it downe, and ſet it in a warmer place: but it would firſt be learned what ſuertie he would put in to ſée it well performed: of the reſt I ſpeake not.

Bangor. Bangor is in north-Wales, and hath Caernaruon, Angleſeie, and Merioneth ſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction. It paid to Rome 126 ducats, which is verie much. For of all the biſhoprikes in England it is now the leaſt for reuenues, and not worth aboue one hundred and one and thirtie pounds, and ſirtéene pence to hir maieſties coffers at euerie alienation (as apéereth by the tenths, which amount to much leſſe than thoſe of ſome good benefice) for it pældeth not yérelie aboue thirtéene pounds, three ſhillings, and ſeauen pence halfe pente, as by that court is manifeſt.

S. Aſaphes. S. Aſaphes hath Pzellholme and part of Denbigh and Flintſhires vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, which being laid togither do amount to little more than one good countie, and therefore in reſpect of circuit the leaſt that is to be found in Wales, neuertheleſſe it paid to Rome 470 ducates at euerie alienation. In my time the firſt fruits of this biſhoprike came vnto 187 pounds eleuen ſhillings ſix pence, wherby it ſéemeth to be ſomewhat better than Landaffe or Bangor laſt remembred. There is one Howell a gentleman of Flintſhire in the compaſſe of this iuriſdiction, who is bound to giue an harpe of ſiluer yearelie to the beſt harper in Wales, but did anie biſhop thinke you deſerue that in the popiſh time? Howell or Aphowell in Engliſh is all one (as I haue heard) and ſignifie ſo much as Hugo or Hugh. Hitherto of the prouince of Canturburie, for ſo much therof as now lieth within the compaſſe of this Iland. Now it reſteth that I proceed with the curtailed archbiſhoprike of Yorke, I ſaie curtailed becauſe all Scotland is cut from his iuriſdiction and obedience.

Yorke. The ſée of Yorke was reſtored about the yeare of Grace 625, which after the comming of the Saxons laie deſolate and neglected, howbeit at the ſaid time Iuſtus archbiſhop of Canturburie ordeined Paulinus to be firſt biſhop there, in the time of Eadwyn king of Northumberland. This Paulinus ſate ſix yeares yer he was driuen from thence, & after whoſe expulſion that ſeat was void long time, wherby Lindeſfarne grew into credit, and ſo remained vntill the daies of Oſwie of Northumberland, who ſent Wilfred the prieſt ouer into France, there to be conſecrated archbiſhop of Yorke: but whileſt he taried ouer long in thoſe parts, Oſwie impatient of delaie preferred Ceadda or Chad to that rome, who held it three yeares, which being expired Wilfred recouered his rome, and held it as he might, vntill it was ſeuered in two, to wit, Yorke, Hagulſtade, or Lindeſfarne, where Cata was placed, at which time alſo Egfride was made biſhop of Lincolne or Lindſie in that part of Mercia which he had goten from Wolfhere. Of it ſelfe it hath now iuriſdiction ouer Yorkeſhire, Nottinghamſhire (whoſe ſhire towne I meane the new part thereof with the bridge was builded by king Edward the firſt ſurnamed the elder before the conqueſt) and the reſt of Lancaſterſhire onelie not ſubiect to the ſée of Cheſter; and when the pope bare authoritie in this realme, it paid vnto his ſée 1000 ducates, beſide 5000 for the pall of the new elect, which was more than he could well ſpare of late, conſidering the curtailing & diminution of his ſée, thorough the erection of a new metropolitane in Scotland, but in my time it yéeldeth 1609 pounds nineteene ſhillings two pence to hir maieſtie, whom God long preſerue vnto vs to his glorie, hir comfort, and our welfares.

Cheſter. Cheſter vpon Dee, otherwiſe called Weſtcheſter, hath vnder hir iuriſdiction in cauſes eccleſiaſticall, Cheſterſhire, Darbiſhire, the moſt part of Lancaſterſhire (to wit vnto the Ribell) Richmond and a part of Flint and Denbigh ſhires in Wales, was made a biſhoprike by king H. 8. anno regni 33. Iulij 16, and ſo hath continued ſince that time, being valued 420 pounds by the yeare beſide od twentie pence (a ſtreict reckoning) as the record declareth.

Durham. Durham hath the countie of Durham and Northumberland with the Dales onelie vnder hir iuriſdiction, and hereof the biſhops haue ſometimes bæne earles palantines & ruled the roſt vnder the name of the biſhoprike and ſucceſſion of S. Cuthbert. It was a ſée (in mine opinion) more profitable of late vnto hir maieſties coffers by 221 pounds eightéene ſhillings ten pence farthing, and yet of leſſe countenance than hir prouinciall, neuertheleſs the ſunneſhine thereof (as I heare) is now ſomewhat eclipſed and not likelie to recouer the light, for this is not a time wherein the church may looke to increaſe in hir eſtate. I heare alſo that ſome other flitches haue forgone the like collops, but let ſuch maters be ſcanned by men of more diſcretion. Capgraue ſaith how that the firſt biſhop of this ſée was called biſhop of Lindſeie (or Lincolne) & that Ceadda laie in Liechfield of the Mercians in a manſion houſe nére the church. But this is more worthie to be remembred, that Cuthred of the Northumbers, and Alfred of the Weſtſaxons beſtowed all the land betweéne the Theſe & the Tine now called the biſhoprike vpon S. Cuthbert, beſide whatſoeuer belonged to the ſée of Hagulſtade. Edgar of Scotland alſo in the time of the Baſſard gaue Coldingham and Berwike withall their appurtenances to that houſe; but whether theſe donations be extant or no as yet I cannot tell. Yet I thinke not but that Leland had a ſight of them, from whome I had this ground. But whatſoeuer this biſhoprike be now, in externall & outward apparance, ſure it is that it paid in old time 9000 ducates at euerie alienation to Rome, as the record expreſſeth. Aidan a Scot or Iriſhman was the firſt biſhop of this ſée, who held himſelfe (as did manie of his ſucceſſors) at Colcheſter and in Lindeſfarne Ile, till one came that remoued it to Durham. And now iudge

you

pon whether the allegation of Capgraue be of anie accompt or not.

Caerleill. Caerleill was erected 1132 by Henrie the firſt, and hereof one Ethelwolfe confeſſor to Olmond biſhop of Sarum was made the firſt biſhop, hauing Cumberland & Weſtmerland aſſigned to his ſhare; of the deaneries and number of pariſh churches conteined in the ſame as yet I haue no knowledge, more than of manie other. Howbeit hereof I am ſure, that notwithſtanding the preſent valuation be riſen to 531 pounds foureteene ſhillings eleuen pence halfe penie, the pope receiued out of it but 1000 florens, and might haue ſpared much more, as an aduerſarie thereto confeſſed ſometime euen before the pope himſelfe, ſuppoſing no leſſe than to haue gained by his tale, and ſo peraduenture ſhould haue done, if his platforme had taken place. But as wiſe men oft eſpie the practiſes of flatteries, ſo the pope ſaw to what end this profitable ſpeach was vttered. As touching Caerleill it ſelfe it was ſometime ſacked by the Danes, and eftſoones repared by William Rufus, & planted with a colonie of ſoutherne men. I ſuppoſe that in old time it was called Cairdoill. For in an ancient booke which I haue ſeene, and yet haue, intituled, *Liber formularum literarum curiæ Romanæ, octo capitulorum, epiſcopatus Cardocenſis*. And thus much generallie of the names and numbers of our biſhoprikes of England, whoſe tenths in old time yearelie amounting vnto 21111 pounds, twelue ſhillings one penie halfe penie farthing, of currant monie in thoſe daies, doo euidentlie declare, what ſtore of coine was tranſported out of the land vnto the papall vſes, in that behalfe onelie.

Certes I take this not to be one quarter of his gaines gotten by England in thoſe daies, for ſuch commodities were raiſed by his courts holden here, ſo plentifullie gat he by his perquiſits, as elections, procurations, appeales, preuentions, pluralities, tot quots, trialities, tollerations, legitimations, bulles, ſcales, preſts, concubines, eating of fleſh and white meats, diſpenſations for mariages, & times of celebration, Peter pence, and ſuch like faculties, that not ſo little as 1200000 pounds went yearelie from hence to Rome. And therefore no maruell though he ſeeke much in theſe daies to reduce vs to his obedience. But what are the tenths of England (you will ſaie) in compariſon of all thoſe of Europe. For notwithſtanding that manie good biſhoprikes latelie erected be left out of his old bookes of record, which I alſo haue ſeene, yet I find neuertheles that the whole ſum of them amounted to not aboue 61521 pounds as monie went 200 yeares before my time, of which portion pore ſaint Peter did neuer heare, of ſo much as one graie grote. Marke therfore I praie you whether England were not fullie anſwerable to a third part of the reſt of his tenths ouer all Europe, and therevpon tell me whether our Iland was one of the beſt paire of bellowes or not, that blue the fire in his kitchen, wherewith to make his pot ſeeth, beſide all other commodities.

Man. Beſide all theſe, we haue another biſhoprike yet in England almoſt ſlipped out of my remembrance, becauſe it is verie obſcure, for that the biſhop thereof hath not wherewith to mainteine his countenance ſufficientlie, and that is the ſee of Mona or Man, ſometime named *Epiſcopatus Sodorenſis*, whereof one Wimundus was ordeined the firſt biſhop, and Iohn the ſecond, in the troubleſome time of king Stephan. The gift of this prelacie reſteth in the earles of Darbie, who nominate ſuch a one from time to time thereto as to them doth ſeeme conuenient. Howbeit if that ſee did know and might reape hir owne commodities, and diſcerne them from other mens poſſeſſions (for it is ſuppoſed that the mother hath deuoured the daughter) I doubt not but the ſtate of hir biſhop would quicklie be amended. Hauing therefore called this later ſee after this maner vnto mind, I ſuppoſe that I haue ſufficientlie diſcharged my dutie concerning the ſtate of our biſhoprike, and maner how the eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction of the church of England is diuided among the ſhires and counties of this realme. Whoſe biſhops as they haue beene heretofore of leſſe learning, and yet of greater port & doings in the common-wealth, than at this preſent, ſo are they now for the moſt part the beſt learned that are to be found in anie countrie of Europe, ſith neither high parentage, nor great riches (as in other countries) but onelie learning and vertue, commended ſomewhat 'by frendſhip, doo bring them to this honour.

I might here haue ſpoken more at large of diuerſe other biſhoprikes, ſometime in this part of the Iland, as of that of Caerlheon tofore ouerthrowen by Edelfred in the behalfe of Auguſtine the monke (as Malmeſburie ſaith) where Dubritius gouerned, which was afterward tranſlated to S. Dauids, and taken for an archbiſhoprike: ſecondlie of the biſhoprike of Leiceſter called Legerenſis, whoſe fourth biſhop (Vnwon) went to Rome with Offa king of Mercia: thirdlie of Ramſbirie or Wiltun, and of Gloceſter (of which you ſhall read in Matth. Weſtm. 489) where the biſhop was called Eldad: alſo of Hagulſtade, one of the members whereinto the ſee of Yorke was diuided after the expulſion of Wilfrid. For (as I read) when Egfrid the king had driuen him awaie, he diuided his ſee into two parts, making Boſa ouer the Deirans that held his ſee at Hagulſtade or Lindſarne: and Eatta ouer the Bernicians, who ſate at Yorke: and thereto placing Edhedus ouer Lindſeie (as is afore noted) whoſe ſucceſſors were Ethelwine, Edgar, and Kinibert, notwithſtanding that one Seruſius was ouer Lindſeie before Edhedus, who was biſhop of the Mercians and middle England, till he was baniſhed from Lindſeie, and came into thoſe quarters to ſeeke his refuge and ſuccour. Gloceſter a verie ancient biſhoprike.

I could likewiſe intreat of the biſhops of Whiteherne, or Ad Candidam Caſam, an houſe with the countrie wherein it ſtood belonging to the prouince of Northumberland, but now a parcell of Scotland; alſo of the erection of the late ſee at Weſtminſter by Henrie the eight. But as the one ſo the other is ceaſed, and the lands of this later either ſo diuided or exchanged for worſe tenures, that except a man ſhould ſee it with his eies, & point out with his finger where euerie parcell of them is beſtowed, but a few men would beleeue what is become of the ſame. I might likewiſe and with like eaſe alſo haue added the ſucceſſors of the biſhops of euerie ſee to this diſcourſe of their cathedrall churches and places of abode, but it would haue extended this treatiſe to an vnprofitable length. Neuertheleſſe I will remember the ſame of London my native citie, after I haue added one word more of the houſe called Ad Candidam Caſam, in Engliſh Whiteherne, which taketh denomination of the white ſtone wherwith it was builded, and was ſeene far off as ſtanding vpon an hill to ſuch as did behold it.

The

The names and ſucceſſions of ſo manie archbiſhops and biſhops of London, as are extant, and to be had, from the faith firſt receiued.

Archbiſhops.

Theon.
Eluanus.
Cadocus.
Ouinus.
Conanus.
Palladius.
Stephanus.
Iltutus.
Reſtitutus, who liued 350 of grace.
Tadwinus *alias* Theodwinus, ſome do write him Tacwinus & Tatwinus.
Tidredus *alias* Theodred.
Hilarius.
Faſtidius liued Anno Dom. 430.
Vodinus, ſlaine by the Saxons.
Theonus.

The ſee void manie yeares.

Auguſtine the monke, ſent ouer by Gregorie the great, till he remoued his ſée to Canturburie, to the intent he might the ſoner flée, if perſecution ſhould be raiſed by the infidels, or heare from, or ſend more ſpéedilie vnto Rome, without anie great feare of the interception of his letters.

Biſhops.

Melitus.

The ſee void for a ſeaſon.

Wina.
Erkenwaldus.
Waldherus.
Ingaldus.
Egulphus.
Wigotus.
Eadbricus.
Edgarus.
Kiniwalchus.
Eadbaldus.
Eadbertus.
Oſwinus.
Ethelnothus.
Cedbertus.
Cernulphus.
Suiduiphus.
Eadſtanus.
Wulfſinus.
Ethelwaldus.
Elſtanus.
Brithelmus.
Dunſtanus.
Tidricus.
Alwijnus.
Elſwoldus.
Robertus a Norman.
Wilhelmus a Norman.
Hugo a Norman.

I read alſo of a biſhop of London called Elſward, or Ailward, who was abbat of Couentry, and biſhop of London at one time, and buried at length in Ramſete, howbeit in what order of ſucceſſion he liued I can not tell, more than of diuerſe other aboue remembred, but in this order do I find them.

The ſee void twelue yeares.

1 Mauricius.
2 Richardus Beaumis.
3 Gilbertus vniuerſalis a notable man for three things, anarice, riches, and learning.
4 Robertus de Sigillo.
5 Richardus Beaumis.
6 Gilbertus Folioth.
7 Richardus.
8 Wilhelmus de ſancta Maria.
9 Euſtathius Falconberg.
10 Rogerus Niger.
11 Fulco Baſcet.
12 Henricus Wingham.
Richardus Talbot electus.
15 Richard. Grauеſend.
16 Radulfus Gandacenſis.
17 Gilbertus Segraue.
18 Richardus de Newport.
19 Stephanus Grauеſend.
20 Richard. Bintworth.
21 Radulfus Baldoc who made the tables hanging in the veſterie of Paules.
22 Michael.
23 Simon.
24 Robertus.
25 Thomas.
26 Richardus.
27 Thomas Sauagius.
28 Wilhelmus.
29 Wilhelm. Warham.
30 Wilhelmus Barnes.
31 Cuthbertus Tunſtall.
32 Iohannes Stokeſleie.
33 Richardus fitz Iames.
34 Edmundus Boner, remoued, impriſoned.
35 Nicholas Ridleie remoued and burned.
Edm. Boner, reſtored, remoued, & impriſoned.
36 Edmundus Grindall.
37 Edwinus Sandes.
38 Iohannes Elmer.

Hauing gotten and ſet downe thus much of the biſhops, I will deliuer in like ſort the names of the deanes, vntill I come to the time of mine old maſter now liuing in this preſent yeare 1586, who is none of the leaſt ornaments that haue béene in that ſeat.

Deanes.

1 Wulmannus, who made a diſtribution of the pſalmes conteined in the whole pſalter, and apointed the ſame dailie to be read amongſt the prebendaries.
2 Radulfus de Diceto, whoſe noble hiſtorie is yet extant in their librarie.
3 Alardus Bucham.
4 Robertus Watford.
5 Martinus Patteſhull.
6 Hugo de Marinis.
7 Radulfus Langfort.
8 Galfridus de Berie.
9 Wilhelmus Stāman.
10 Henricus Cornell.
11 Walterus de Salerne.
12 Robertus Barton.
13 Petrus de Newport.
14 Richardus Talbot.
15 Galfredus de Fering.
16 Iohannes Chiſhull.
17 Hereus de Boreham.
18 Thomas Egleſthorpe.
19 Rogerus de Lalleie.
20 Wilhelmns de Montfort.
21 Radulfus de Baldoc poſtea epiſcopus.
22 Alanus de Cantilup poſtea cardinalis.
Iohan. Sandulfe electus.
Richardus de Newporte electus.
23 Magiſter Vitalis.
24 Iohannes Eueriſdon.
25 Wilhelmus Brewer.
26 Richardus Kilmingdon.
27 Thomas Trullocke.
28 Iohannes Appulbie.
29 Thomas Euer.
30 Thomas Stow.
31 Thomas More.
32 Reginaldus Kenton.
33 Thomas Liſieux *alias* Leſeux.
34 Leonardus de Bath.
35 Wilhelmus Saie.
36 Rogerus Ratcliffe.
37 Thom. Winterburne.
38 Wilhelmus Wolſeie.
39 Robert Sherebroke.
40 Iohānes Collet, founder of Paules ſchole.
Richardus Paceus.
Richardus Sampſon.
Iohannes Incent.
Wilhelmus Maius reſignauit.
Iohannes Fakenham *alias* Howman reſignauit.
Henricus Colus, remoued, impriſoned.
Wilhelmus Maius, reſtored.
Alexander Nouellus.

And thus much of the archbiſhops, biſhops, and deanes of that honorable ſée. I call it honorable, becauſe it hath had a ſucceſſion for the moſt part of learned and wiſe men, albeit that otherwiſe it be the moſt troubleſome ſeat in England, not onelie for that it is néere vnto checke, but alſo the prelats thereof are much troubled with ſutors, and no leſſe ſubiect to the reproches of the common ſort, whoſe mouthes are alwaies wide open vnto reprehenſion, and éies readie to eſpie ante thing that they may reproue and carpe at. I would haue done ſo much for euerie ſe in England, if I had not had conſideration of the greatneſſe of the volume, and ſmall benefit riſing by the ſame, vnto the commoditie of the readers: neuertheleſſe I haue reſerued them vnto the publication of my great chronologie, if (while I liue) it happen to come abrode.

Of Vniuerſities.

Chap. 3.

Manie vniuerſities ſomtime in England.

THere haue béene heretofore, and at ſundrie times, diuerſe famous vniuerſities in this Iland, and thoſe euen in my daies not altogither forgotten, as one at Bangor, erected by Lucius, and afterward conuerted into a monaſterie, not by Congellus (as ſome write) but by Pelagius the monke. The ſecond at Carleon vpon Uske, néere to the place where the riuer doth fall into the Seuerne, founded by king Arthur. The third at Theodoſo, wherein were 600 ſtudents, in the time of one Rond ſometime king of that region. The fourth at Stanford, ſuppreſſed by Auguſtine the monke, and likewiſe other in other places, as Saliſburie, Erſdon or Criclade, Lachlade, Reading, and Northampton; albeit that the two laſt rehearſed were not authoriſed, but onelie aroſe to that name by the departure of the ſtudents from Oxford in time of ciuill diſſention vnto the ſaid townes, where alſo they continued but for a little ſeaſon. When that of Saliſburie began, I can not tell; but that it flouriſhed moſt vnder Henrie the third, and Edward the firſt, I find good teſtimonie by the writers, as alſo by the diſcord which fell 1278, betweene the chancellor for the ſcholers there on the one part, and William the archdeacon on the other, whereof you ſhall ſée more in the chronologie here following. In my time there are three noble vniuerſities in England, to wit, one at Oxford, the ſecond at Cambridge, and the third in London; of which, the firſt two are the moſt famous, I meane Cambridge and Oxford, for that in them the vſe of the tongs, philoſophie, and the liberall ſciences, beſides the profound ſtudies of the ciuill law, phyſicke, and theologie, are dailie taught and had: whereas in the later, the laws of the realme are onlie read and learned, by ſuch as giue their minds vnto the knowledge of the ſame. In the firſt there are not onelie diuerſe goodlie houſes builded foure ſquare for the moſt part of hard freeſtone or bricke, with great numbers of lodgings and chambers in the ſame for ſtudents, after a ſumptuous ſort, through the exceeding liberalitie of kings, quéenes, biſhops, noblemen and ladies of the land: but alſo large liuings and great reuenues beſtowed vpon them (the like whereof is not to be ſéene in anie other region, as Peter Martyr did oft affirme) to the maintenance onelie of ſuch conuenient numbers of poore mens ſonnes as the ſeuerall ſtipends beſtowed vpon the ſaid houſes are able to ſupport.

Three vniuerſities in England.

When the vniuerſities were builded vncerteine.

When theſe two ſcholes ſhould be firſt builded, & who were their originall founders, as yet it is vncerteine: neuertheleſſe, as there is great likelihood that Cambridge was begun by one Cantaber a Spaniard (as I haue noted in my chronologie) ſo Alfred is ſaid to be the firſt beginner of the vniuerſitie at Oxford, albeit that I cannot warrant the ſame to be ſo yong, ſith I find by good authoritie, that John of Beuerleie ſtudied in the vniuerſitie hall at Oxford, which was long before Alfred was either borne or gotten. Some are of the opinion that Cantabrigia was not ſo called of Cantaber, but Caſar Grant of the finiſher of the worke, or at the leaſtwiſe of the riuer that runneth by the ſame, and afterward by the Saxons Grantceſter. An other ſort affirme that the riuer is better written Canta than Granta, &c: but whie then is not the towne called Canta, Cantium, or Cantodunum, according to the ſame? All this is ſaid onlie (as I thinke) to deface the memorie of Cantaber, who deſcending from the Brigants, or out of Biſcaie, called the ſaid towne after his owne and the name of the region from whence he came. Neither hath it béene a rare thing for the Spaniards heretofore to come firſt into Ireland, and from thence ouer into England, ſith the chronologie ſhall declare that it hath béene often ſéene, and that out of Britaine, they haue gotten ouer alſo into Scithia, and contrariwiſe: ſoaſting ſtill through Yorkeſhire, which of them alſo was called Brigantium, as by good teſtimonie appeareth.

Of theſe two, that of Oxford (which lieth well and by north from London) ſtandeth moſt pleaſantlie, being inuiſtoned in maner round about with woods on the hilles aloft, and goodlie riuers in the bottoms and vallies beneath, whoſe courſes would breed no ſmall commoditie to that citie and countrie about, if ſuch impediments were remoued as greatlie annoie the ſame, and hinder the cariage which might be made thither alſo from London. That of Cambridge is diſtant from London about fortie and ſix miles north and by eaſt, and ſtandeth verie well, ſauing that it is ſomewhat néere vnto the fens, whereby the wholeſomneſſe of the aire there is not a little corrupted. It is excellentlie well ſerued with all kinds of proviſion, but eſpeciallie of freſhwater fiſh and wilde foule, by reaſon of the riuer that paſſeth thereby; and thereto the Ile of Elie, which is ſo néere at hand. Onlie wood is the chéefe want to ſuch as ſtudie there, wherefore this kind of prouiſion is brought thetherfrom Eſſer, and other places thereabouts, as is alſo their cole; or otherwiſe the neceſſitie thereof is ſupplied with gall (a baſtard kind of Mirtus as I take it) and ſeacole, whereof they haue great plentie led thither by the Grant. Moreouer it hath not ſuch ſtore of medow ground as may ſuffice for the ordinarie expenſes of the towne and vniuerſitie, wherefore the inhabitants are inforced in like ſort to prouide their haie from other villages about, which miniſter the ſame vnto them in verie great aboundance.

Oxford fifty miles from London.

Cambridge ſix and fortie miles from London.

Oxford is ſuppoſed to conteine in longitude eight téene degrees and eight and twentie minuts, and in latitude one and fiftie degrées and fiftie minuts; whereas that of Cambridge ſtanding more northerlie, hath twentie degrees and twentie minuts in longitude, and thereunto fiftie and two degrées and fiftéene minuts in latitude, as by exact ſupputation is eaſie to be found.

Longitude, latitude of both.

The colleges of Oxford, for curious workemanſhip and priuat commodities, are much more ſtatelie, magnificent, & commodious than thoſe of Cambridge: and thereunto the ſtréets of the towne for the moſt part more large and comelie. But for vniformitie of building, orderlie compaction, and politike regiment, the towne of Cambridge, as the newer workmanſhip, exceedeth that of Oxford (which otherwiſe is and hath béene the greater of the two) by manie a fold (as I geſſe) although I know diuerſe that are of the contrarie opinion. This alſo is certeine, that whatſoeuer the difference be in building of the towne ſtréets, the townſmen of both are glad when they may match and annoie the ſtudents, by incroching vpon their liberties, and keepe them bare by extreame ſale of their wares, whereby manie of them become rich for a time, but afterward fall againe into pouertie, becauſe that goods euill gotten do ſeldome long indure.

Cambridge burned not long ſince.

Caſtels alſo they haue both, and in my iudgement is hard to be ſaid, whether of them would be the ſtronger, if ech were accordinglie repared: howbeit that of Cambridge is the higher, both for maner of building and ſituation of ground, ſith Oxford caſtell

ſtandeth

ſtandeth low and is not ſo apparant to our ſight. That of Cambridge was builded (as they ſaie) by Gurguintus, ſometime king of Britaine, but the other by the lord Robert de Oilie, a noble man which came in with the conquerour, whoſe wife Editha, a woman giuen to no leſſe ſuperſtition than credulitie, began alſo the abbeie of Oſeneie neere vnto the ſame, vpon a fond (but yet a rare) occaſion, which we will heere remember, though it be beſide my purpoſe, to the end that the reader may ſee how readie the ſimple people of that time were to be abuſed by the practiſe of the cleargie. It happened on a time as this ladie walked about the fields, neere vnto the aforeſaid caſtell, to recreate hir ſelfe with certeine of hir maidens, that a number of pies ſat chattering vpon the elmes, which had beene planted in the hedgerowes, and in fine ſo troubled hir with their noiſe, that ſhe wiſhed them all further off, or elſe hir ſelfe at home againe, and this happened diuerſe times. In the end being wearie of hir walke, ſhe demanded of hir chapleine the cauſe wherefore theſe pies did ſo moleſt & vexe hir. Oh madam (ſaith he) the wilſeſt pie of all, theſe are no pies but ſoules in purgatorie that craue releeſe. And is it ſo in deed quoth ſhee? Now *De pardieux*, if old Robert will giue me leaue, I will doo what I can to bring theſe ſoules to reſt. Herevpon ſhe conſulted, craued, wept, and became ſo importunate with hir husband, that he ioined with hir, and they both began that ſynagog 1120, which afterward proued to be a notable den. In that church alſo lieth this ladie buried with hir image, hauing an heart in hir hand couched vpon the ſame, in the habit of a bowelle, and yet to be ſeene, except the weather haue worne out the memoriall. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

In each of theſe vniuerſities alſo is likewiſe a church dedicated to the virgin Marie, wherein once in the yeare, to wit, in Julie, the ſcholers are holden, and in which ſuch as haue beene called to anie degree in the yeare precedent, doo there receiue the accompliſhment of the ſame, in ſolemne and ſumptuous maner. In Oxford this ſolemnitie is called an Act, but in Cambridge they vſe the French word Commenſement; and ſuch reſort is made yearelie vnto the ſame from all parts of the land, by the freends of thoſe which doo proceed, that all the towne is hardlie able to receiue and lodge thoſe geſts. When and by whome the churches aforeſaid were builded, I haue elſewhere made relation. That of Oxford alſo was repared in the time of Edward the fourth, and Henrie the ſeuenth, when doctor Fitz James a great helper in that worke was warden of Merton college, but yer long after it was finiſhed, one tempeſt in a night ſo defaced the ſame, that it left few pinacles ſtanding about the church and ſteeple, which ſince that time haue neuer beene repared. There were ſometime foure and twentie pariſh churches in the towne and ſuburbes, but now there are ſcarſelie fifteene. There haue beene alſo 1200 burgeſſes, of which 400 dwelled in the ſuburbes, and ſo manie ſtudents were there in the time of Henrie the third, that he allowed them twentie miles compaſſe about the towne, for their prouiſion of victels.

The common ſchooles of Cambridge alſo are farre more beautifull than thoſe of Oxford, onelie the diuinitie ſchoole at Oxford excepted, which for fine and excellent workemanſhip, commeth next the mould of the kings chappell in Cambridge, than the which two with the chappell that king Henrie the ſeuenth did build at Weſtminſter, there are not (in mine opinion) made of lime & ſtone three more notable piles within the compaſſe of Europe.

In all other things there is ſo great equalitie betweene theſe two vniuerſities, as no man can imagin how to ſet downe any greater; ſo that they ſeeme to be the bodie of one well ordered common wealth, onlie diuided by diſtance of place, and not in freendlie conſent and orders. In ſpeaking therefore of the one, I can not but deſcribe the other; and in commendation of the firſt, I can not but extoll the latter; and ſo much the rather, for that they are both ſo deere vnto me, as that I can readilie tell vnto whether of them I owe the moſt good will. Would to God my knowledge were ſuch, as that either of them might haue cauſe to be aſhamed of their pupill; or my power ſo great, that I might worthilie requite them both for thoſe manifold kindneſſes that I haue receiued of them. But to leaue theſe things, and proceed with other more conuenient for my purpoſe. The manner to liue in theſe vniuerſities, is not as in ſome other of forren countries we ſee daſlie to happen, where the ſtudents are inforced for want of ſuch houſes, to dwell in common innes, and tauerns, without all order or diſcipline. But in theſe our colleges we liue in ſuch exact order, and vnder ſo preciſe rules of gouernement, as that the famous learned man Eraſmus of Roterodame being here among vs 50 yeres paſſed, did not let to compare the trades in liuing of ſtudents in theſe two places, euen with the verie rules and orders of the ancient monks: affirming moreouer in flat words, our orders to be ſuch as not onlie came neere vnto, but rather far exceeded all the monaſticall inſtitutiõs that euer were deuiſed.

In moſt of our colleges there are alſo great numbers of ſtudents, of which manie are found by the reuenues of the houſes, and other by the purueiances and helpe of their rich freends; whereby in ſome one college you ſhall haue two hundred ſcholers, in others an hundred and fiftie, in diuerſe a hundred and fortie, and in the reſt leſſe numbers; as the capacitie of the ſaid houſes is able to receiue: ſo that at this preſent, of one ſort and other, there are about three thouſand ſtudents nouriſhed in them both (as by a late ſurueie it manifeſtlie appeared.) They were erected by their founders at the firſt, onelie for poore mens ſons, whoſe parents were not able to bring them vp vnto learning: but now they haue the leaſt benefit of them, by reaſon the rich doo ſo incroch vpon them. And ſo farre hath this inconuenience ſpread it ſelfe, that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore mans child to come by a felowſhip (though he be neuer ſo good a ſcholer & worthie of that roome.) Such packing alſo is vſed at elections, that not he which beſt deſerueth, but he that hath moſt friends, though he be the worſt ſcholer, is alwaies ſureſt to ſpeed; which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning. That ſome gentlemen alſo, whoſe friends haue beene in times paſt benefactors to certeine of thoſe houſes, doo intrude into the diſpoſition of their eſtates, without all reſpect of order or eſtatutes deuiſed by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good (and not without ſome hope of gaine) the caſe is too too euident: and their attempt would ſoone take place, if their ſuperiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors. In ſome grammar ſchooles likewiſe, which ſend ſcholers to theſe vniuerſities, it is lamentable to ſee what briberie is vſed; for yer the ſcholer can be preferred, ſuch brihage is made, that poore mens children are commonlie ſhut out, and the richer ſort receiued (who in time paſt thought it diſhonor to liue as it were vpon almes) and yet being placed, moſt of them ſtudie little other than hiſtories, tables, dice, and trifles, as men that make not the liuing by their ſtudie the end of their purpoſes, which is a lamentable hearing. Beſide this, being for the moſt part either gentlemen, or rich mens ſonnes, they oft bring the vniuerſities into much ſlander. For ſtanding vpon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roiſt it out, exceeding in apparell, and ban-

ting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes vnto an other trade.) And for excuſe when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it ſufficient to ſaie, that they be gentlemen, which greeueth manie not a litle. But to proceed with the reſt.

Readers in priuat houſes.

Euerie one of theſe colleges haue in like maner their profeſſors or readers of the tongs and ſeuerall ſciences, as they call them, which dailie trade vp the youth there abiding priuatlie in their halles, to the end they may be able afterward (when their turne commeth about, which is after twelue termes) to ſhew themſelues abroad, by going from thence into the common ſchooles and publike diſputations (as it were *In aream*) there to trie their ſkilles, and declare how they haue profited ſince their comming thither.

Publike readers maintained by the prince.

Moreouer, in the publike ſchooles of both the vniuerſities, there are found at the princes charge (and that verie largelie) fiue profeſſors and readers, that is to ſaie, of diuinitie, of the ciuill law, phyſicke, the Hebrue, and the Greeke tongs. And for the other lectures, as of philoſophie, logike, rhetorike, and the quadriuials, although the latter (I meane arythmetike, muſike, geometrie, and aſtronomie, and with them all ſkill in the perſpectiues are now ſmallie regarded in either of them) the vniuerſities themſelues doo allow competent ſtipends to ſuch as reade the ſame, whereby they are ſufficientlie prouided for, touching the maintenance of their eſtates, and no leſſe incouraged to be diligent in their functions.

Studie of the quadriuials and perſpectiues neglected.

Theſe profeſſors in like ſort haue all the rule of diſputations and other ſchoole exerciſes, which are dailie vſed in common ſchooles ſeuerallie aſſigned to ech of them, and ſuch of their hearers as by their ſkill ſhewed in the ſaid diſputations, are thought to haue atteined to anie conuenient ripeneſſe of knowledge, according to the cuſtome of other vniuerſities, although not in like order, are permitted ſolemnlie to take their deſerued degrees of ſchoole in the ſame ſcience and facultie wherein they haue ſpent their trauell. From that time forward alſo, they vſe ſuch difference in apparell as becommeth their callings, tendeth vnto grauitie, and maketh them knowne to be called to ſome countenance.

Sophiſters.

The firſt degree, is that of the generall ſophiſters, from whence when they haue learned more ſufficientlie the rules of logike, rhetorike, and obteined thereto competent ſkill in philoſophie, and in the mathematicals, they aſcend higher vnto the eſtate of

Batchelers of art.

batchelers of art, after foure yeares of their entrance into their ſophiſtrie. From thence alſo giuing their minds to more perfect knowledge in ſome or all the other liberall ſciences, & the tongs, they riſe at the laſt (to wit, after other three or foure yeares) to

Maſters of art.

be called maſters of art, ech of them being at that time reputed for a doctor in his facultie, if he profeſſe but one of the ſaid ſciences (beſide philoſophie) or for his generall ſkill, if he be exerciſed in them all. After this they are permitted to chooſe what other of the higher ſtudies them liketh to follow, whether it be diuinitie, law, or phyſike; ſo that being once maſters of art, the next degree if they follow phyſike, is the doctorſhip belonging to that profeſſion; and likewiſe in the ſtudie of the law, if they bend their minds to the knowledge of the ſame. But if they meane to go forward with diuinitie, this is the order vſed in that profeſſion. Firſt, after they haue neceſſarilie proceeded maſters of art, they preach one ſermon to the people in Engliſh, and another to the vniuerſitie in Latine. They anſwer all commers alſo in their owne perſons vnto two ſeuerall queſtions of diuinitie in the open ſchooles, at one time, for the ſpace of two houres; and afterward replie twiſe againſt ſome other man vpon a like number, and on two ſeuerall daies in the ſame place: which being done with commendation, he receiueth the fourth degree, that is, batcheler of diuinitie, but not before he hath beene maſter of art by the ſpace of ſeauen yeares, according to their ſtatutes.

Batchelers of diuinitie.

The next and laſt degree of all is the doctorſhip after other three yeares, for the which he muſt once againe performe all ſuch exerciſes and acts as are afore remembred, and then is he reputed able to gouerne and teach others, & likewiſe taken for a doctor. I haue read that Iohn of Beuerleie was the firſt doctor that euer was in Oxford, as Beda was in Cambridge. But I ſuppoſe herein that the word doctor is not ſo ſtrictlie to be taken in this report as it is now vſed, ſith euerie teacher is in Latine called by that name, as alſo ſuch in the primitiue church as kept ſchooles of catechiſts, wherein they were trained vp in the rudiments and principles of religion, either before they were admitted vnto baptiſme, or anie office in the church.

Doctor.

Thus we ſee, that from our entrance into the vniuerſitie vnto the laſt degree receiued, is commonlie eightene or peraduenture twentie yeares, in which time if a ſtudent hath not obteined ſufficient learning, thereby to ſerue his owne turne, and benefit his common wealth, let him neuer looke by tarieng longer to come by anie more. For after this time & 40 yeares of age, the moſt part of ſtudents doo commonlie giue ouer their wonted diligence, & liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the poſſeſſion of their places, & yet doing litle good in their own vocation & calling. I could rehearſe a number (if I liſted) of this ſort, aſwell in the one vniuerſitie as the other. But this ſhall ſuffice inſted of a larger report, that long continuance in thoſe places is either a ſigne of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and vpright life, as biſhop Fox ſometime noted, who thought it ſacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a deſire to profit.

Lon

This Fox builded Corpus Chriſti college in Oxford.

A man may (if he will) begin his ſtudie with the law, or phyſike (of which this giueth wealth, the other honor) ſo ſoone as he commeth to the vniuerſitie, if his knowledge in the tongs and ripeneſſe of iudgement ſerue therefore: which if he doo, then his firſt degree is batcheler of law, or phyſicke, and for the ſame he muſt performe ſuch acts in his owne ſcience, as the bachelers or doctors of diuinitie, doo for their parts, the onelie ſermons except, which belong not to his calling. Finallie, this will I ſaie, that the profeſſors of either of thoſe faculties come to ſuch perfection in both vniuerſities, as the beſt ſtudents beyond the ſea doo in their owne or elſe where. One thing onlie I miſlike in them, and that is their vſuall going into Italie, from whenſe verie few without ſpeciall grace doo returne good men, what ſoeuer they pretend of conference or practiſe, chiefelie the phyſicians who vnder pretenſe of ſeeking of forreine ſimples doo oftentimes learne the framing of ſuch compoſitions as were better vnknowen than practiſed, as I haue heard oft alledged, and therefore it is moſt true that doctor Turner ſaid; Italie is not to be ſcene without a guide, that is, without ſpeciall grace giuen from God, becauſe of the licentious and corrupt behauiour of the people.

So much alſo may be inferred of lawiers.

There is moreouer in euerie houſe a maiſter or prouoſt, who hath vnder him a preſident, & certeine cenſors or deanes, appointed to looke to the behauior and maners of the ſtudents there, whom they puniſh verie ſeuerelie if they make anie default, according to the quantitie and qualitie of their treſpaſſes. And theſe are the vſuall names of gouernours in Cambridge. Howbeit in Oxford the heads of houſes are

now

now and then called preſidents in reſpect of ſuch biſhops as are their viſitors & founders. In ech of theſe alſo they haue one or moe threſurers whom they call Burſarios or Burſers beſide other officers, whoſe charge is to ſee vnto the welfare and maintenance of theſe houſes. Ouer each vniuerſitie alſo there is a ſeuerall chancelor, whoſe offices are perpetuall, howbeit their ſubſtitutes, whom we call vicechancelors, are changed euerie yeare, as are alſo the proctors, taſkers, maiſters of the ſtreates and other officers, for the better maintenance of their policie and eſtate.

And thus much at this time of our two vniuerſities in each of which I haue receiued ſuch degree as they haue vouchſafed rather of their fauour than my deſert to yeld and beſtow vpon me, and vnto whoſe ſtudents I wiſh one thing, the execution whereof cannot be preiudiciall to anie that meaneth well, as I am reſolutelie perſuaded, and the caſe now ſtandeth in theſe our daies. When anie benefice therefore becommeth void, it were good that the patrone did ſignifie the vacation therof to the biſhop, and the biſhop the act of the patrone to one of the vniuerſities, with requeſt that the vicechancellor with his aſſiſtents might prouide ſome ſuch able man to ſucceed in the place, as ſhould by their iudgement be meet to take the charge vpon him. Certes if this order were taken then ſhould the church be prouided of good paſtors, by whome God ſhould be glorified, the vniuerſities better ſtored, the ſimoniacall practiſes of a number of patrons vtterlie aboliſhed and the people better trained to liue in obedience toward God and their prince, which were an happie eſtate.

London. To theſe two alſo we may in like ſort ad the third, which is at London (ſeruing onelie for ſuch as ſtudie the lawes of the realme) where there are ſundrie famous houſes, of which three are called by the name of Ins of the court, the reſt of the chancerie, and all builded before time for the furtherance and commoditie of ſuch as aplie their minds to our common lawes. Out of theſe alſo come manie ſcholers of great fame, whereof the moſt part haue heretofore beene brought vp in one of the aforeſaid vniuerſities, and prooue ſuch commonlie as in proceſſe of time, riſe vp (onelie through their profound ſkill) to great honor in the common-wealth of England. They haue alſo degrees of learning among themſelues, and rules of diſcipline, vnder which they liue moſt ciuilie in their houſes, albeit that the ponger ſort of them abroad in the ſtreats are ſcarſe able to be bridled by anie good order at all. Certes this errour was wont alſo greatlie to reigne in Cambridge and Oxford, betweene the ſtudents and the burgeſſes: but as it is well left in theſe two places, ſo in forreine counteies it cannot yet be ſuppreſſed. Beſides theſe vniuerſities, alſo there are great number of Grammer ſchooles through out the realme, and thoſe verie liberallie indued, for the better releefe of poore ſcholers, ſo that there are not manie corporat townes now vnder the quænes dominion, that haue not one Grammar ſchole at the leaſt, with a ſufficient liuing for a maiſter and vther appointed to the ſame. Grammer ſchooles.

There are in like maner diuerſe collegiat churches as Windſor, Wincheſter, Eaton, Weſtminſter (in which I was ſometime an vnprofitable Grammarian vnder the reuerend father maſter Nowell now deane of Paules) and in thoſe a great number of poore ſcholers, dailie maintened by the liberalitie of the founders, with meat, bookes, and apparell, from whence after they haue beene well entered in the knowledge of the Latine and Greeke tongs, and rules of verſifieng (the triall whereof is made by certeine apoſers yearelie appointed to examine them) they are ſent to certeine eſpeciall houſes in each vniuerſitie, where they are receiued the trained vp, in the points of higher knowledge in their priuat hals, till they be adiudged meet to ſhew their faces in the ſchooles, as I haue ſaid alreadie. And thus much haue I thought good to note of our vniuerſities, and likewiſe of colleges in the ſame, whoſe names I will alſo ſet downe here, with thoſe of their founders, to the end the zeale which they bare vnto learning may appeare, and their remembrance neuer periſh from among the wiſe and learned. windſor. wincheſter. Eaton. weſtminſter.

Of the colleges in Cambridge with *their founders.*

Yeares of the foundations.		*Colleges.*		*Founders.*
1546	1	Trinitie college.	by	King Henrie 8.
1441	2	The kings college.		K. Henrie 6. Edward 4. Henrie 7. and Henrie 8.
1511	3	S. Iohns.		L. Margaret grandmother to Henrie 8.
1505	4	Chriſtes college.		K. Henrie 6. and the ladie Margaret aforeſaid.
1446	5	The queenes college.		Ladie Margaret wife to king Hentie 6.
1496	6	Ieſus college.		Iohn Alcocke biſhop of Elie.
1342	7	Bennet college.		(*Chriſti.* The brethren of a popiſh guild called *Corporis*
1343	8	Pembroke hall.		Maria de Valentia, counteſſe of Pembroke.
1256	9	Peter college.		Hugh Balſham biſhop of Elie.
1348	10	Gundeuill and Caius college.		Edmund Gundeuill parſon of Terrington, and Iohn Caius doctor of phyſicke.
1354	11	Trinitie hall.		William Bateman biſhop of Norwich.
1326	12	Clare hall.		Richard Badow chancellor of Cambridge.
1459	13	Catharine hall.		Robert Woodlarke doctor of diuinitie.
1519	14	Magdalen college.		Edw. duke of Buckingham, & Thom. lord Awdlie
1585	15	Emanuell college.		Sir Water Mildmaie, &c.

Of colleges in Oxford.

Yeares.		Colleges.		Founders.	
1539	1	Chriſtes church.	by	King Henrie 8.	
1459	2	Magdalen college.		William Wainflet firſt fellow of Merton college then ſcholer at Wincheſter, and afterward biſhop there.	He founded alſo a good part of Eaton college, and a free ſchole at Wainflet where he was borne.
1375	3	New college.		William Wickham biſhop of Wincheſter.	
1276	4	Merton college.		Walter Merton biſhop of Rocheſter.	
1437	5	All ſoules college.		Henrie Chicheleie archbiſhop of Canturburie.	
1516	6	Corpus Chriſti college.		Richard Fox biſhop of Wincheſter.	
1430	7	Lincolne college.		Richard Fleming biſhop of Lincolne.	
1323	8	Auriell college.		Adam Browne almoner to Edward 2.	
1340	9	The queenes college.		R. Eglesfeld chapleine to Philip queene of England, wife to Edward 3.	
1263	10	Balioll college.		Iohn Balioll king of Scotland.	
1557	11	S. Iohns.		Sir Thomas White knight.	
1556	12	Trinitie college.		Sir Thomas Pope knight.	
1316	13	Exceſter college.		Walter Stapleton biſhop of Exceſter.	
1513	14	Braſen noſe.		William Smith biſhop of Lincolne.	
873	15	Vniuerſitie college.		William archdeacon of Dureſme.	
	16	Gloceſter college.		Iohn Gifford who made it a cell for thirteene moonks.	
	17	S. Marie college.			
	18	Ieſus college now in hand.		Hugh ap Rice doctor of the ciuill law.	

There are alſo in Oxford certeine hoſtels or hals, which may right well be called by the names of colleges, if it were not that there is more libertie in them, than is to be ſeen in the other. My mins opinion the liuers in theſe are verie like to thoſe that are of Ins in the chancerie, their names alſo are theſe ſo farre as I now remember.

- Brodegates.
- Hart hall.
- Magdalen hall.
- Alburne hall.
- Poſtminſter hall.
- S. Marie hall.
- White hall.
- New In.
- Edmond hall.

The ſtudents alſo that remaine in them, are called hoſtelers or halliers. Hereof it came of late to paſſe, that the right reuerend father in God Thomas late archbiſhop of Canturburie being brought vp in ſuch an houſe at Cambridge, was of the ignorant ſort of Londoners called an hoſteler, ſuppoſing that he had ſerued with ſome inholder in the ſtable, and therfore in deſpite diuerſe hanged vp bottles of haie at his gate, when he began to preach the goſpell, whereas in déed he was a gentleman borne of an ancient houſe: in the end a faithfull witneſſe of Ieſus Chriſt, in whoſe quarrell he refuſed not to ſhed his bloud and yéeld vp his life vnto the furie of his aduerſaries.

Beſides theſe there is mention and record of diuerſe other hals or hoſtels, that haue béene there in times paſt, as Beéſe hall, Putton hall, &c: whoſe ruines yet appéere: ſo that if antiquitie be to be iudged by the ſhew of ancient buildings, which is verie plentifull in Oxford to be ſéene, it ſhould be an eaſie matter to conclude that Oxford is the elder vniuerſitie. Therin are alſo manie dwelling houſes of ſtone yet ſtanding, that haue béene hals for ſtudents of verie antike workemanſhip, beſide the old wals of ſundrie other, whoſe plots haue béene conuerted into gardens, ſince colleges were erected.

Erection of colleges in Oxford the ouerthrow of hals.

In London alſo the houſes of ſtudents at the Common law are theſe.

- Sergeants In.
- Graies In.
- The Temple.
- Lincolnes In.
- Dauids In.
- Staple In.
- Furniuals In.
- Cliffords In.
- Clements In.
- Lious In.
- Barnards In.
- New In.

And thus much in generall of our noble vniuerſities, whoſe lands ſome grédie gripers do gape wide for, and of late haue (as I heare) propounded ſundrie reaſons, whereby they ſuppoſed to haue preuailed in their purpoſes. But who are thoſe that haue attempted this ſute, other than ſuch as either hate learning, pietie, and wiſedome; or elſe haue ſpent all their owne, and know not otherwiſe than by incroching vpon other men how to mainteine themſelues? When ſuch a motion was made by ſome vnto king Henrie the eight, he could anſwer them in this maner; Ah ſirha, I perceiue the abbete lands haue ſlecked you and ſet your téeth on edge, to aſke alſo thoſe colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe ſinne by defacing the monaſteries, you haue a deſire alſo to ouerthrow all godneſſe by ſubuerſion of colleges. I tell you ſirs that I iudge no land in England better beſtowed than that which is giuen to our vniuerſities, for by their maintenance our realme ſhall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten. As you loue your welfares therfore, follow no more this veine, but content your ſelues with that you haue already, or elſe ſéeke honeſt meanes whereby to increaſe your liuelods, for I loue not learning ſo ill, that I will impaire the reuenues of anie one houſe by a penie, whereby it may be vpholden. In king Edwards daies likewiſe the ſame ſute was once againe attempted (as I haue heard) but in vaine, for ſaith the duke of Summerſet among other ſpéeches tending to that end, who alſo made anſwer therevnto in the kings preſence by his aſſignation; Iſlerning decaie, which of wiſe men maketh ciuill, of blockiſh and raſh perſons wiſe and godlie counſellors, of obſtinat rebels obedient ſubiects, and of euill men good and godlie chriſtians; what ſhall we looke for elſe but barbariſme and tumult? For when the lands of colleges be gone, it ſhall be hard to ſaie, whoſe ſtaffe ſhall ſtand next the doore, for then I doubt not but the ſtate of biſhops, rich farmers, merchants, and the nobilitie ſhall be aſſailed, by ſuch as liue to ſpend all, and thinke that what ſo euer another man hath is more meet for them, and to be at their commandement, than for the proper owner that hath ſweat and laboured for it. In quéene Maries daies the weather was ſo warme for anie ſuch courſe to be taken in hand, but in the time of our gratious

Now abbeits be gone, our dingthrifts prie after church and college poſſeſſions.

gratious quéene Elizabeth, I heare that it was after a ſort in talke the third time, but without ſucceſſe as moued alſo out of ſeaſon, and ſo I hope it ſhall continue for euer. For what comfort ſhould it be for anie good man to ſée his countrie brought into the eſtate of the old Gothes & Vandals, who made lawes againſt learning, and would not ſuffer anie ſkilfull man to come into their councell houſe, by meanes whereof thoſe people became ſauage, tyrants, and mercileſſe helhounds, till they reſtored learning againe, and thereby fell to ciuilitie.

Of the partition of England into *ſhires and counties.*

Chap. 4.

IN reading of ancient writers, as Cæſar, Tacitus, and others, we find mention of ſundrie regions to haue béene ſometime in this Iland, as the Nouantæ, Selgouæ, Dannonij, Gadeni, Oradeni, Epdij, Cerones, Carnonacæ, Careni, Cornabij, Caledonij, Decantæ, Logi, Mertæ, Vacomagi, Venicontes, Texali or Polij, Denani, Elgoui, Brigantes Pariſi, Ordouici *alias* Ordoluci, Cornauij, Coritaui, Catieuchlani, Simeni, Trinouantes, Demetæ, Cangi, Silures, Dobuni, Atterbatij, Cantij, Regni, Belgæ, Durotriges, Dumnonij, Giruij, Murotriges, Seueriani, Iceni, Tegenes, Caſij, Cænimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Bentiſhmen, and ſuch like. But all the ſeuerall places where moſt of them laie, are not yet verie perfectlie knowne vnto the learned of theſe daies, I doo not meane to pronounce my iudgement vpon ſuch doubtfull caſes, leaſt that in ſo doing I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, and leading peraduenture the reader from the more probable, intangle his mind in the end with ſuch as are of leſſe value, and things nothing ſo likelie to be true, as thoſe which other men haue remembred and ſet downe before me. Neither will I ſpeake oughts of the Romane partitions, & limits of their legions, whoſe number and place of abode, except of the Victorian and Auguſtane, is to me vtterlie vnknowne.

Alfred brought England into ſhires, which the Britons diuided by cantreds, and the firſt Saxons by families.

It ſhall ſuffice therefore to begin with ſuch a ground as from whence ſome better certeintie of things may be deriued, and that is with the eſtate of our Iland in the time of Alfred, who firſt diuided England into ſhires, which before his daies, and ſince the comming of the Saxons, was limited out by families and hidelands, as the Britons did the ſame in their time, by hundreds of townes, which then were called cantreds; as old records doo witneſſe.

Into how manie ſhires the ſaid Alfred did firſt make this partition of the Iland, it is not yet found out; howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing at all, I ſuppoſe that he left not vnder eight and thirtie, ſith we find by no good author, that aboue fiftéene haue beene added by anie of his ſucceſſours, ſince the time of his deceaſe. This prince therefore hauing made the generall partition of his kingdome into ſhires, or ſhares, he diuided againe the ſame into lathes, as lathes into hundreds, and hundreds into tithings, or denaries, as diuers haue written; and maiſter Lambert following their authorities, hath alſo giuen out, ſaieng almoſt after this maner in his deſcription of Kent; The Danes (ſaith he) both before, & in the time

Shire and ſhare all one.

" of king Alfred, had flocked by the ſea coaſts of this
" Iland in great numbers, ſometimes walking and
" ſpoiling with ſword and fire, whereſoeuer they might
" arriue, and ſomtime taking great bootes with them
" to their ſhips, without doing anie further hurt or
" damage to the countrie. This inconuenience conti-
" nuing for manie yéeres togither, cauſed our huſband-
" men to abandon their tillage, and gaue occaſion and
" hardineſſe to euill diſpoſed perſons, to fall to the like
" pillage, as practiſing to follow the Danes in theſe
" their theefts and robberies. And the better to cloake
" their miſchéefe withall, they feigned themſelues to
" be Daniſh pirats, and would ſometime come a land
" in one port, and ſometime in another, driuing dallie
" great ſpoiles (as the Danes had done) vnto their
" ſhips before them. The good king Alfred therefore
" (who had maruellouſlie trauelled in repelling the
" barbarous Danes) eſpieng this outrage, and think-
" ing it no leſſe the part of a politike prince, to root out
" the noiſome ſubiect, than to hold out the forren aduer-
" ſarie: by the aduiſe of his nobilitie, and the example
" of Moſes (who followed the counſell of Iethro his fa-
" ther in law to the like effect) diuided the whole realme
" into certeine parts or ſections, which (of the Saxon
" word Schyran, ſignifieng to cut) he termed ſhires, or
" as we yet ſpeake, ſhares, or portions, of which ſome
" one hath fortie miles in length (as Eſſer) and almoſt
" ſo manie broad, Hereford foure & twentie in length,
" and twentie in breadth, and Warwike ſix and thirtie
" in length, &c: and ſome of them alſo conteine ten,
" twelue, thirtéene, ſixtéene, twentie, or thirtie hun-
" dreds, more or leſſe, as ſome hundreds doo ſixtéene,
" twentie, thirtie, fortie, fiftie or ſixtie townes, out of
" which the king was alwaies to receiue an hundred
" able men to ſerue him in the warres, or a hundred
" men able to be pledges, and ouer each of the portions
" he appointed either an earle or alderman, or both, to
" whome he committed the gouernement of the ſame.
" Theſe ſhires alſo he brake into leſſer parts, whereof
" ſome were called lathes, of the word Gelathian, which
" is to aſſemble togither; other hundreds, for that they
" enioied iuriſdiction ouer an hundred pledges; and o-
" ther tithings, becauſe there were in each of them to
" the number of ten perſons, whereof euerie one from
" time to time was ſuertie for others good abearing.
" He prouided alſo that euerie man ſhould procure
" himſelfe to be receiued into ſome tithing, to the end,
" that if anie were found of ſo ſmall and baſe a credit,
" that no man would become pledge or ſuertie for him,
" he ſhould forthwith be committed to priſon, leaſt o-
" therwiſe he might happen to doo more harme abroad.
" Hitherto maiſter Lambert. By whoſe words we may
" gather verie much of the ſtate of this Iland in the
time of Alfred, whoſe inſtitution continued after a ſort vntill the comming of the Normans, who changed the gouernement of the realme in ſuch wiſe (by bringing in of new officers and offices, after the maner of their countries) that verie little of the old regiment remained more than the bare names of ſome officers (except peraduenture in Kent) ſo that in theſe daies it is hard to ſet downe anie great certeintie of things as they ſtood in Alfreds time, more than is remembred and touched at this preſent.

Earle and alderman.

What a lath is

Some as it were roming or rouing at the name Lath, doo ſate that it is deriued of a barne, which is called in old Engliſh a lath, as they coniecture. From which ſpéech in like ſort ſome deriue the word Laikow, as if it ſhould be trulie written Lath ſtow, a place wherein to laie vp or lake on things, of whatſoeuer condition. But hereof as yet I cannot abſolutelie be ſatiſfied, although peraduenture ſome likelihood in their iudgements may ſéeme to be therein. Other vpon ſome further conſideration affirme that they were certeine circuits in euerie countie or ſhire conteining an appointed number of townes, whoſe inhabitants alwaies aſſembled to know and vnderſtand of matters touching their portions, in to ſome

Engliſhmen noiſome to their owne countrie.

one

one appointed place or other within their limits, eſpecially whileſt the cauſes were ſuch as required not the aid or aſſiſtance of the whole countie. Of theſe lathes alſo (as they ſaie) ſome ſhires had more, ſome leſſe, as they were of greatneſſe. And M. Lambert ſéemeth to be of the opinion, that the léets of our time (wherein theſe pledges be yet called Franci plegij of the word Frœ burgh) do yéeld ſome ſhadow of that politike inſtitution of Alfred. But ſith my ſkill is ſo ſmall in theſe caſes that I dare not iudge anie thing at all as of mine owne knowledge, I will not ſet downe anie thing more than I read, leaſt I ſhould roue at random in our obſcure antiquities, and reading no more of lathes my next talke ſhall be of hundreds.

Léetes.

Hundred or wapentake.

The hundred and the wapentake is all one, as I read in ſome, and by this diuiſion not a name appertinent to a ſet number of townes (for then all hundreds ſhould be of equall quantitie) but a limited iuriſdiction, within the compaſſe whereof were an hundred perſons called pledges (as I ſaid) or ten denaries, or tithings of men, of which ech one was bound for others good abering, and laudable behauiour in the common-wealth of the realme. The chiefe man likewiſe of euerie denarie or tithing was in thoſe daies called a tithing man, in Latine Decurio, but now in moſt places a borſholder or burgholder, as in Kent; where euerie tithing is moreouer named a burgh or burrow, although that in the Weſt countrie he be ſtill called a tithing man, and his circuit a tithing, as I haue heard at large. I read furthermore (and it is partlie afore noted) that the ſaid Alfred cauſed ech man of frée condition (for the better maintenance of his peace) to be aſcribed into ſome hundred by placing himſelfe in one denarie or other, where he might alwais haue ſuch as ſhould ſweare or laie vpon their certeine knowledge for his honeſt behauior and ciuill conuerſation if it ſhould happen at anie time, that his credit ſhould come in queſtion. In like ſort I gather out of Leland and other, that if anie ſmall matter did fall out worthie to be diſcuſſed, the tithing man or borſholder (now officers, at the commandement of the high conſtable of which euerie hundred hath one at the leaſt) ſhould decide the ſame in their léetes, whereas the great cauſes were referred to the hundreds, the greater to the lathes, and the greateſt of all to the ſhire daies, where the earles or aldermen did ſet themſelues, & make finall ends of the ſame, according vnto iuſtice. For this purpoſe likewiſe in euerie hundred were twelue men choſen of good age and diſcretion, and thoſe ſworne to giue their ſentences without reſpect of perſon, and in this manner (as they gather) were things handeled in thoſe daies. Which waie the word wapentake came in vſe, as yet I cannot tell; howbeit the ſignification of the ſame declareth (as I conceiue) that at the chiefe towne the ſoldiers which were to ſerue in that hundred did méet, fetch their weapons, & go togither from thence to the field, or place of ſeruice by an ordinarie cuſtome, then generallie knowen amongſt them. It is ſuppoſed alſo that the word Rape commeth a Rapiendo, as it were of catching and ſnatching, becauſe the tenants of the hundred or wapentakes met vpon one or ſundrie daies & made quicke diſpatch of their lords haruell at once and in great haſt. But whether it be a true imagination or not as yet I am vncerteine, and therefore it lieth not in me to determine anie thing thereof: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them in this maner.

Denarie or tithing.

Tithing man in Latine Decurio. Borſholder. Burrow.

Twelue men.

Fortie ſhires in England thirtéene in Wales.

In my time there are found to be in England fourtie ſhires, and likewiſe thirtéene in Wales, and theſe latter erected of late yeares by king Henrie the eight, who made the Britons or Welſhmen equall in all reſpects vnto the Engliſh, and brought to paſſe that both nations ſhould indifferentlie be gouerned by one law, which in times paſt were ordred by diuerſe, and thoſe far diſcrepant and diſagreeing one from another: as by the ſeuerall view of the ſame is yet eaſie to be diſcerned. The names of the ſhires in England are theſe, whereof the firſt ten lie betweéne the Britiſh ſea and the Thames, as Polydor alſo doth ſet them downe.

Kent.	Wiltſhire.
Suſſex.	Dorſetſhire.
Surreie.	Sommerſet.
Hampſhire.	Deuon.
Barkeſhire.	Cornewall.

There are moreouer on the northſide of the Thames, and betweéne the ſame and the riuer Trent, which paſſeth through the middeſt of England (as Polydor ſaith) ſixtéene other ſhires, whereof ſix lie toward the eaſt, the reſt toward the weſt, more into the middeſt of the countrie.

Eſſex, ſomtime all foreſt ſaue one hundred.	Huntington ſher in are foure hundreds.
Middleſex.	Buckingham.
Hartfordſhire.	Oxford.
Suffolke.	Northampton.
Norffolke.	Rutland.
Cambrigeſhire in which are 12 hundreds.	Leiceſterſhire.
	Notinghamſhire.
Bedford.	Warwike.
	Lincolne.

We haue ſix alſo that haue their place weſtward towards Wales, whoſe names inſue.

Glocеſter.	Shropſhire.
Hereford.	Stafford.
Worceſter.	Cheſterſhire.

And theſe are the thirtie two ſhires which lie by ſouth of the Trent. Beyond the ſame riuer we haue in like ſort other eight, as

Darbie.	it is accompted as parcell of
Yorke.	Yorkeſhire (out
Lancaſter.	of which it is taken) then is it
Cumberland.	reputed for the
Weſtmerland.	whole Riding.
Richemond, wherein are fiue wapentares, & then	Durham.
	Northumberland.

So that in the portion ſometime called Lhoegres, there are now fortie ſhires. In Wales furthermore are thirtéene, whereof ſeuen are in Southwales:

Cardigan, or Cereticon.	hundreds or commots.
Penmorore, or Penbroke.	Glamorgan.
Caermardine, wherein are 9	Monmouth.
	Brecknocke.
	Radnor.

In Northwales likewiſe are ſix, that is to ſaie

Angleſeie.	Denbigh.
Carnaruon.	Flint.
Merioneth.	Montgomerie.

Which being added to thoſe of England yéeld fiftie and three ſhires or counties, ſo that vnder the quéenes Maieſtie are ſo manie counties, whereby it is eaſilie diſcerned, that hir power farre exceédeth that of Meſſa, who of old time was highlie honored for that he had ſo much of Britaine vnder his ſubiection as afterward conteined thirtie nine ſhires, when the diuiſion was made, whereof I ſpake before.

Od parcels of ſhires.

This is moreouer to be noted in our diuiſion of ſhires, that they be not alwaies counted or laid togither in one parcell, whereof I haue great maruell. But ſith the occaſiõ hath growen (as I take it) either by priuilege or ſome like occaſion, it is better briefly lie to ſet downe how ſome of theſe parts lie than to ſpend the time in ſéeking a iuſt cauſe of this their diuiſion.

diuiſion. Firſt therefore I note that in the part of Buckinghamſhire betweene Amondeſham, & Beconſfield, there is a peece of Hartfordſhire to be found, inuironed round about with the countie of Buckingham, and yet this patch is not aboue three miles in length and two in breadth at the verie moſt. In Barkeſhire alſo betweene Ruſcombe and Dikingham is a peece of Wiltſhire, one mile in breadth and foure miles in length, whereof one ſide lieth on the Loden riuer. In the borders of Northampton-ſhire directlie ouer againſt Luffeld a towne in Buckinghamſhire, I find a parcell of Oxfordſhire not paſſing two miles in compaſſe.

With Oxfordſhire diuerſe do participate, in ſo much that a peece of Gloceſterſhire, lieth halfe in Warwikeſhire & halfe in Oxfordſhire, not verie far from Horneton. Such another patch is there, of Gloceſterſhire not far from long Compton, but lieng in Oxford countie: & a peece of Worceſterſhire, directlie betweene it & Gloceſterſhire. Gloceſter hath the third peece vpon the north ſide of the Winrush neere Falbrooke, as Barkeſhire hath one parcell alſo vpon the ſelfe ſide of the ſame water, in the verie edge of Gloceſterſhire: likewiſe an other in Oxfordſhire, not verie farre from Burford: and the third ouer againſt Lach lade, which is parted from the main countie of Barkeſhire, by a little ſtrake of Oxfordſhire. Who would thinke that two fragments of Wiltſhire were to be ſeene in Barkeſhire vpon the Loden, and the riuer that falleth into it: whereof and the like ſith there are verie manie, I thinke good to giue this briefe admonition. For although I haue not preſentlie gone thorough with them all, yet theſe may ſuffice to giue notice of this thing, wherof moſt readers (as I perſuade my ſelfe) are ignorant.

Lieutenants. But to proceed with our purpoſe. Ouer ech of theſe ſhires in time of neceſſitie is a ſeuerall lieutenant choſen vnder the prince, who being a noble man of calling, hath almoſt regall authoritie ouer the ſame for the time being in manie caſes which do concerne his office: otherwiſe it is gouerned by a ſhi-Shiriffes. riffe (a word deriued of Schire and Greue, and pronounced as Shire and Reue) whoſe office is to gather vp and bring his accounts vnto the exchequer, of the profits of his countie receiued, whereof he is or may be called *Quæſtor comitatus* or *Prouinciæ*. This officer is reſident and dwelling ſomewhere within the ſame countie, and called alſo a vicount, *Quaſi vicarius comitis* or *Procomes*, in reſpect of the earle (or as they called him in time paſt the alderman) that beareth his name of the countie, although it be ſeldome ſeene in England, that the earle hath anie great ſtore of poſſeſſions, or oughts to do in the ſhire whereof he taketh his name, more than is allowed to him, through his perſonall reſiance, if he happen to dwell and be reſident in the ſame.

In the election alſo of theſe magiſtrates, diuerſe able perſons aſwell for wealth as wiſedome are named by the commons, at a time and place appointed for their choiſe, whoſe names being deliuered to the prince, he forthwith pricketh ſome ſuch one of them, as he pleaſeth to aſſigne vnto that office, to whome he committeth the charge of the countie, and who herevpon is ſhiriffe of that ſhire for one whole yeare, or vntill a new be choſen. The ſhiriffe alſo hath his Vnderſhi-riffes. vnder ſhiriffe that ruleth & holdeth the ſhire courts and law daies vnder him, vpon ſufficient caution vnto the high ſhiriffe for his true execution of iuſtice, preſeruation from impeachment, and yelding of accompt when he ſhall be therevnto called. There are Bailiffes. likewiſe vnder him certeine bailiffes, whoſe office is to ſerue and returne ſuch writs and proceſſes as are directed vnto them from the high ſhiriffe: to make ſeiſure of the goods and cattels, and arreſt the bodies of ſuch as do offend, preſenting either their perſons vnto him, or at the leaſtwiſe taking ſufficient bond, or other aſſurance of them for their dutifull appearance at an appointed time, when the ſhiriffe by order of law ought to preſent them to the iudges according to his charge. In euerie hundred alſo are one High conſta-bles. or more high conſtables according to the quantitie thereof, who receiuing the writs and iniunctions from the high ſhiriffe vnder his ſeale, or from anie other officers of the prince, either for the prouiſion of vittels or for other cauſes, or priuat purueiance of cates for the maintenance of the roiall familie, do forthwith charge the petie conſtables of euerie towne Petie conſta-bles. within their limits, with the execution of the ſame.

In each countie likewiſe are ſundrie law daies holden at their appointed ſeaſons, of which ſome re-Motelagh, Shiriffes turne. taine the old Saxon name, and are called Motelagh, of the word motes and law. They haue alſo an other called the ſhiriffes turne, which they hold twiſe in their times, in euerie hundred, according to the old order appointed by king Edgar (as king Edward reduced the folkmote ordeined by king Arthur to be held yearelie on the firſt of Maie, vntill the firſt of euerie moneth) and in theſe two latter ſuch ſmall matters as oft ariſe amongſt the inferior ſort of people, are heard and well determined. They haue finallie their quarter ſeſſions, wherein they are aſſiſted by the iuſtices and gentlemen of the countrie, & twiſe in the yeare gaile deliuerie, at which time the iudges ride Gaile deliue-rie or great aſſiſes. about in their circuits, into euerie ſeuerall countie (where the nobilitie and gentlemen with the iuſtices there reſiant aſſociat them) & miniſter the lawes of the realme, with great ſolemnitie & iuſtice. Howbeit in doing of theſe things, they reteine ſtill the old order of the land in vſe before the conqueſt. For they commit the full examination of all cauſes there to be heard, to the conſideration of twelue ſober, graue, and wiſe men, choſen out of the ſame countie; and foure of them of neceſſitie out of the hundred where the action lieth, or the defendant inhabiteth (which number they call an inqueſt) & of theſe inqueſts there Inqueſts. are more or leſſe impanneled at euerie aſſiſe, as the number of caſes there to be handled doth craue and require, albeit that ſome one inqueſt hath often diuerſe matters to conſider of. And when they haue (to their vttermoſt power) conſulted and debated of ſuch things as they are charged withall, they returne againe to the place of iuſtice, with their verdict in writing, according wherevnto the iudge doth pronounce his ſentence, be it for life or death, or anie other matter what ſoeuer is brought before him. It is alſo verie often ſeene, that ſuch as are nominated to be of theſe inqueſts, do after their charge receiued ſeldome or neuer eat or drinke, vntill they haue agreed vpon their verdict, and yelded it vp vnto the iudge of whome they receiued the charge; by meanes whereof ſometimes it commeth to paſſe that diuerſe of the inqueſt haue beene welneere famiſhed, or at leaſt taken ſuch a ſickeneſſe thereby, as they haue hardlie auoided. And this commeth by practiſe, when the one ſide feareth the ſequele, and therefore conueieth ſome one or more into the iurie, that will in his behalfe neuer yeeld vnto the reſt, but of ſet purpoſe put them to this trouble.

Certes it is a common practiſe (if the vnder ſhiriffe be not the better man) for the craftier or ſtronger ſide to procure and packe ſuch a queſt, as he himſelfe ſhall like of, whereby he is ſure of the iſſue be-Atteint. fore the charge be giuen: and beſide this if the matter do iuſtlie proceed againſt him, it is a world to ſee now and then how the honeſt yeomen that haue *Bona fide* diſcharged their conſciences ſhall be ſued of an atteint, & bound to appeare at the Starre chamber, with what rigor they ſhall be caried from place to

place,

place, countie to countie, yea and ſometime in carts, which hath and doth cauſe a great number of them to abſteine from the aſſiſes, & yeeld to paie their iſſues, rather than they would for their good meaning be thus diſturbed & dealt withall. Sometimes alſo they bribe the bailiffes to be kept at home, wherupon poore men, not hauing in their purſſes wherewith to beare their coſtes, are impanelled upon iuries, who verie often haue neither reaſon nor iudgement to performe the charge they come for. Neither was this kind of ſeruice at anie time halfe ſo painefull as at this preſent: for vntill of late yeares (that the number of lawiers and attorneies hath ſo exceedinglie increaſed, that ſome ſhifts muſt needs be found and matters ſought out, whereby they may be ſet on worke) a man ſhould not haue heard at one aſſiſe of more than two or three *Niſi prius*, but verie ſeldome of an atteint, whereas now an hundred & more of the firſt and one or two of the later are verie often perciued, and ſome of them for a cauſe ariſing of ſixpence or twelue pence. Which declareth that men are growen to be farre more contentious than they haue béene in time paſt, and readier to reuenge their quarels of ſmall importance, whereof the lawiers complaine not. But to my purpoſe, from whence I haue now digreſſed.

Beſide theſe officers afore mentioned, there are ſundrie other in euerie countie, as crowners, whoſe dutie is to inquire of ſuch as come to their death by violence, to attach & preſent the plées of the crowne, to make inquirie of treaſure found, &c. There are diuerſe alſo of the beſt learned of the law, beſide ſundrie gentlemen, where the number of lawiers will not ſuffice (and whoſe reuenues do amount to aboue twentie pounds by the yeare) appointed by eſpeciall commiſſion from the prince, to looke vnto the good gouernement of hir ſubiects, in the counties where they dwell. And of theſe the leaſt skilfull in the law are of the peace, the other both of the peace and quorum, otherwiſe called of Dier and Determiner, ſo that the firſt haue authoritie onelie to heare, the other to heare and determine ſuch matters as are brought vnto their preſence. Theſe alſo do direct their warrants to the keepers of the gailes within their limitations, for the ſafe keeping of ſuch offendors as they ſhall iudge worthie to commit vnto their cuſtodie there to be kept vnder ward, vntill the great aſſiſes, to the end their cauſes may be further examined before the reſidue of the countie, & theſe officers were firſt deuiſed about the eighteene yeare of Edward the third, as I haue béene informed.

Iuſtices of peax & quorum.

They meeting alſo & togither with the ſhiriffes, do hold their aforeſaid ſeſſions at foure times in the yeare, whereof they are called quarter ſeſſions, and herein they inquire of ſundrie treſpaſſes, and the common annoiances of the kings liege people, and diuerſe other things, determining vpon them as iuſtice doth require. There are alſo a third kind of ſeſſions holden by the high conſtables and baliffes afore mentioned, called petie ſeſſions, wherein the weights and meaſures are peruſed by the clarke of the market for the countie, who ſitteth with them. At theſe meetings alſo victuallers, and in like ſort ſeruants, labourers, rogues, and runnagates are often reformed for their exceſſes, although the burning of vagabounds through their eare be referred to the quarter ſeſſions or higher courts of aſſiſe, where they are iudged either to death, if they be taken the third time, & haue not ſince their ſecond apprehenſion applied themſelues to labour, or elſe to be ſet perpetuallie to worke in an houſe erected in euerie ſhire for that purpoſe, of which puniſhment they ſtand in greateſt feare.

Quarter ſeſſions.

Petie ſeſſions.

I might here deliuer a diſcourſe of ſundrie rare cuſtomes and courts, ſurnamed barons, yet maintened and holden in England: but for ſomuch as ſome of the firſt are beaſtlie, and therefore by the lords of the ſoiles now liuing conuerted into monie, being for the moſt part deuiſed in the beginning either by malicious or licentious women, in mere contempt and ſlauiſh abuſe of their tenants, vnder pretenſe of ſome puniſhment due for their exceſſes, I paſſe ouer to bring them vnto light, as alſo the remembrance of ſundrie courts baron likewiſe holden in ſtrange maner; yet none more abſurd and far from law than are kept yearlie at Kings hill in Rochford, and therfore may well be called a lawleſſe court, as moſt are that were deuiſed vpon ſuch occaſions. This court is kept vpon wedneſdaie inſuing after Michaelmaſſe daie after midnight, ſo that it is begun and ended before the riſing of the ſunne. When the tenants alſo are altogither in an alehouſe, the ſteward ſecretlie ſtealeth from them with a lanterne vnder his cloke, and goeth to the Kings hill, where ſitting on a molehill he calleth them with a verie ſoft voice, writing their appéerance vpon a péece of paper with a cole, hauing none other light than that which is incloſed in the lanterne: ſo ſone as the tenants alſo do miſſe the ſteward, they runne to the hill with all their might, and there anſwer all at once, Here here, wherby they eſcape their amercements: which they ſhould not do if he could haue called ouer his bill of names before they had miſſed him in the alehouſe. And this is the verie forme of the court deuiſed at the firſt (as the voice goeth) vpon a rebellion made by the tenants of the honour of Raibie againſt their lord, in perpetuall memorie of their diſobedience ſhewed. I could beſide this ſpeake alſo of ſome other, but ſith one hath taken vpon him to collect a number of them into a particular treatiſe, I thinke it ſufficient for me to haue ſaid ſo much of both.

And thus much haue I thought good to ſet downe generallie of the ſaid counties and their maner of gouernance, although not in ſo perfect order as the cauſe requireth, bicauſe that of all the reſt there is nothing wherewith I am leſſe acquainted than with our tempozall regiment, which (to ſaie truth) ſmallie concerneth my calling. What elſe is to be added after the ſeuerall ſhires of England with their ancient limits (as they agreed with the diuiſion of the land in the time of Ptolomie and the Romans) and commodities yet extant, I reſerue vnto that excellent treatiſe of my frend W. Cambden, who hath trauelled therein verie farre, & whoſe worke written in Latine ſhall in ſhort time (I hope) be publiſhed, to the no ſmall benefit of ſuch as will read and peruſe the ſame.

Of degrees of people in the common-wealth of England.

Chap. 5.

WE in England diuide our people commonlie into foure ſorts, as gentlemen, citizens or burgeſſes, yeomen, which are artificers, or labozers. Of gentlemen the firſt and chéefe (next the king) be the prince, dukes, marqueſſes, earls, viſcounts, and barons: and theſe are called gentlemen of the greater ſort, or (as our common vſage of ſpéech is) lords and noblemen: and next vnto them be knights, eſquiers, and laſt of all they that are ſimplie called gentlemen; ſo that in effect our gentlemen are diuided into their conditions, whereof in this chapter I will make particular rehearſall.

The

Prince. The title of prince doth peculiarlie belong with vs to the kings eldeſt ſonne, who is called prince of Wales, and is the heire apparant to the crowne; as in France the kings eldeſt ſonne hath the title of Dolphine, and is named peculiarlie Monſieur. So that the prince is ſo termed of the Latine word *Princeps*, ſith he is (as I may call him) the cheefe or principall next the king. The kings yonger ſonnes be but gentlemen by birth (till they haue receiued creation or donation from their father of higher eſtate, as to be either viſconts, earles, or dukes) and called after their names, as lord Henrie, or lord Edward, with the addition of the word Grace, properlie aſſigned to the king and prince, and now alſo by cuſtome conueied to dukes, archbiſhops, and (as ſome ſaie) to marqueſſes and their wiues.

Duke. The title of duke commeth alſo of the Latine word Dux, à ducendo, bicauſe of his valor and power ouer the armie: in times paſt a name of office due to the emperour, conſull, or cheefe gouernour of the whole armie in the Romane warres: but now a name of honor, although perſhed in England, whoſe ground will not long beare one duke at once; but if there were manie as in time paſt, or as there be now earles, I do not thinke but that they would florith and proſper well inough.

Marqueſſe. In old time he onelie was called marqueſſe, *Qui habuit terram limitaneam*, a marching prouince vpon the enimies countries, and thereby bound to keepe and defend the frontiers. But that alſo is changed in common vſe, and reputed for a name of great honor nert vnto the duke, euen ouer counties, and ſometimes ſmall cities, as the prince is pleaſed to beſtow it.

Earle. The name of earle likewiſe was among the Romans a name of office, who had *Comites ſacri palatij, comites ærarij, comites ſtabuli, comites patrimony, largitionum, ſcholarum, commerciorum*, and ſuch like. But at the firſt they were called Comites, which were ioined in commiſſion with the proconſull, legate, or iudges for counſell and aids ſake in each of thoſe ſeuerall charges. As Cicero epiſtola ad Quintum fratrem remembreth, where he ſaith; *Atque inter hos quos tibi comites, & adiutores negotiorum publicorum dedit ipſa reſpublica duntaxat finibus his præſtabis, quos ante præſcripſi, &c.* After this I read alſo that euerie preſident in his charge was called *Comes*, but our Engliſh Saxons vſed the word Hertoch and earle for *Comes*, and indifferentlie as I geſſe, ſith the name of duke was not in vſe before the conqueſt. Goropius ſaith, that *Comes* and Viſcont. Graue is all one, to wit the viſcont, called either *Procomes*, or *Vicecomes*: and in time paſt gouerned in the countie vnder the earle, but now without anie ſuch ſeruice or office, it is alſo become a name of dignitie next after the earle, and in degree before the baron. His releefe alſo by the great charter is one hundred pounds, as that of a baronie a hundred marks, and of a knight flue at the moſt for euerie fee.

Baron. The baron, whoſe degree anſwered to the dignitie of a ſenator in Rome, is ſuch a free lord as hath a lordſhip or baronie, whereof he beareth his name, & hath diuerſe knights or freeholders holding of him, who with him did ſerue the king in his wars, and held their tenures in *Baronia*, that is, for performance of ſuch ſeruice. Theſe Bracton (a learned writer of the lawes of England in king Henrie the thirds time) tearmeth *Barones, quaſi robur belli*. The word *Baro* indeed is older than that it may eaſilie be found from whence it came: for euen in the oldeſt hiſtories both of the Germans and Frenchmen, written ſince the conqueſt, we read of barons, and thoſe are at this daie called among the Germans *Liberi vel Ingenui*, or Freihers in the Germane tong as ſome men do coniecture, or (as one ſaith) the citizens and burgeſſes of good townes and cities were called *Barones*. Nеuertheleſſe by diligent inquiſition it is imagined, if not abſolutelie found, that the word *Baro* and *Filius* in the old Scithian or Germane language are all one; ſo that the kings children are properlie called *Barones*, from whome alſo it was firſt tranſlated to their kindred, and then to the nobilitie and officers of greateſt honour indifferentlie. That *Baro* and *Filius* ſignifieth one thing, it yet remaineth to be ſeene, although with ſome corruption: for to this daie, euen the common ſort do call their male children barnes here in England, eſpeciallie in the north countrie, where that word is yet accuſtomablie in vſe. And it is alſo growne into a prouerbe in the ſouth, when anie man ſuſteineth a great hinderance, to ſaie, I am beggered and all my barnes. In the Hebrue tong (as ſome affirme) it ſignifieth *Filij ſolis*, and what are the nobilitie in euerie kingdome but *Filij* or *ſerui regum*? But this is farre fetched, wherefore I conclude, that from henceforth the originall of the word *Baro* ſhall not be anie more to ſeeke: and the firſt time that euer I red thereof in anie Engliſh hiſtorie, is in the reigne of Canutus, who called his nobilitie and head officers to a counſell holden at Cirnceſter, by that name, 1030, as I haue elſe-where remembred. Howbeit the word *Baro* doth not alwaies ſignifie or is attributed to a noble man by birth or creation, for now and then it is a title giuen vnto one or other with his office, as the cheefe or high tribune of the exchekер is of cuſtome called lord cheefe baron, who is as it were the great or principall receiuer of accounts nert vnto the lord treaſuror, as they are vnder him are called *Tribuni ærarij, & rationales*. Herevnto I may adde ſo much of the word lord, which is an addition going not ſeldome and in like ſort with ſundrie offices, and to continue ſo long as he or they do execute the ſame, and no longer.

Biſhops. Vnto this place I alſo referre our biſhops, who are accounted honourable, called lords, and hold the ſame rome in the parlement houſe with the barons, albeit for honour ſake the right hand of the prince is giuen vnto them, and whoſe countenances in time paſt were much more glorious than at this preſent it is, bicauſe thoſe luſtie prelats ſought after earthlie eſtimation and authoritie with farre more diligence than after the loſt ſheepe of Chriſt, of which they had ſmall regard, as men being otherwiſe occupied and void of leiſure to attend vpon the ſame. Howbeit in theſe daies their eſtate remaineth no leſſe reuerend than before, and the more vertuous they are that be of this calling, the better are they eſteemed with high and low. They reteine alſo the ancient name (lord) ſtill, although it be not a little impugned by ſuch as loue either to heare of change of all things, or can abide no ſuperiours. For notwithſtanding it be true, that in reſpect of function, the office of the elderſhip is equallie diſtributed betweene the biſhop and the miniſter, yet for ciuill gouernements ſake, the firſt 1. Sam. b 15. haue more authoritie giuen vnto them by kings 1. Reg. 7. and princes, to the end that the reſt maie thereby be with more eaſe reteined within a limited compaſſe of vniformitie, than otherwiſe they would be, if euerie one were ſuffered to walke in his owne courſe. This alſo is more to be maruelled at, that verie manie call for an alteration of their eſtate, crieng to haue the word lord aboliſhed, their ciuill authoritie taken from them, and the preſent condition of the church in other things reformed; whereas to ſaie trulie, few of them do agree vpon forme of diſcipline and gouernement of the church ſuccedent: wherein they reſemble the Capuans, of whome Liuie doth ſpeake in the ſlaughter of their ſenat. Neither is it poſſible to frame a whole monarchie after the patterne of one

townes

towne or citie, or to ſtirre vp ſuch an exquiſite face of the church as we imagine or deſire, ſith our corruption is ſuch that it will neuer yéeld to ſo great perfection: for that which is not able to be performed in a priuat houſe, will much leſſe be brought to paſſe in a common-wealth and kingdome, before ſuch a prince be found as Xenophon deſcribeth, or ſuch an orator as Tullie hath deuiſed. But whither am I digreſſed from my diſcourſe of biſhops, whoſe eſtates dw daily decaie, & ſuffer ſome diminution? Herein neuertheleſſe their caſe is growne to be much better than before, for whereas in times paſt the cleargie men were feared bicauſe of their authoritie and ſeuere gouernment vnder the prince, now are they beloued generallie for their painefull diligence dailie ſhewed in their functions and callings, except peraduenture of ſome hungrie wombes, that couet to plucke & ſnatch at the loſe ends of their beſt commodities; with whom it is (as the report goeth) a common guiſe, when a man is to be preferred to an eccleſiaſticall liuing, what part thereof he will firſt forgo and part with to their vſe. Finallie, how it ſtandeth with the reſt of the clergie for their places of eſtate, I neither can tell nor greatlie care to know. Neuertheleſſe with what degrées of honour and worſhip they haue béene matched in times paſt Iohannes Bohemus in his *De omnium gentium moribus*, and others dw erpreſſe; and this alſo found beſide their reports, that in time paſt euerie biſhop, abbat, and pelting prior were placed before the earles and barons in moſt ſtatutes, charters, and records made by the prince, as maie alſo appeare in the great charter, and ſundrie yeares of Henrie the third, wherein no duke was heard of. But as a number of their odious compariſons and ambitious titles are now decaied and worthilie ſhronke in the wetting, ſo giuing ouer in theſe daies to mainteine ſuch pompous vanitie, they dw thinke it ſufficient for them to preach the word, & hold their liuings to their ſées (ſo long as they ſhall be able) from the hands of ſuch as indeuour for their owne preferrement to fléece and diminiſh the ſame. This furthermore will I adde generallie in commendation of the cleargie of England, that they are for their knowlege reputed in France, Portingale, Spaine, Germanie and Polonia, to be the moſt learned diuines, although they like not anie thing at all of their religion: and thereto they are in déed ſo skilfull in the two principall tongs, that it is accounted a maime in anie one of them, not to be eractlie ſeene in the Græke and Hebrue, much more then to be vterlie ignorant or nothing conuerſant in them. As for the Latine tong it is not wanting in anie of the miniſterie, eſpeciallie in ſuch as haue bæne made within this twelue or fourtéene yeares, whereas before there was ſmall choiſe, and manie cures were left vnſerued, bicauſe they had none at all. And to ſaie truth, our aduerſaries were the onelie cauſers hereof. For whileſt they made no further accompt of their prieſthood, than to conſtrue, ſing, read their ſeruice and their portelle, it came to paſſe that vpon examination had, few made in quéene Maries daies, and the later end of king Henrie, were able to to dw anie more, and verie hardlie ſo much, ſo void were they of further ſkill, and ſo vnapt to ſerue at all.

De Aſia, cap. 12

No Græke, no grace.

Bene con, bene can, bene le.

Dukes, marqueſſes, earles, viſconts, and barons, either be created of the prince, or come to that honor by being the eldeſt ſonnes or higheſt in ſucceſſion to their parents. For the eldeſt ſonne of a duke during his fathers life is an erle, the eldeſt ſonne of an erle is a baron, or ſometimes a viſcont, according as the creation is. The creation I call the originall donation and condition of the honour giuen by the prince for good ſeruice done by the firſt anceſtor, with ſome aduancement, which with the title of that honour is alwaies giuen to him and his heires males onelie. The reſt of the ſonnes of the nobilitie by the rigor of the law be but eſquiers: yet in common ſpéech all dukes and marqueſſes ſonnes, and earles eldeſt ſonnes be called lords, the which name commonlie doth agrée to none of lower degrée than barons, yet by law and vſe theſe be not eſteemed barons.

Duke, marqueſſe, earle, viſcont.

Barons.

The baronie or degrée of lords doth anſwer to the degrée of ſenators of Rome (as I ſaid) and the title of nobilitie (as we vſe to call it in England) to the Romane Patricij. Alſo in England no man is commonlie created baron, except he maie diſpend of yearelie reuenues a thouſand pounds, or ſo much as maie fullie mainteine & beare out his countenance and port. But viſconts, erles, marqueſſes, and dukes exceed them according to the proportion of their degrée & honour. But though by chance he or his ſonne haue leſſe, yet he kéepeth this degrée: but if the decaie be exceſſiue and not able to mainteine the honour, as *Senatores Romani* were *amoti à ſenatu*: ſo ſometimes they are not admitted to the vpper houſe in the parlement although they kéepe the name of lord ſtill, which can not be taken from them vpon anie ſuch occaſion. The moſt of theſe names haue deſcended from the French inuention, in whoſe hiſtories we ſhall read of them eight hundred yeares paſſed.

Of the ſecond degrée of gentlemen.

This alſo is worthie the remembrance, that Otto the firſt emperour of that name, indeuouring to reſtore the decaied eſtate of Italie vnto ſome part of hir priſtinate magnificence, did after the French example giue *Dignitates & prædia* to ſuch knights and ſouldiers as had ſerued him in the warres, whom he alſo adorned with the names of dukes, marqueſſes, earles, valuaſors or capteins, and valuaſines.

Prædia.

His *Prædia* in like maner were tributes, tolles, portage, bankage, ſtackage, coinage, profits by ſaltpits, milles, water-courſes (and whatſoeuer emoluments grew by them) & ſuch like. But at that preſent I read not that the word *Baro* was brought into thoſe parts. And as for the valuaſors, it was a denomination applied vnto all degrées of honor vnder the firſt three (which are properlie named the kings capteins) ſo that they are called *Maiores, minores, & minimi valuaſores*. This alſo is to be noted, that the word capteine hath two relations, either as the poſſeſſor therof hath it from the prince, or from ſome duke, marqueſſe, or earle, for each had capteins vnder them. If from the prince, then are they called *Maiores valuaſores*, if from anie of his three péeres, then were they *Minores valuaſores*: but if anie of theſe *Valuaſors* dw ſubſtitute a deputie, thoſe are called *Minimi valuaſores*, and their deputies alſo *Valuaſini*, without regard vnto which degrée the valuaſor doth apperteine: but the word *Valuaſor* is now growne out of vſe, wherefore it ſufficeth to haue ſaid thus much of that function.

Valuaſores.

Knights be not borne, neither is anie man a knight by ſucceſſion, no not the king or prince: but they are made either before the battell, to incourage them the more to aduenture & trie their manhood: or after the battell ended, as an aduancement for their courage and prowelle alreadie ſhewed (& then are they called *Milites*;) or out of the warres for ſome great ſeruice done, or for the ſingular vertues which dw appeare in them, and then are they named *Equites aurati*, as common cuſtome intendeth. They are made either by the king himſelfe, or by his commiſſion and roiall authoritie giuen for the ſame purpoſe: or by his lieutenant in the warres. This order ſeemeth to anſwer in part to that which the Romans called *Equitum Romanorum*. For as *Equites Romani* were choſen *Ex cenſu*, that is, according to their ſubſtance and riches; ſo be knights in England moſt commonlie according to their yearelie reuenues or aboundance of riches, wherewith to mainteine their eſtates. Yet all

Knights.

Milites.

Equites aurati.

that

that had *Equeſtrem cenſum*, were not choſen to be knights, and no more be all made knights in England that may ſpend a knights lands, but they onelie whome the prince will honour. Sometime diuerſe ancient gentlemen, burgeſſes, and lawiers, are called vnto knighthood by the prince, and neuertheleſſe refuſe to take that ſtate vpon them, for which they are of cuſtome puniſhed by a fine, that redoundeth vnto his cofers, and to ſaie truth, is oftentimes more profitable vnto him than otherwiſe their ſeruice ſhould be, if they did yeeld vnto knighthood. And this alſo is a cauſe, wherfore there be manie in England able to diſpend a knights liuing, which neuer come vnto that countenance, and by their owne conſents. The number of the knights in Rome was alſo vncerteine: and ſo is it of knights likewiſe with vs, as at the pleaſure of the prince. And whereas the *Equites Romani* had *Equum publicum* of cuſtome beſtowed vpon them, the knights of England haue not ſo, but beare their owne charges in that alſo, as in other kind of furniture, as armorie met for their defenſe and ſeruice. This neuertheleſſe is certeine, that who ſo may diſpend 40 pounds by the yeare of free land, either at the coronation of the king, or mariage of his daughter, or time of his dubbing, may be inforced vnto the taking of that degree, or otherwiſe paie the reuenues of his land for one yeare, which is onelie fortie pounds by an old proportion, and ſo for a time be acquited of that title. We name him knight in Engliſh that the French calleth Cheualier, and the Latins *Equitem*, or *Equeſtris ordinis virum*. And when any man is made a knight, he kneeling downe is ſtriken of the king or his ſubſtitute with his ſword naked vpon the backe or ſhoulder, the prince, &c: ſaieng, *Soyes cheualier au nom de Dieu*. And when he riſeth vp the king ſaith *Aduances bon cheualier*. This is the maner of dubbing knights at this preſent, and the tearme (dubbing) is the old tearme for that purpoſe and not creation, howbeit in our time the word (making) is moſt in vſe among the common ſort.

Knights of the bath.

At the coronation of a king or queene, there be other knights made with longer and more curious ceremonies, called knights of the bath. But how ſoeuer one be dubbed or made knight, his wife is by and by called madame or ladie, ſo well as the barons wife; he himſelfe hauing added to his name in common apellation this ſyllable Sir, which is the title whereby we call our knights in England. His wife alſo of courteſie ſo long as ſhe liueth is called my ladie, although ſhe happen to marie with a gentleman or man of meane calling, albeit that by the cõmon law ſhe hath no ſuch prerogatiue. If hir firſt huſband alſo be of better birth than hir ſecond, though this later likewiſe be a knight, yet in that ſhe pretendeth a priuilege to loſe no honor through courteſie yeelded to hir ſer, ſhe will be named after the moſt honorable or worſhipfull of both, which is not ſeene elſewhere.

Knights of the garter.

The other order of knighthood in England, and the moſt honorable is that of the garter, inſtituted by king Edward the third, who after he had gained manie notable victories, taken king John of France, and king James of Scotland (and kept them both priſoners in the Tower of London at one time) expelled king Henrie of Caſtile the baſtard out of his realme, and reſtored Don Petro vnto it (by the helpe of the prince of Wales and duke of Aquitaine his eldeſt ſonne called the Blacke prince) he then inuented this ſocietie of honour, and made a choiſe out of his owne realme and dominions, and throughout all chriſtendome of the beſt, moſt excellent and renowmed perſons in all vertues and honour, and adorned them with that title to be knights of his order, giuing them a garter garniſhed with gold and pretious ſtones, to weare on the left leg aboue the kée; alſo a kirtle, gowne, cloke, chaperon, collar, and other ſolemne and magnifique apparell, both of cloth and faſhion exquiſite & peculiar to weare at high feaſts, & as to ſo high and princelie an order appertaineth. Of this companie alſo he and his ſucceſſors kings and quæenes of England, be the ſouereigues, and the reſt by certeine ſtatutes and lawes amongſt themſelues be taken as brethren and fellowes in that order, to the number of ſix and twentie, as I find in a certeine treatiſe written of the ſame, an example whereof I haue here inſerted word for word, as it was deliuered vnto me, beginning after this maner.

Round table.

I might at this preſent make a long tractation of the round table and eſtate of the knights thereof, erected ſometimes by Arthur the great monarch, of this Iland; and therevnto intreat of the number of his knights, and ceremonies belonging to the order, but I thinke in ſo doing that I ſhould rather ſet downe the latter inuentions of other men, than a true deſcription of ſuch ancient actions as were performed in deed. I could furthermore with more facilitie deſcribe the rotaltie of Charles the great & his twelue peeres, with their ſolemne rites and vſages: but vnto this alſo I haue no great deuotion, conſidering the truth hereof is now ſo ſtained with errours and fables inſerted into the ſame by the lewd religious ſort, that except a man ſhould profeſſe to lie with them for companie, there is little ſound knowledge to be gathered hereof worthie the remembrance. In like maner diuerſe aſwell ſubiects as princes haue attempted to reſtore againe a round table in this land (as for example Roger lord Mortimer at Killingworth) but ſuch were the exceſſiue charges appertaining therevnto (as they did make allowance) and ſo great moleſtation dailie inſued therevpon, beſide the breeding of ſundrie quarrels among the knights, and ſuch as reſorted hitherto from forreine countries (as it was firſt vſed) that in fine they gaue it ouer, and ſuffered their whole inuentions to periſh and decaie, till Edward the third deuiſed an other order not ſo much peſtered with multitude of knights as the round table, but much more honorable for princelie port and countenance, as ſhall appeare hereafter.

Roger Mortimer.

The order of the garter therefore was deuiſed in the time of king Edward the third, and (as ſome write) vpon this occaſion. The quéenes maieſtie then liuing, being departed from his preſence the nert waie toward hir lodging, he following ſone after happened to find hir garter, which ſlacked by chance and ſo fell from hir leg, vneſpied in the throng by ſuch as attended vpon hir. His grõmes & gentlemen alſo paſſed by it, diſdaining to ſtope and take vp ſuch a trifle: but he knowing the owner, commanded one of them to ſtaie and reach it vp to him. Why and like your grace (ſaieth a gentleman) it is but ſome womans garter that hath fallen from hir as ſhe followed the quéenes maieſtie. What ſoeuer it be (quoth the king) take it vp and giue it me. So when he had receiued the garter, he ſaid to ſuch as ſtood about him: You my maiſters doo make ſmall account of this blue garter here (and therewith held it out) but if God lend me life for a few moneths, I will make the proudeſt of you all to reuerence the like. And euen vpon this ſlender occaſion he gaue himſelfe to the deuiſing of this order. Certes I haue not read of anie thing, that hauing had ſo ſimple a begining hath growne in the end to ſo great honour and eſtimation. But to proceed. After he had ſtudied awhile about the perfourmance of his deuiſe, and had ſet downe ſuch orders as he himſelfe inuented concerning the ſame, he proclamed a roiall feaſt to be holden at Windſore, whither all his nobilitie reſorted with their ladies, where he publiſhed his inſtitution, and

The occaſion of the deuiſe.

Peraduenture but a blue ribben.

forthwith inueſted an appointed number vnto the afore ſaid fellowſhip, whoſe names inſue, himſelfe being the ſouereigne and principall of that companie. Next vnto himſelfe alſo he placed

Edward prince of Wales.	S. Thomas Holland.
Henrie duke of Lancaſter.	Sir Iohn Graie.
N. earle of Warw.	Sir Rich. Fitzſimon.
N. capt. de Boulne.	Sir Miles Stapleton.
N. earle of Stafford.	Sir Thomas Wale.
N. earle of Sarum.	Sir Hugh Wrotesley.
N. lord Mortimer.	Sir Neale Lording.
Sir Iohn Liſle.	Sir Iohn Chiandos.
Sir Bartholomew Burwaſh.	S. Iames Dawdleie.
N. ſonne of ſir Iohn Beauchamp.	Sir Otho Holland.
Sir N. de Mahun.	Sir Henrie Eme.
S. Hugh Courtneie.	Sir Sanchet Dambricourt.
	Sir Walter Pannell *alias* Paganell.

Election. What order of election, and what ſtatutes were preſcribed vnto the elected at this firſt inſtitution, as yet I can not exactlie vnderſtand; neither can I learne what euerie prince afterward added therevnto before the ſir and thirtith yeare of king Henrie the eight, and third of king Edward the firſt: wherefore of neceſſitie I muſt reſort vnto the eſtate of the ſaid order as it is at this preſent, which I will ſet downe ſo briefflie as I may. When anie man therefore is to be elected (vpon a rome found void for his admiſſion) into this fellowſhip, the king directeth his letters vnto him, notwithſtanding that he before hand be nominated to the ſame, to this effect. Right truſtie and welbeloued we greete you well, aſſerteining you, that in conſideration aſwell of your approued truth and fidelitie, as alſo of your couragious and valiant acts of knighthod, with other your probable merits knowne by experience in ſundrie parties and behalfes: we with the companions of the noble order of the Garter, aſſembled at the election holden this daie within our manour of N. haue elected and choſen you amongſt other to be one of the companions of the ſaid Order, as your deſerts dw condignelie require. Wherefore we will that with conuenient diligence vpon the ſight herof, you repaire vnto our preſence, there to receiue ſuch things as to the ſaid order apperteineth. Dated vnder our ſignet at our maner of N. &c. These letters are the exemplification of certeine, which (as it ſhould ſeeme) were written An. 3. Edwardi ſexti at Greenewich Aprilis 24, vnto the earle of Huntingdon, & the lord George Cobham your lordſhips honorable father, at ſuch time as they were called vnto the aforeſaid companie. I find alſo theſe names ſubſcribed vnto the ſame.

Edward duke of Summerſet vncle to the king.	L. Ruſſell lord priuie ſeale.
The marq. of Northhampton.	L. S. Iohn lord great maſter.
Earle of Arundell L. Chamberleine.	Sir Iohn Gage.
Earle of Shrewesburie.	S. Anthonie Wingfield.
	Sir William Paget.

Domiſſion. Being elected, preparation is made for his inſtalling at Windſore (the place appointed alwaies for this purpoſe) whereat it is required that his banner be ſet vp, of two yardes and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breadth, beſides the fringe. Secondlie his ſword of what ſoeuer length him ſeemeth good. Thirdlie his helme, which from the charnell vpwards ought to be of three inches at the leaſt. Fourthlie the creſt, with mantels to the helme belonging, of ſuch conuenient ſtuffe and bigneſſe, as it ſhall pleaſe him to appoint.

Item a plate of armes at the backe of his ſtall, and creſt with mantels and beaſts ſupportant, to be grauen in the metſall.

Item lodging ſcutcheons of his armes, inuironned with a garter, and painted in paper or cloth of buckram, which when he trauelleth by the waie are to be fixed in the common Inns where he doth lodge, as a teſtimonie of his preſence and ſtates from time to time as he did trauell.

Item two mantels, one to remaine in the college at Windſore, the other to vſe at his pleaſure, with the ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter with laces, taſſelets, and knops of blue ſilke and gold belonging to the ſame.

Item a ſurcote or gowne of red or crimoſine veluet, with a whod of the ſame, lined with white ſarcenet or damaſke.

Item a collar of the garter of thirtie ounces of gold Troie weight.

Item a tablet of S. George, richlie garniſhed with precious ſtones or otherwiſe.

Item a garter for his (left) leg, hauing the buckle and pendant garniſhed with gold.

Item a booke of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order.

Item a ſcutcheon of the armes of S. George in the garter to ſet vpon the mantell. And this furniture is to be prouided againſt his inſtallation.

Inſtallation. When anie knight is to be inſtalled, he hath with his former letters, a garter ſent vnto him, and when he commeth to be inſtalled, he is brought into the chapter houſe, where incontinentlie his commiſſion is read before the ſouereigne, or his deputie, and the aſſemblie preſent: from hence he is lead by two knights of the ſaid order, accompanied with the other of the nobilitie, and officers toward the chappell, hauing his mantell borne before him, either by a knight of the order, or elſe the king at armes, to whome it ſecondarilie apperteineth to beare it. This mantell ſhall be deliuered vnto him for his habit, after his oth taken before his ſtall, and not before: which done, he ſhall returne vnto the chapter houſe, where the ſouereigne, or his deputie, ſhall deliuer him his collar, and ſo he ſhall haue the full poſſeſſion of his habit. As for his ſtall, it is not giuen according vnto the calling and countenance of the receiuer, but as the place is that happeneth to be void, ſo that each one called vnto this knighthod (the ſouereigne, and emperours, and kings, and princes alwaies excepted) ſhall haue the ſame ſeat, which became void by the death of his predeceſſor, howſoeuer it fall out: whereby a knight onlie oftentimes doth ſit before a duke, without anie murmuring or grudging at his rome, except it pleaſe the ſouereigne, once in his life onelie to make a generall alteration of thoſe ſeats, and to ſet each one according to his degree.

Mantell.

Stall.

Now as touching the apparell of theſe knights, it remaineth ſuch as king Edward, the firſt deuiſer of this order left it, that is to ſaie, euerie yeare one of the colours, that is to ſay, ſcarlet, ſanguine in grain, blue and white. In like ſort the kings grace hath at his pleaſure the content of cloth for his gowne and whod, lined with white ſatine or damaſke, and multitude of garters with letters of gold.

The prince hath fiue yardes of cloth for his gowne and whod, and garters with letters of gold at his pleaſure, beſide fiue timber of the fineſt mineuer.

A timber conteineth fortie tkins, pelts, or felles.

A duke hath fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 120 garters with title of gold.

A marques hath fiue yards of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, 110 garters of ſilke.

An earle fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber of mineuer, and 100 garters of ſilke.

A viſcount fiue yardes of woollen cloth, fiue timber

ber of mineuer, 90 garters of ſilke.

A baron fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer greſſe, 80 garters of ſilke.

A banneret fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 70 garters of ſilke.

A knight fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer, 60 garters of ſilke.

The biſhop of Wincheſter chapleine of the garter, hath eight and twentie timber of mineuer pure, nineteene timber greſſe, three timber and a halfe of the beſt, and foure & twentie yards of woollen cloth.

The chancellor of the order fiue yards of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure.

The regiſter of the order fiue yardes of woollen cloth, three timber of mineuer pure. And this order to be holden generallie among the knights of this companie, which are ſix and twentie in number, and whoſe patrone in time of ſuperſtition was ſuppoſed to be S. George, of whome they were alſo called S. Georges knights as I haue heard reported. Would to God they might be called knights of honor, or by ſome other name, for the title of ſaint George argueth a wrong patrone.

Installation. Furthermore at his inſtallation he is ſolemnelie ſworne, the maner whereof I haue thought good alſo to annex, in this maner. You being choſen to be one of the honorable companie of the order of the Garter, ſhall promiſe and ſweare vpon the holie euangelies by you bodilie touched, to be faithfull and true to the kings maieſtie, and to obſerue and keepe all the points of the ſtatutes of the ſaid order, and euerie article in them conteined, the ſame being agreeable and not repugnant to the kings highneſſe other godlie procedings, ſo far as to you belongeth & apperteineth, as God you helpe, &c. And thus much haue I thought good to note touching the premiſſes.

Eſtatutes. As touching the eſtatutes belonging to this order they are manie, and therefore not to be touched here. Howbeit if anie doubt doo ariſe aboue the interpretation of them, the king who is the perpetuall ſouereigne of that order hath to determine and reſolue the ſame. Neither are anie choſen thereunto vnder the degree of a knight, and that is not a gentleman of bloud and of ſound eſtimation.

Gentleman of bloud. And for the better vnderſtanding what is meant by a gentleman of bloud, he is defined to deſcend of three deſcents of nobleneſſe, that is to ſaie, of name and of armes both by father and mother.

Degrees of reproch. There are alſo foure degrees of reproch, which may inhibit from the entrance into this order: of which the firſt is hereſie lawfullie proued, the ſecond high treaſon, the third is flight from the battell, the fourth riot and prodigall exceſſe of expenſes, whereby he is not likelie to hold out, and mainteine the port of knight of this order, according to the dignitie thereof. Moreouer touching the wearing of their aforeſaid apparell, it is their cuſtome to weare the ſame, when they enter into the chappell of S. George or be in the chapter houſe of their order, or finallie doo go about anie thing apperteining to that companie. In like ſort they weare alſo their mantels vpon the euen of S. George, and go with the ſouereigne, or his deputie in the ſame in maner of proceſſion from the kings great chamber vnto the chappell, or vnto the college, and likewiſe backe againe vnto the aforſaid place, not putting it from them, vntill ſupper be ended, and the auoid done. The next daie they reſort vnto the chappell alſo in the like order, & from thence vnto dinner, wearing afterward their ſaid apparell vnto euening prair, and likewiſe all the ſupper time, vntill the auoid be finiſhed. In the ſolemnitie likewiſe of theſe feaſts, the thirteene chanons there, and ſix and twentie poore knights haue mantels of the order, whereof thoſe for the chanons are of Purrete with a roundell of the armes of S. George, the other of red, with a ſcutcheon onelie of the ſaid armes.

Apparell.

Sicke or abſent. If anie knight of this order be abſent from this ſolemnitie vpon the euen and daie of S. George, and be inforced not to be preſent either through bodilie ſickeneſſe, or his abſence out of the land: he doth in the church, chappell, or chamber where he is remaining, prouide an honorable ſtall for the kings maieſtie in the right hand of the place with a cloth of eſtat, and cuſhions, and ſcutchion of the garter, and therein the armes of the order. Alſo his owne ſtall of which ſide ſoeuer it be diſtant from the kings or the emperours in his owne place, appointed ſo nigh as he can, after the maner and ſituation of his ſtall at Windſor, there to remaine, the firſt euening praier on the euen of S. George, or three of the clocke, and likewiſe the next daie during the time of the diuine ſeruice, vntill the morning praier, and the reſt of the ſeruice be ended: and to weare in the meane time his mantell onelie, with the George and the lace, without either whod, collar or ſurcote. Or if he be ſo ſicke that he doo keepe his bed, he doth vſe to haue that habit laid vpon him during the times of diuine ſeruice aforeſaid.

Offering. At the ſeruice time alſo vpon the morrow after S. George, two of the chiefe knights (ſauing the deputie of the ſouereigne if he himſelfe be abſent) ſhall offer the kings banner of armes, then other two the ſword with the hilts forwards, which being done the firſt two ſhall returne againe, and offer the helme and creſt, hauing at each time two heralds of armes going before, according to the ſtatutes. The lord deputie or lieutenant vnto the kings grace, for the time being, alone and aſſiſted with one of the chiefe lords, doth deliuer at his offering a peece of gold, and hauing all the king of armes and heralds going before him, he ſo proceedeth to the offering. When he hath thus offered for the prince, he returneth with like ſolemnitie vnto his ſtall, and next of all goeth againe with one herald to offer for himſelfe, whoſe oblation being made, euerie knight according to their ſtals, with an herald before him proceedeth to the offering.

Burtall. What ſolemnitie is vſed at the burtall of anie knight of the Garter, it is but in vaine to declare: wherefore I will ſhew generallie what is done at the diſgrading of one of theſe knights, if through anie grieuous offenſe he be ſeparated from this companie. Whereas otherwiſe the ſigne of the order is neuer taken from him vntill death doo end & finiſh vp his daies. Therfore when anie ſuch thing is done, promulgation is made therof after this maner inſuing.

Diſgrading. Be it knowne vnto all men that N. N. knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, is found giltie of the abhominable and deteſtable crime of high treaſon, for he hath moſt traitorouſlie conſpired againſt our moſt high and mightie prince ſouereigne of the ſaid order, contrarie to all right, his dutie, and the faithfull oth, which he hath ſworne and taken. For which cauſes therefore he hath deſerued to be depoſed from this noble order, and fellowſhip of the Garter. For it may not be ſuffered that ſuch a traitor and diſloiall member remaine among the faithfull knights of renowmed ſtomach & bountifull prowes, or that his armes ſhould be mingled with thoſe of noble chiualrie. Wherefore our moſt excellent prince and ſupreme of this moſt honorable order, by the aduiſe and counſell of his collegues, willeth and commandeth that his armes which he before time hath deſerued ſhall be from henceforth be taken awaie and throwne downe: and he himſelfe cleane cut off from the ſocietie of this renowmed order, and neuer from this daie reputed anie more for a member of the ſame, that all other by his example may hereafter beware how they commit the like treſpaſſe, or fall in-

to ſuch notorious infamie and rebuke. This notice being giuen, there reſorteth vnto the partie to be diſgraded certeine officers with diuerſe of his late fellowes appointed, which take from him his George, and other inueſtiture, after a ſolemne maner.

And hitherto of this moſt honorable order, hoping that no man will be offended with me, in vttering thus much. For ſith the noble order of the Toiſon Dor or golden fléece, with the ceremonies apperteining vnto the creation and inueſtiture of the ſir and thirtie knights thereof: and likewiſe that of ſaint Michaell and his one and thirtie knights, are diſcourſed vpon at large by the hiſtoriographers of their owne countries, without reprehenſion or checke, eſpecially by *Vincentius Lupan. lib. 1. de Mag. Franc. cap. de equitibus ordinis*, where he calleth them Cheualliers ſans reproche, and thereto addeth that their chaine is commonlie of two hundred crownes at the leaſt, and honour thereof ſo great, that it is not lawfull for them to ſell, giue, or laie the ſame to morgage (would to God they might once breake their name, Sans reproche, but their generall deling in our time with all men, will not ſuffer ſome of the beſt of their owne countries to haue that opinion of them) I truſt I haue not giuen anie cauſe of diſpleaſure, briefelie to ſet forth thoſe things that apperteine vnto our renowmed order of the Garter, in whoſe compaſſe is written commonlie, *Honi ſoit qui mal y penſe, which is ſo much to ſaie, as, Euill come to him that euill thinketh: a verie ſharpe imprecation, and yet ſuch as is not contrarie to the word, which promiſeth like meaſure to the meter, as he doth mete to others.

*Some think that this was the anſwer of the queene, when the king aſked what men would thinke of hir, in loſing the garter after ſuch a maner.

Bannerets. There is yet an other order of knights in England called knights Bannerets, who are made in the field with the ceremonie of cutting awaie the point of his penant of armes, and making it as it were a banner, ſo that being before but a bacheler knight, he is now of an higher degree, and allowed to diſplaie his armes in a banner as barrons do. Howbeit theſe knights are neuer made but in the warres, the kings ſtandard being vnfolded.

Eſquire. Eſquire (which we call commonlie ſquire) is a French word, and ſo much in Latine as *Scutiger vel armiger*, and ſuch are all thoſe which beare armes, or armoires, teſtimonies of their race from whence they be deſcended. They were at the firſt coſterels or bearers of the armes of barons, or knights, & thereby being inſtructed in martiall knowledge, had that name for a dignitie giuen to diſtinguiſh them from common ſouldiers called *Gregarij milites* when they were togither in the field.

Gentlemen. Gentlemen be thoſe whome their race and bloud, or at the leaſt their vertues do make noble and knowne. The Latines call them *Nobiles & generoſos*, as the French do Nobles or Gentlehommes. The etymologie of the name expounded the efficacie of the word: for as *Gens* in Latine betokeneth the race and ſurname: ſo the Romans had Cornelios, Sergios, Appios, Curios, Papyrios, Scipiones, Fabios, Æmilios, Iulios, Brutos, &c: of which, who were Agnati, and therefore kept the name, were alſo called Gentiles, gentlemen of that or that houſe and race.

Moreouer as the king doth dubbe knights, and createth the barons and higher degrees, ſo gentlemen whoſe anceſtors are not knowen to come in with William duke of Normandie (for of the Saxon races yet remaining we now make none accompt, much leſſe of the Britiſh iſſue) do take their beginning in England, after this maner in our times.

Lawiers ſtudents in vniuerſities. Phyſicians. Captens. The ſeuer ſtudieth the lawes of the realme, who ſo abideth in the vniuerſitie giuing his mind to his booke, or profeſſeth phyſicke and the liberall ſciences, or beſide his ſeruice in the roome of a captein in the warres, or good counſell giuen at home, whereby his common-wealth is benefited, can liue without manuell labour, and thereto is able and will beare the port, charge, and countenance of a gentleman, he ſhall for monie haue a cote and armes beſtowed vpon him by heralds (who in the charter of the ſame do of cuſtome pretend antiquitie and ſeruice, and manie gaie things) and thereunto being made so good cheape be called maſter, which is the title that men giue to eſquiers and gentlemen, and reputed for a gentleman euer after. Which is ſo much the leſſe to be diſalowed of, for that the prince doth loſe nothing by it, the gentleman being ſo much ſubiect to tares and publike paiments as is the yeoman or huſbandman, which he likewiſe doth beare the gladlier for the ſauing of his reputation. Being called alſo to the warres (for with the gouernment of the common-wealth he medleth litle) what ſoeuer it coſt him, he will both arraie & arme himſelfe accordinglie, and ſhew the more manly courage, and all the tokens of the perſon which he repreſenteth. No man hath hurt by it but himſelfe, who peraduenture will go in wider buſkens than his legs will beare, or as our prouerbe ſaith, now and then beare a bigger ſaile than his boat is able to ſuſteine.

Certes the making of new gentlemen bred great ſtrife ſometimes amongſt the Romans, I meane when thoſe which were *Noui homines*, were more allowed of for their vertues newlie ſéene and ſhewed, than the old ſmell of ancient race, latelie defaced by the cowardiſe & euill life of their nephues & defendants could make the other to be. But as enuie hath no affinitie with iuſtice and equitie, ſo it forceth not what language the malicious do giue out, againſt ſuch as are exalted for their wiſdomes. This neuertheleſſe is generallie to be reprehended in all eſtates of gentilitie, and which in ſhort time will turne to the great ruine of our countrie, and that is the vſuall ſending of noblemens & meane gentlemens ſonnes into Italie, from whence they bring home nothing but meere atheiſme, infidelitie, vicious conuerſation, & ambitious and proud behauiour, wherby it commeth to paſſe that they returne far worſſe men than they went out. A gentleman at this preſent is newlie come out of Italie, who went thither an earneſt proteſtant, but comming home he could ſaie after this maner: Faith & truth is to be kept, where no loſſe or hinderance of a further purpoſe is ſuſteined by holding of the ſame; and forgiueneſſe onelie to be ſhewed when full reuenge is made. Another no leſſe forward than he, at his returne from thence could ad thus much; He is a fole that maketh accompt of any religion, but more fole that will loſe anie part of his wealth, or will come in trouble for conſtant leaning to anie: but if he yéeld to loſe his life for his poſſeſſion, he is ſtark mad, and worthie to be taken for moſt fole of all the reſt. This gaie bootie gate theſe gentlemen by going into Italie, and hereby a man may ſée what fruit is afterward to be loked for where ſuch bloſſoms do appéere. I care not (ſaith a third) what you talke to me of God, ſo as I may haue the prince & the lawes of the realme on my ſide. Such men as this laſt, are eaſilie knowen; for they haue learned in Italie, to go vp and downe alſo in England, with pages at their héeles finelie apparelled, whoſe face and countenance ſhall be ſuch as ſheweth the maſter not to be blind in his choiſe. But leaſt I ſhould offend too much, I paſſe ouer to ſaie anie more of theſe Italionates and their demeanor, which alas is too open and manifeſt to the world, and yet not called into queſtion.

Citizens and burgeſſes. Citizens and burgeſſes haue next place to gentlemen, who be thoſe that are free within the cities, and are of ſome likelie ſubſtance to beare office in the ſame. But theſe citizens or burgeſſes are to ſerue

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the commonwealth in their cities and boroughs, or in corporat townes where they dwell. And in the common aſſemblie of the realme wherein our lawes are made, for in the counties they beare but little ſwaie (which aſſemblie is called the high court of parlement) the ancient cities appoint foure, and the boroughs two burgeſſes to haue voices in it, and giue their conſent or diſſent vnto ſuch things as paſſe or ſtaie there in the name of the citie or borow, for which they are appointed.

Merchants. In this place alſo are our merchants to be inſtalled, as amongſt the citizens (although they often change eſtate with gentlemen, as gentlemen doo with them, by a mutuall conuerſion of the one into the other) whoſe number is ſo increaſed in theſe our daies, that their onelie maintenance is the cauſe of the exceeding prices of forreine wares, which otherwiſe when euerie nation was permitted to bring in hir owne commodities, were farre better cheape and more plentifullie to be had. Of the want of our commodities here at home, by their great tranſportation of them into other countries, I ſpeake not, ſith the matter will eaſilie bewraie it ſelfe. Certes among the Lacedemonians it was found out, that great numbers of merchants were nothing to the furtherance of the ſtate of the commonwealth: wherefore it is to be wiſhed that the huge heape of them were ſomewhat reſtreined, as alſo of our lawiers, ſo ſhould the reſt liue more eaſilie vpon their owne, and few honeſt chapmen be brought to decaie, by breaking of the bankerupt. I doo not denie but that the nauie of the land is in part mainteined by their traffike, and ſo are the high prices of wares kept vp now they haue gotten the onelie ſale of things, vpon pretenſe of better furtherance of the common-wealth into their owne hands: whereas in times paſt when the ſtrange bottoms were ſuffered to come in, we had ſugar for foure pence the pound, that now at the writing of this treatiſe is well worth halfe a crowne, raiſons or corints for a penie that now are holden at ſix pence, and ſometime at eight pence and ten pence the pound: nutmegs at two pence halfe penie the ounce: ginger at a penie an ounce, prunes at halfe penie farding: great raiſons three pound for a penie, cinamon at foure pence the ounce, cloues at two pence, and pepper at twelue, and ſixteene pence the pound. Whereby we may ſée the ſequele of things not alwaies but verie ſeldome to be ſuch as is pretended in the beginning. The wares that they carrie out of the realme, are for the moſt part broode clothes and carſies of all colours, likewiſe cottons, freeſes, rugs, tin, woll, our beſt beere, baies, buſkin, mockadoes taffed and plaine, raſh, lead, fells, &c: which being ſhipped at ſundrie ports of our coaſts, are borne from thence into all quarters of the world, and there either exchanged for other wares or readie monie: to the great gaine and commoditie of our merchants. And whereas in times paſt their cheefe trade was into Spaine, Portingall, France, Flanders, Danske, Norwaie, Scotland, and Iſeland onelie: now in theſe daies, as men not contented with theſe iournies, they haue ſought out the eaſt and weſt Indies, and made now and then ſuſpicious voiages not onelie vnto the Canaries, and new Spaine, but likewiſe into Cathaia, Poſcouia, Tartaria, and the regions thereabout, from whence (as they ſaie) they bring home great commodities. But alas I ſée not by all their trauell that the prices of things are anie whit abated. Certes this enormitie (for ſo I doo accompt of it) was ſufficientlie prouided for, An. 9 Edward 3. by a noble eſtatute made in that behalfe, but vpon what occaſion the generall execution thereof is ſtaied or not called on, in good ſooth I cannot tell. This onelie I know, that euerie function and ſeuerall vocation ſtriueth with other, which of them ſhould haue all the water of commoditie run into hir owne ceſterne.

Yeomen. Yeomen are thoſe, which by our law are called *Legales homines*, free men borne Engliſh, and may diſpend of their owne freé land in yearelie reuenue, to the ſumme of fortie ſhillings ſterling, or ſir pounds as monie goeth in our times. Some are of the opinion by Cap. 2. Rich. 2. an. 20. that they are the ſame which the French men call varlets, but as that phraſe is vſed in my time it is farre vnlikelie to be ſo. The truth is that the word is derived from the Saxon terme Zeoman or Geoman, which ſignifieth (as I haue read) a ſettled or ſtaid man, ſuch I meane as being maried and of ſome yeares, betaketh himſelfe to ſtate in the place of his abode for the better maintenance of himſelfe and his familie, whereof the ſingle ſort haue no regard, but are likelie to be ſtill fleeting now hither now thither, which argueth want of ſtabilitie in determination and reſolution of iudgement, for the execution of things of anie importance. This ſort of people haue a certeine preheminence, and more eſtimation than labourers & the common ſort of artificers, & theſe commonlie liue wealthilie, keepe good houſes, and trauell to get riches. They are alſo for the moſt part farmers to gentlemen (in old time called *Pagani, & opponuntur militibus*, and therfore Perſius calleth himſelfe *Semipaganus*) or at the leaſt wiſe artificers, & with grasing, frequenting of markets, and keeping of ſeruants (not idle ſeruants as the gentlemen doo, but ſuch as get both their owne and part of their maſters liuing) do come to great welth, in ſomuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often ſetting their ſonnes to the ſchooles, to the vniuerſities, and to the Ins of the court; or otherwiſe leauing them ſufficient lands whereupon they may liue without labour, doo make them by thoſe means to become gentlemen: theſe were they that in times paſt made all France afraid. And albeit they be not called maſter as gentlemen are, or ſir as to knights apperteineth, but onelie Iohn and Thomas, &c: yet haue they beene found to haue done verie good ſeruice: and the kings of England in foughten battels, were wont to remaine among them (who were their footmen) as the French kings did amongſt their horſſemen: the prince thereby ſhewing where his chiefe ſtrength did conſiſt.

Engliſhmen on foot and Frenchmen on horſſebacke beſt.

Capite cenſi or Proletarij. The fourth and laſt ſort of people in England are daie labourers, poore huſbandmen, and ſome retailers (which haue no freé land) copie holders, and all artificers, as tailers, ſhomakers, carpenters, brickmakers, maſons, &c. As for ſlaues and bondmen we haue none, naie ſuch is the priuilege of our countrie by the eſpeciall grace of God, and bountie of our princes, that if anie come hither from other realms, ſo ſoone as they ſet foot on land they become ſo freé of condition as their maſters, whereby all note of ſeruile bondage is vtterlie removed from them, wherein we reſemble (not the Germans who had ſlaues alſo, though ſuch as in reſpect of the ſlaues of other countries might well be reputed freé, but) the old Indians and the Lapzobanes, who ſuppoſed it a great iniurie to nature to make or ſuffer them to be bond, whome ſhe in hir wonted courſe doth product and bring forth freé. This fourth and laſt ſort of people therefore haue neither voice nor authoritie in the common wealth, but are to be ruled, and not to rule other: yet they are not altogither neglected, for in cities and corporat townes, for default of yeomen they are faine to make vp their inqueſts of ſuch maner of people. And in villages they are commonlie made churchwardens, ſidemen, aleconners, now and then conſtables, and manie times inioie the name

No ſlaues nor bondmen in England.

of hedbꝛoughes. Vnto this ſoꝛt alſo may our great ſwarmes of idle ſeruing men be referred, of whome there runneth a pꝛouerbe; Yong ſeruing men old beggers, bicauſe ſeruice is none heritage. Theſe men are pꝛofitable to none, foꝛ if their condition be well peruſed, they are enimies to their maſters, to their frends, and to themſelues: foꝛ by them oftentimes their maſters are incouraged vnto vnlawfull exactions of their tenants, their frends bꝛought vnto pouertie by their rents inhanced, and they themſelues bꝛought to confuſion by their owne pꝛodigalitie and errors, as men that hauing not wherewith of their owne to mainteine their exceſſes, doo ſearch in high waies, budgets, cofers, males, and ſtables, which way to ſupplie their wants. How diuerſe of them alſo coueting to beare an high ſaile doo inſinuate themſelues with yong gentlemen and noble men newlie come to their lands, the caſe is too much apparant, whereby the good natures of the parties are not onelie a little impaiꝛed, but alſo their liuelihods and reuenues ſo waſted and conſumed, that if at all yet not in manie yeares they ſhall be able to recouer themſelues. It were verie good therefoꝛe that the ſuperfluous heapes of them were in part diminiſhed. And ſith neceſſitie inforceth to haue ſome, yet let wiſdome moderate their numbers, ſo ſhall their maſters be rid of vnneceſſarie charge, and the common wealth of manie théeues. No nation cheriſheth ſuch ſtoꝛe of them as we doo here in England, in hope of which maintenance manie giue themſelues to idleneſſe, that otherwiſe would be bꝛought to labour, and liue in oꝛder like ſubiects. Of their whoꝛedomes I will not ſpeake anie thing at all, moꝛe than of their ſwearing, yet is it found that ſome of them doo make the firſt a cheeſe piller of their building, conſuming not onlie the goods but alſo the health & welfare of manie honeſt gentlemen, citizens, wealthie yeomen, &c: by ſuch vnlawfull dealings. But how farre haue I waded in this point, oꝛ how farre may I ſaile in ſuch a large ſea? I will therefoꝛe now ſtaie to ſpeake anie moꝛe of thoſe kind of men. In returning therefoꝛe to my matter, this furthermoꝛe among other things I haue to ſaie of our huſbandmen and artificers, that they were neuer ſo excellent in their trades as at this pꝛeſent. But as the woꝛkemanſhip of the laſt ſoꝛt was neuer moꝛe fine and curious to the eie, ſo was it neuer leſſe ſtrong and ſubſtantiall foꝛ continuance and benefit of the buiers. Neither is there anie thing that hurteth the common ſoꝛt of our artificers moꝛe than haſt, and a barbarous oꝛ ſlauiſh deſire to turne the penie, and by ridding their woꝛke to make ſpéedie vtterance of their wares: which inforceth them to bungle vp and diſpatch manie things they care not how ſo they be out of their hands, whereby the buier is often ſoꝛe defrauded, and findeth to his coſt, that haſt maketh waſt, according to the pꝛouerbe.

Oh how manie trades and handicrafts are now in England, whereof the common wealth hath no néed? how manie néedfull commodities haue we which are perfected with great coſt, &c: and yet may with farre moꝛe eaſe and leſſe coſt be pꝛouided from other countries if we could vſe the meanes. I will not ſpeake of iron, glaſſe, and ſuch like, which ſpoile much wood, and yet are bꝛought from other countries better cheepe than we can make them here at home, I could exemplifie alſo in manie other. But to leaue theſe things and pꝛocéed with our purpoſe, and herein (as occaſion ſeruеth) generallie by waie of concluſion to ſpeake of the common-wealth of England, I find that it is gouerned and mainteined by thꝛee ſoꝛts of perſons.

1 The pꝛince, monarch, and head gouernour, which is called the king, oꝛ (if the crowne fall to the woman) the quéene: in whoſe name and by whoſe authoritie all things are adminiſtred.

2 The gentlemen, which be diuided into two ſoꝛts, as the baronie oꝛ eſtate of loꝛds (which conteineth barons and all aboue that degree) and alſo thoſe that be no loꝛds, as knights, eſquiers, & ſimple gentlemen, as I haue noted alreadie. Out of theſe alſo are the great deputies and high pꝛeſidents choſen, of which one ſeruеth in Ireland, as another did ſometime in Calis, and the capteine now at Berwike; as one loꝛd pꝛeſident doth gouerne in Wales, and the other the noꝛth parts of this Iland, which later with certeine councellоꝛs and iudges were erected by king Henrie the eight. But foꝛſomuch as I haue touched their conditions elſewhere, it ſhall be inough to haue remembꝛed them at this time.

3 The third and laſt ſoꝛt is named the yeomanrie, of whom & their ſequele, the labourers and artificers, I haue ſaid ſomewhat euen now. Whereto I ad that they be not called maſters and gentlemen, but goodmen, as goodman Smith, goodman Cot, goodman Coꝛnell, goodman Paſcall, goodman Cockſwet, &c: & in matters of law theſe and the like are called thus, Giles Jewd yeoman, Edward Mountfoꝛd yeoman, James Cocke yeoman, Herrie Butcher yeoman, &c: by which addition they are exempt from the vulgar and common ſoꝛts. Cato calleth them *Aratores & optimos ciues rei publicæ*, of whom alſo you may read moꝛe in the booke of common wealth which ſir Thomas Smith ſometime penned of this land.

Of gentlemen alſo ſome are by the pꝛince choſen, and called to great offices in the common wealth, of which ſaid offices diuerſe concerne the whole realme; ſome be moꝛe pꝛiuat and peculiar to the kings houſe. And they haue their places and degrées, pꝛeſcribed by an act of parlement made An. 31 Henr. octaui, after this maner inſuing.

Theſe foure the loꝛd Chancelloꝛ, the loꝛd Treaſuroꝛ (who is *Supremus ærarij Anglici quæſtor* oꝛ *Tribunus ærarius maximus*) the loꝛd Pꝛeſident of the councell, and the loꝛd Pꝛiuie ſeale, being perſons of the degrée of a baron oꝛ aboue, are in the ſame act appointed to ſit in the parlement and in all aſſemblies oꝛ councell aboue all dukes, not being of the bloud roiall, Videlicet the kings bꝛother, uncle, oꝛ nephue.

And theſe ſir, the loꝛd great Chamberleine of England: the loꝛd high Conſtable of England: the loꝛd Marſhall of England: the loꝛd Admirall of England: the loꝛd great maſter oꝛ Steward of the kings houſe: and the loꝛd Chamberleine: by that act are to be placed in all aſſemblies of councell, after the loꝛd pꝛiuie ſeale, according to their degrées and eſtats: ſo that if he be a baron, then he is to ſit aboue all barons: oꝛ an earle, aboue all earles.

And ſo likewiſe the kings ſecretarie, being a baron of the parlement, hath place aboue all barons, and if he be a man of higher degrée, he ſhall ſit and be placed according thereunto.

The rehearſall of the temporall nobilitie of England, according to the anciencie of their creations, or firſt calling to their degrees, as they are to be found at this preſent.

No duke in England.

Earles.

The Marquiſe of Wincheſter.
The earle of Arundell.
The earle of Oxfoꝛd.
The earle of Noꝛthumberland.
The earle of Shꝛewſburie.
The earle of Kent.
The earle of Derbie.
The earle of Woꝛceſter.

The

The earle of Rutland.
The earle of Cumberland.
The earle of Suſſex.
The earle of Huntingdon.
The earle of Bath.
The earle of Warwike.
The earle of Southampton.
The earle of Bedford.
The earle of Penbrooke.
The earle of Hertford.
The earle of Leiceſter.
The earle of Eſſex.
The earle of Lincolne.

Viſcounts. The viſcount Montague.
The viſcount Bindon.

Barons. The lord of Abergeuennie.
The lord Audeleie.
The lord Zouch.
The lord Barkeleie.
The lord Morleie.
The lord Dacres of the ſouth.
The lord Cobham.
The lord Stafford.
The lord Greie of Wilton.
The lord Scrope.
The lord Dudleie.
The lord Latimer.
The lord Stourton.
The lord Lumleie.
The lord Mountioie.
The lord Ogle.
The lord Darcie of the north.
The lord Mountegle.
The lord Sands.
The lord Vaulx.
The lord Windſore.
The lord Wentworth.
The lord Borough.
The lord Mordaunt.
The lord Cromwell.
The lord Euers.
The lord Wharton.
The lord Rich.
The lord Willoughbie.
The lord Sheffeld.
The lord Paget.
The lord Darcie of Chicheſter.
The lord Howard of Effingham.
The lord North.
The lord Chaundos.
The lord of Hunſdon.
The lord ſaint John of Bletſo.
The lord of Buckhirſt.
The lord Delaware.
The lord Burghleie.
The lord Compton.
The lord Cheineie.
The lord Norreis.

Biſhops in their anciencie, as they *ſat in parlement, in the fift of the* Queenes maieſties reigne that now is.

Eleargie.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie.
The archbiſhop of Yorke.
London.
Durham.
Winchester.

The reſt had their places in ſeniorities of conſecration.

Chicheſter.	Bath and Welles.
Lincolne.	Couentrie and Lichfield.
Hereford.	Exceſter.
Elie.	Norwich.
Worceſter.	Peterborough.
Bangor.	Carleill.
Lincolne.	Cheſter.
Saliſburie.	S. Aſaph.
S. Dauids.	Gloceſter.
Rocheſter.	

And this for their placing in the parlement houſe. Howbeit, when the archbiſhop of Canturburie ſiteth in his prouinciall aſſemblie, he hath on his right hand the archbiſhop of Yorke, and next vnto him the biſhop of Winchester, on the left hand the biſhop of London: but if it fall out that the archbiſhop of Canturburie be not there by the vacation of his ſee, then the archbiſhop of Yorke is to take his place, who admitteth the biſhop of London to his right hand, and the prelat of Winchester to his left, the reſt ſitting alwaies as afore, that is to ſaie, as they are elders by conſecration, which I thought good alſo to note out of an ancient preſident.

Of the food and diet of *the Engliſh.*

Chap. 6.

THe ſituation of our region, lieng neere vnto the north, doth cauſe the heate of our ſtomaches to be of ſomewhat greater force: therefore our bodies do craue a little more ample nouriſhment, than the inhabitants of the hotter regions are accuſtomed withall, whoſe digeſtiue force is not altogither ſo vehement, becauſe their internall heat is not ſo ſtrong as ours, which is kept in by the coldneſſe of the aire, that from time to time (ſpecially in winter) doth enuiron our bodies.

It is no maruell therefore that our tables are oftentimes more plentifullie garniſhed than thoſe of other nations, and this trade hath continued with vs euen ſince the verie beginning. For before the Romans found out and knew the waie vnto our countrie, our predeceſſors fed largelie vpon fleſh and milke, whereof there was great aboundance in this Ile, becauſe they aplied their cheefe ſtudies vnto paſturage and feeding. After this maner alſo did our Welſh Britons order themſelues in their diet ſo long as they liued of themſelues, but after they became to be vnited and made equall with the Engliſh they framed their apetites to liue after our maner, ſo that at this daie there is verie little difference betweene vs in our diets.

In Scotland likewiſe they haue giuen themſelues (of late yeares to ſpeake of) vnto verie ample and large diet, wherein as for ſome reſpect nature doth make them equall with vs: ſo otherwiſe they far exceed vs in ouer much and diſtemperate gormandize, and ſo ingroſſe their bodies that diuerſe of them do oft become vnapt to anie other purpoſe than to ſpend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere. Againſt this pampering of their carcaſſes doth Hector Boetius in his deſcription of the countrie verie ſharpelie inueigh in the firſt chapter of that treatiſe. Henrie Wardlaw alſo biſhop of S. Andrewes, noting their vehement alteration from competent frugalitie into exceſſiue gluttonie, to be brought out of England with Iames the firſt (who had beene long time priſoner there vnder the fourth & fift Henries,

and

and at his returne caried diuerſe Engliſh gentlemen into his countrie with him, whome he verie honorablie preferred there) doth vehementlie exclame againſt the ſame in open parlement holden at Perth 1433, before the three eſtats, and ſo bringeth his purpoſe to paſſe in the end by force of his learned perſuaſions, that a law was preſentlie made there for the reſtreint of ſuperfluous diet, amongeſt other things baked meats (diſhes neuer before this mans daies ſeene in Scotland) were generallie ſo prouided for by vertue of this act, that it was not lawfull for anie to eat of the ſame vnder the degree of a gentleman, and thoſe onelie but on high and feſtiuall daies, but alas it was ſone forgotten.

In old time theſe north Britons did giue themſelues vniuerſallie to great abſtinence, and in time of warres their ſouldiers would often feed but once or twiſe at the moſt in two or three daies (eſpeciallie if they held themſelues in ſecret, or could haue no iſſue out of their bogges and mariſes, through the preſence of the enimie) and in this diſtreſſe they vſed to eat a certeine kind of confection, whereof ſo much as a beane would qualifie their hunger aboue common expectation. In woods moreouer they liued with hearbes and rotes, or if theſe ſhifts ſerued not thorough want of ſuch prouiſion at hand, then vſed they to creepe into the water or ſaid moriſh plots vp vnto the chins, and there remaine a long time, onelie to qualifie the heats of their ſtomachs by violence, which otherwiſe would haue wrought and beene readie to oppreſſe them for hunger and want of ſuſtinance. In thoſe daies likewiſe it was taken for a great offenſe ouer all, to eat either goſe, hare, or henne, becauſe of a certeine ſuperſtitious opinion which they had conceiued of thoſe three creatures, howbeit after that the Romans (I ſaie) had once found an entrance into this Iland, it was not long per open ſhipwracke was made of this religious obſeruation, ſo that in proceſſe of time, ſo well the north and ſouth Britons as the Romans, gaue ouer to make ſuch difference in meats, as they had done before.

From thenceforth alſo vnto our daies, and euen in this ſeaſon wherein we liue, there is no reſtreint of anie meat, either for religions ſake or publike order in England, but it is lawfull for euerie man to feed vpon what ſoeuer he is able to purchaſe, except it be vpon thoſe daies whereon eating of fleſh is eſpeciallie forbidden by the lawes of the realme, which order is taken onelie to the end our numbers of cattell may be the better increaſed, & that aboundance of fiſh which the ſea yeldeth, more generallie receiued. Beſide this there is great conſideration had in making of this law for the preſeruation of the nauie, and maintenance of conuenient numbers of ſea faring men, both which would otherwiſe greatlie decaie, if ſome meanes were not found whereby they might be increaſed. But how ſoeuer this caſe ſtandeth, white meats, milke, butter & cheeſe, which were neuer ſo deere as in my time, and wont to be accounted of as one of the chiefe ſtaies throughout the Iland, are now reputed as food appertinent onelie to the inferiour ſort, whileſt ſuch as are more wealthie, doo feed vpon the fleſh of all kinds of cattell accuſtomed to be eaten, all ſorts of fiſh taken vpon our coaſts and in our freſh riuers, and ſuch diuerſitie of wild and tame foules as are either bred in our Iland or brought ouer vnto vs from other countries of the maine.

In number of diſhes and change of meat, the nobilitie of England (whoſe cookes are for the moſt part muſicall headed Frenchmen and ſtrangers) doo moſt exceed, ſith there is no daie in maner that paſſeth ouer their heads, wherein they haue not onelie beefe, mutton, veale, lambe, kid, porke, conie, capon, pig, or ſo manie of theſe as the ſeaſon yeeldeth: but alſo ſome portion of the red or fallow deere, beſide great varietie of fiſh and wild foule, and thereto ſundrie other delicates wherein the ſweet hand of the ſeafaring Portingale is not wanting: ſo that for a man to dine with one of them, and to taſt of euerie diſh that ſtandeth before him (which few vſe to doo, but ech one feedeth vpon that meat him beſt liketh for the time, the beginning of euerie diſh notwithſtanding being reſerued vnto the greateſt perſonage that ſitteth at the table, to whome it is drawen vp ſtill by the waiters as order requireth, and from whome it deſcendeth againe euen to the lower end, whereby each one may taſt thereof) is rather to yeeld vnto a conſpiracie with a great deale of meat for the ſpeedie ſuppreſſion of naturall health, then the vſe of a neceſſarie meane to ſatiſfie himſelfe with a competent repaſt, to ſuſteine his bodie withall. But as this large feeding is not ſeene in their geſts, no more is it in their owne perſons, for ſith they haue dailie much reſort vnto their tables (and manie times vnlooked for) and thereto reteine great numbers of ſeruants, it is verie requiſit & expedient for them to be ſomewhat plentifull in this behalfe.

The chiefe part likewiſe of their dailie prouiſion is brought in before them (commonlie in ſiluer veſſell if they be of the degree of barons, biſhops and vpwards) and placed on their tables, whereof when they haue taken what it pleaſeth them, the reſt is reſerued, and afterward ſent downe to their ſeruing men and waiters, who feed thereon in like ſort with conuenient moderation, their reuerſion alſo being beſtowed vpon the poore, which lie readie at their gates in great numbers to receiue the ſame. This is ſpoken of the principall tables whereat the nobleman, his ladie and gueſtes are accuſtomed to ſit, beſide which they haue a certeine ordinarie allowance dailie appointed for their hals, where the chiefe officers and houſehold ſeruants (for all are not permitted by cuſtome to wait vpon their maſter) and with them ſuch inferiour gueſtes doo feed as are not of calling to aſſociat the noble man himſelfe (ſo that beſides thoſe afore mentioned, which are called to the principall table, there are commonlie fortie or three ſcore perſons fed in thoſe hals, to the great reliefe of ſuch poore ſutors and ſtrangers alſo as oft be partakers thereof and otherwiſe like to dine hardlie. As for drinke it is vſuallie filled in pots, gobblets, iugs, bols of ſiluer in noble mens houſes, alſo in fine Venice glaſſes of all formes, and for want of theſe elſewhere in pots of earth of ſundrie colours and moulds whereof manie are garniſhed with ſiluer) or at the leaſtwiſe in pewter, all which notwithſtanding are ſeldome ſet on the table, but each one as neceſſitie vrgeth, calleth for a cup of ſuch drinke as him liſteth to haue: ſo that when he hath taſted of it he deliuered the cup againe to ſome one of the ſtanders by, who making it cleane by pouring out the drinke that remaineth, reſtoreth it to the cupbord from whence he fetched the ſame. By this deuiſe (a thing brought vp at the firſt by Mneſteus of Athens, in conſeruation of the honour of Oreſtes, who had not yet made expiation for the death of his adulterous parents Egiſtus and Clitemneſtra) much idle tipling is furthermore cut off, for if the full pots ſhould continuallie ſtand at the elbow or neere the trencher, diuerſe would alwaies be dealing with them, whereas now they drinke ſeldome and onelie when neceſſitie vrgeth, and ſo auoid the note of great drinking, or often troubling of the ſeruitours with filling of their bols. Neuertheleſſe in the noble mens hals, this order is not vſed, neither in anie mans houſe commonlie vnder the degree of a knight or eſquire of great

great reuenues. It is a woꝛld to ſée in theſe our dales, wherin gold and ſiluer moſt aboundeth, how that our gentilitie as lothing thoſe mettals (bicauſe of the plentie) do now generallie chooſe rather the Venice glaſſes both foꝛ our wine and béere, than anie of thoſe mettals oꝛ ſtone wherein beforе time we haue béene accuſtomed to dꝛinke, but ſuch is the nature of man generallie that it moſt coueteth things difficult to be atteined: & ſuch is the eſtimation of this ſtuffe, that manie become rich onelie with their new trade vnto Murana (a towne néere to Venice ſituat on the Adꝛiatike ſea) from whence the verie beſt are dailie to be had, and ſuch as foꝛ beautie do well néere match the chriſtall oꝛ the ancient Murrhina vaſa, whereof now no man hath knowledge. And as this is ſéene in the gentilitie, ſo in the wealthie communaltie the like deſire of glaſſe is not neglected, whereby the gaine gotten by their purchaſe is yet much moꝛe increaſed to the benefit of the merchant. The poꝛeſt alſo will haue glaſſe if they may, but ſith the Venecian is ſomewhat too déere foꝛ them, they content themſelues with ſuch as are made at home of ferne and burned ſtone, but in fine all go one waie, that is, to ſhards at the laſt, ſo that our great expenſes in glaſſes (beſide that they bꝛéed much ſtrife toward ſuch as haue the charge of them) are woꝛſt of all beſtowed in mine opinion, bicauſe their péeces do turne vnto no pꝛofit. If the philoſophers ſtone were once found, and one part hereof mired with foꝛtie of molten glaſſe, it would induce ſuch a mettallicall toughneſſe therevnto, that a fall ſhould nothing hurt it in ſuch maner, yet it might peraduenture bunch oꝛ batter it, neuertheleſſe that inconuenience were quickelie to be reꝛeſſed by the hammer. But whither am I ſlipped? Ro. Bacon.

The gentlemen and merchants kéepe much about one rate, and each of them contenteth himſelfe with foure, fiue, oꝛ ſix diſhes, when they haue but ſmall reſoꝛt, oꝛ peraduenture with one, oꝛ two, oꝛ thrée at the moſt, when they haue no ſtrangers to accompanie them at their tables. And yet their ſeruants haue their oꝛdinarie diet aſſigned, beſide ſuch as is left at their maſters boꝛdes, & not appointed to be bꝛought thither the ſecond time, which neuertheleſſe is often ſéene generallie in veniſon, lambe, oꝛ ſome eſpeciall diſh, whereon the merchant man himſelfe liketh to feed when it is cold, oꝛ peraduenture foꝛ ſundꝛie cauſes incident to the féeder is better ſo, than if it were warme oꝛ hot. To be ſhoꝛt, at ſuch time as the merchants do make their oꝛdinarie oꝛ voluntarie feaſts, it is a woꝛld to ſée what great pꝛouiſion is made of all maner of delicat meats, from euerie quarter of the countrie, wherein beſide that they are often comparable herein to the nobilitie of the land, they will ſeldome regard anie thing that the butcher vſuallie killeth, but reiect the ſame as not woꝛthie to come in place. In ſuch caſes alſo geliffes of all colours mired with a varietie in the reꝛeſentation of ſundꝛie flowres, herbs, trées, foꝛmes of beaſts, fiſh, foules and fruits, and therevnto marchpaine wꝛought with no ſmall curioſitie, tarts of diuerſe hewes and ſundꝛie denominations, conſerues of old fruits foꝛren and home-bꝛed, ſuckets, codinacs, marmilats, marchpaine, ſugerbꝛead, gingerbꝛead, flowrentines, wildfoule, veniſon of all ſoꝛts, and ſundꝛie outlandiſh confections, altogither ſeaſoned with ſuger (which Plinie calleth *Mel ex arundinibus*, a deuiſe not common noꝛ greatlie vſed in old time at the table, but onelie in medicine, although it grew in Arabia, India & Sicilia) do generallie beare the ſwaie, beſides infinit deuiſes of our owne not poſſible foꝛ me to remember. Of the potato and ſuch venerous roots as are bꝛought out of Spaine, Poꝛtingale, and the Indies to furniſh vp our bankets, I ſpeake not, wherin our Nurſes of no leſſe foꝛce, and to be had about Croſbie Rauenſwath, do now begin to haue place.

But among all theſe, the kind of meat which is obteined with moſt difficultie and coſt, is commonlie taken foꝛ the moſt delicat, and thereupon each gueſt will ſoneſt deſiꝛe to fæd. And as all eſtats do exceed herin, I meane foꝛ ſtrangeneſſe and number of coſtlie diſhes, ſo theſe foꝛget not to vſe the like exceſſe in wine, in ſomuch as there is no kind to be had (neither anie where moꝛe ſtoꝛe of all ſoꝛts than in England, although we haue none growing with vs but pꝛcarelie to the pꝛopoꝛtion of 20000 oꝛ 30000 tun and vpwards, notwithſtanding the dailie reſtreints of the ſame bꝛought ouer vnto vs) wherof at great métings there is not ſome ſtoꝛe to be had. Neither do I meane this of ſmall wines onlie, as Claret, White, Red, French, &c: which amount to about fiftie ſiꝛ ſoꝛts, according to the number of regions from whence they come: but alſo of the thirtie kinds of Italian, Grecian, Spaniſh, Canarian, &c: whereof Veruage, Cate pument, Raſpis, Muſcadell, Romnie, Baſtard Tire, Oleie, Capꝛike, Clareie & Malmeſeie are not leaſt of all accompted of, bicauſe of their ſtrength and valure. Foꝛ as I haue ſaid in meat, ſo the ſtronger the wine is, the moꝛe it is deſiꝛed, by means wherof in old time, the beſt was called Theologicum, bicauſe it was had from the cleargie and religious men, vnto whoſe houſes manie of the laitie would often ſend foꝛ bottels filled with the ſame, being ſure that they would neither dꝛinke noꝛ be ſerued of the woꝛſt, oꝛ ſuch as was anie waies mingled oꝛ bꝛued by the vintener: naie the merchant would haue thought that his ſoule ſhould haue gone ſtreight waie to the diuell, if he ſhould haue ſerued them with other than the beſt. Furthermoꝛe when theſe haue had their courſe which nature yéeldeth, ſundꝛie ſoꝛts of artificiall ſtuffe, as ypocras & woꝛmewood wine muſt in like maner ſucceed in their turnes, beſide ſtale ale and ſtrong béere, which neuertheleſſe beare the greateſt bꝛunt in dꝛinking, and are of ſo manie ſoꝛts and ages as it pleaſeth the bꝛuer to make them.

The béere that is vſed at noble mens tables in their fꝛed and ſtanding houſes, is commonlie of a yeare old, oꝛ peraduenture of two yeares tunning oꝛ moꝛe, but this is not generall. It is alſo bꝛued in March and therefoꝛe called March béere, but foꝛ the houſehold it is vſuallie not vnder a moꝛeths age, each one coueting to haue the ſame ſtale as he may, ſo that it be not ſoꝛwe, and his bꝛead new as is poſſible ſo that it be not hot. Béere.

The artificer and huſbandman make greateſt accompt of ſuch meat as they may ſoneſt come by, and haue it quickelieſt readie, except it be in London when the companies of euery trade do mæt on their quarter dales, at which time they be nothing inferiour to the nobilitie. Their food alſo conſiſteth pꝛincipallie in béefe and ſuch meat as the butcher ſelleth, that is to ſaie, mutton, veale, lambe, poꝛke, &c: whereof he findeth great ſtoꝛe in the markets adioining, beſide ſouſe, bꝛawne, bacon, fruit, pies of fruit, foules of ſundꝛie ſoꝛts, cheeſe, butter, egs, &c: as the other wanteth it not at home, by his owne pꝛouiſion, which is at the beſt hand, and commonlie leaſt charge. In feaſting alſo this latter ſoꝛt, I meane the huſbandmen do exceed after their maner: eſpeciallie at bꝛidales, purifications of women, and ſuch od métings, where it is incredible to tell what meat is conſumed & ſpent, each one bꝛinging ſuch a diſh, oꝛ ſo manie with him as his wife & he do conſult vpon, but alwaies with this conſideration, that the léeſer fréend ſhall haue the better pꝛouiſion. This alſo is commonlie ſéene at theſe bankets, that the good man of the houſe is not charged with any thing ſauing bꝛead, dꝛink, ſauce, houſe- Artificer.

roome

rowne and fire. But the artificers in cities and good townes doo deale far otherwiſe, for albeit that ſome of them doo ſuffer their lawes to go oft before their clawes, and diuerſe of them by making good cheere doo hinder themſelues and other men: yet the wiſer ſort can handle the matter well inough in theſe iunkettings, and therfore their frugalitie deſerueth commendation. To conclude, both the artificer and the huſbandman are ſufficientlie liberall, & verie freendlie at their tables, and when they meet, they are ſo merie without malice, and plaine without inward Italian or French craft and ſubtiltie, that it would doo a man good to be in companie among them. Herein onelie are the inferiour ſort ſomewhat to be blamed, that being thus aſſembled, their talke is now and then ſuch as ſauoureth of ſcurrilitie and ribaldrie, a thing naturallie incident to carters and clownes, who thinke themſelues not to be merie & welcome, if their follith veines in this behalfe be neuer ſo little reſtreined. This is moreouer to be added in theſe meetings, that if they happen to ſtumble vpon a peece of veniſon, and a cup of wine or verie ſtrong beere or ale (which latter they commonlie prouide againſt their appointed daies) they thinke their cheere ſo great, and themſelues to haue fared ſo well, as the lord Maior of London, with whome when their bellies be full they will not often ſticke to make compariſon, becauſe that of a ſubiect there is no publike officer of anie citie in Europe, that may compare in port and countenance with him during the time of his office.

I haue dined as well as my lord maior.

I might here talke ſomewhat of the great ſilence that is vſed at the tables of the honorable and wiſer ſort, generallie ouer all the realme (albeit that too much deſerueth no cõmendation, for it belongeth to geſts neither to be *muti* nor *loquaces*) likewiſe of the moderate eating and drinking that is dailie ſeene, and finallie of the regard that each one hath to keepe himſelfe from the note of ſurfetting and dronkenneſſe (for which cauſe ſalt meat, except beefe, bacon, and porke are not anie whit eſteemed, and yet theſe three may not be much powdered) but as in rehearſall thereof I ſhould commend the noble man, merchant, and frugall artificer, ſo I could not cleare the meaner ſort of huſbandmen, and countrie inhabitants of verie much babbling (except it be here and there ſome od yeoman) with whome he is thought to be the merieſt that talketh of moſt ribaldrie, or the wiſeſt man that ſpeaketh faſteſt among them, & now and then ſurfetting and dronkenneſſe, which they rather fall into for want of heed taking, than wilfullie following or delighting in thoſe errours of ſet mind and purpoſe. It may be that diuers of them liuing at home with hard and pinching diet, ſmall drinke, and ſome of them hauing ſcarſe inough of that, are ſoneſt ouertaken when they come vnto ſuch bankets, howbeit they take it generallie as no ſmall diſgrace if they happen to be cupſhotten, ſo that it is a greefe vnto them though now ſans remedie ſith the thing is donne and paſt. If the freends alſo of the wealthier ſort come to their houſes from farre, they are commonlie ſo welcome till they depart as vpon the firſt daie of their comming, whereas in good townes and cities, as London, &c: men oftentimes complaine of little rome, and in reward of a fat capon or plentie of beefe and mutton, largelie beſtowed vpon them in the countrie, a cup of wine or beere with a napkin to wipe their lips, and an You are hartelie welcome is thought to be great interteinement, and therefore the old countrie clearkes haue framed this ſaieng in that behalfe, I meane vpon the interteinment of townesmens and Londoners after the daies of their aboad in this maner:

Primus iucundus, tollerabilis eſt q; ſecundus,
Tertius eſt vanus, ſed fetet quatriduanus.

The bread throughout the land is made of ſuch graine as the ſoile yeeldeth, neuertheleſſe the gentilitie commonlie prouide themſelues ſufficientlie of wheat for their owne tables, whileſt their houſehold and poore neighbours in ſome ſhires are inforced to content themſelues with rie, or barlie, pea and in time of dearth manie with bread made either of beans, peaſon, or otes, or of altogither and ſome acornes among, of which ſcourge the poreſt doo ſoneſt taſt, ſith they are leaſt able to prouide themſelues of better. I will not ſaie that this extremitie is oft ſo well to be ſeene in time of plentie as of dearth, but if I ſhould I could eaſilie bring my triall. For albeit that there be much more ground eared now almoſt in euerie place, than hath beene of late yeares, yet ſuch a price of corne continueth in each towne and market without any iuſt cauſe (except it be that landlords doo get licences to carie corne out of the land onelie to keepe vp the peeces for their owne priuate gaines and ruine of the common-wealth) that the artificer and poore laboring man, is not able to reach vnto it, but is driuen to content himſelfe with horſecorne, I meane, beanes, peaſon, otes, tares, and lintels: and therefore it is a true prouerbe, and neuer ſo well verified as now, that hunger ſetteth his firſt foot into the horſe manger. If the world laſt a while after this rate, wheate and rie will be no graine for poore men to feed on, and ſome catterpillers there are that can ſaie ſo much alreadie.

Bread.

A famine at hand is firſt ſeene in the horſe manger when the poore doo fall to horſecorne.

Of bread made of wheat we haue ſundrie ſorts, dailie brought to the table, whereof the firſt and moſt excellent is the manchet, which we commonlie call white bread, in Latine *Primarius panis*, whereof Budeus alſo ſpeaketh, in his firſt booke De aſſe, and our good workemen deliuer commonlie ſuch proportion, that of the flower of one buſhell with another they make fortie caſt of manchet, of which euerie loafe weigheth eight ounces into the ouen and ſir ounces out, as I haue beene informed. The ſecond is the cheat or wheaton bread, ſo named becauſe the colour therof reſembleth the graie or yellowiſh wheat, being cleane and well dreſſed, and out of this is the courſeſt of the bran (vſuallie called gurgeons or pollard) taken. The raueled is a kind of cheat bread alſo, but it reteineth more of the groſſe, and leſſe of the pure ſubſtance of the wheat: and this being more ſleightlie wrought vp, is vſed in the halles of the nobilitie, and gentrie onelie, whereas the other either is or ſhould be baked in cities & good townes of an appointed ſize (according to ſuch price as the corne doth beare) and by a ſtatute prouided by king John in that behalfe. The raueled cheat therfore is generallie ſo made that out of one buſhell of meale, after two and twentie pounds of bran be ſifted and taken from it (whereVnto they ad the gurgeons that riſe from the manchet) they make thirtie caſt, euerie loafe weighing eightéene ounces into the ouen and ſirteene ounces out: and beſide this they ſo handle the matter that to euerie buſhell of meale they ad onelie two and twentie or three and twentie pound of water, waſhing alſo in ſome houſes there corne before it go to the mill, whereby their manchet bread is more excellent in colour and pleaſing to the eie, than otherwiſe it would be. The nert ſort is named browne bread of the colour, of which we haue two ſorts, one baked vp as it cõmeth from the mill, ſo that neither the bran nor the floure are anie whit diminiſhed, this Celſus called *Autopiruspanis, lib. 2.* and putteth it in the ſecond place of nouriſhment. The other hath little or no floure left therein at all, howbeit he callech it *Panem Cibarium*, and it is not onlie the worſt and weakeſt of all the other ſorts, but alſo appointed in old time for ſeruants, ſlaues, and the inferiour kind of people to feed vpon.

Cheat bread.

Raueled bread.

The ſize of bread is verie ill kept or not at all looked vnto in the countrie townes and markets.

Browne bread.

Panis Cibarius.

vpon. Herevnto likewiſe, becauſe it is dzie and brickle in the wozking (foz it will hardlie be made vp handſomelie into loaues) ſome adde a portion of rie meale in our time, whereby the rough drineſſe oz drie roughnes therof is ſomwhat qualified, & then it is named miſcelin, that is, bread made of mingled cozne; albeit that diuerſe doo ſow oz mingle wheat & rie of ſet purpoſe at the mill, oz before it come there, and ſell the ſame at the markets vnder the aforeſaid name.

Summer wheat and winter barleie verie rare in England.

In champeigne countries much rie and barleie bread is eaten, but eſpectallie where wheat is ſcant and geſon. As foz the difference that is betweene the ſummer and winter wheat, moſt huſbandmen know it not, ſith they are neither acquainted with ſummer wheat, noz winter barleie: yet here and there I find of both ſozts, ſpectallie in the nozth and about Kendall, where they call it March wheat, and alſo of ſummer rie, but in ſo ſmall quantities as that I dare not pronounce them to be greatlie common among vs.

Drinke.

Our drinke, whoſe foze and continuance is partlie touched alreadie, is made of barleie, water, and hops, ſodden and mingled togither, by the induſtrie of our bruers, in a certeine exact proportion. But before our barleie doo come vnto their hands, it ſuſteineth great alteration, and is converted into malt, the making whereof, I will here ſet downe in ſuch order, as my ſkill therein may extend vnto (foz I am ſcarſe a good malſter) chiefelie foz that forreine writers haue attempted to deſcribe the ſame, and the making of our beere, wherein they haue ſhot ſo farre wide, as the quantitie of ground was betweene themſelues & their marke. In the meane time beare with me, gentle reader (I beſeech thee) that lead thee from the deſcription of the plentifull diet of our countrie, vnto the fond report of a ſeruile trade, oz rather from a table delicatelie furniſhed, into a muſkie malthouſe: but ſuch is now thy hap, wherfoze I praie thee be contented.

Malt.

Our malt is made all the yeare long in ſome great townes, but in gentlemens and yeomens houſes, who commonlie make ſufficient foz their owne expenſes onelie, the winter halfe is thought moſt meet foz that commoditie: howbeit the malt that is made when the willow doth bud, is commonlie wozſt of all, neuertheleſſe each one indeuoureth to make it of the beſt barleie, which is ſteeped in a ceſterne, in greater oz leſſe quantitie, by the ſpace of three daies and three nights, vntill it be throughlie ſoked. This being done, the water is drained from it by little and little, till it be quite gone. Afterward they take it out, and laieng it vpon the cleane flooze on a round heape, it reſteth ſo vntill it be readie to ſhoote at the rot end, which maltſters call Comming. When it beginneth therefoze to ſhot in this maner, they ſaie it is come, and then forthwith they ſpread it abroad, firſt thicke, and afterward thinner and thinner vpon the ſaid flooze (as it commeth) and there it lieth (with turning euerie daie foure oz fiue times) by the ſpace of one and twentie daies at the leaſt, the wozkeman not ſuffering it in anie wiſe to take anie heat, whereby the bud end ſhould ſpire, that bringeth forth the blade, and by which ouerſight oz burt of the ſtuffe it ſelfe the malt would be ſpoiled, and turne ſmall commoditie to the bruer. When it hath gone oz beene turned ſo long vpon the flooze, they carie it to a kill couered with haire cloth, where they giue it gentle heats (after they haue ſpread it there verie thin abroad) till it be drie, & in the meane while they turne it often, that it may be vniformelie dried. Foz the more it be dried (yet muſt it be done with ſoft fire) the ſweeter and better the malt is, and the longer it will continue, whereas if it be not dried downe (as they call it) but ſlackelie handled, it will breed a kind of wozme, called a wiuell, which groweth in the floure of the cozne, and in proceſſe of time will ſo eat out it ſelfe, that nothing ſhall remaine of the graine but euen the verie rind oz huſke.

Making of malt.

Wzuing of beere.

The beſt malt is tried by the hardneſſe & colour, foz if it looke freſh with a yellow hew, & thereto will write like a peece of chalke, after you haue bitten a kirnell in ſunder in the middeſt, then you may aſſure your ſelfe that it is dried downe. In ſome places it is dried at leiſure with wood alone, oz ſtrawe alone, in other with wood and ſtrawe togither, but of all the ſtrawe dried, is the moſt excellent. Foz the wood dried malt when it is brued, beſide that the drinke is higher of colour, it doth hurt and annoie the head of him that is not vſed thereto, becauſe of the ſmoake. Such alſo as vſe both indifferentlie doo barke, cleaue, and drie their wood in an ouen, thereby to remoue all moiſture that ſhould procure the fume, and this malt is in the ſecond place, & with the ſame likewiſe, that which is made with dried firze, brome, &c: whereas if they alſo be occupied greene, they are in maner ſo preiudiciall to the cozne, as is the moiſt wood. And thus much of our malts, in bruing wherof ſome grinde the ſame ſomewhat groſelie, and in ſeething well the liquoz that ſhall be put vnto it, they adde to euerie nine quarters of mault one of headcozne, which conſiſteth of ſundzie graine, as wheate, and otes ground. But what haue I to doo with this matter, oz rather ſo great a quantitie, wherewith I am not acquainted. Neuertheleſſe, ſith I haue taken occaſion to ſpeake of bruing, I will exemplifie in ſuch a proportion as I am beſt ſkilled in, becauſe it is the vſuall rate foz mine owne familie, and once in a moneth practiſed by my wife & hir maid ſeruants, who proceed withall after this maner, as ſhe hath oft informed me.

Hauing therefoze ground eight buſhels of good malt vpon our querne, where the toll is ſaued, ſhe addeth vnto it halfe a buſhell of wheat meale, and ſo much of otes ſmall ground, and ſo tempereth oz mixeth them with the malt, that you cannot eaſilie diſcerne the one from the other, otherwiſe theſe later would clunter, fall into lumps, and thereby become vnprofitable. The firſt liquoz which is full eightie gallons, according to the proportion of our furnace, ſhe maketh boiling hot, and then powreth it ſoftlie into the malt, where it reſteth (but without ſtirring) vntill hir ſecond liquoz be almoſt readie to boile. This done ſhe letteth hir math run till the malt be left without liquoz, oz at the leaſtwiſe the greateſt part of the moiſture, which ſhe perceiueth by the ſtaie and ſoft iſſue thereof, and by this time hir ſecond liquoz in the furnace is ready to ſeeth, which is put alſo to the malt as the firſt wozt alſo againe into the furnace wherevnto ſhe addeth two pounds of the beſt Engliſh hops, and ſo letteth them ſeeth togither by the ſpace of two houres in ſummer, oz an houre and an halfe in winter, whereby it getteth an excellent colour, and continuance without impeachment, oz anie ſuperfluous tartneſſe. But before ſhe putteth hir firſt wozt into the furnace, oz mingleth it with the hops, ſhe taketh out a veſſell full, of eight oz nine gallons, which ſhe ſhutteth vp cloſe, and ſuffereth no aire to come into it till it become yellow, and this ſhe reſerueth by it ſelfe vnto further vſe, as ſhall appeare hereafter, calling it Brackwozt oz Charwozt, and as ſhe ſaith it addeth alſo to the colour of the drinke, whereby it yeeldeth not vnto amber oz fine gold in hew vnto the eie. By this time alſo hir ſecond wozt is let runne, and the firſt being taken out of the furnace and placed to cole, ſhe returneth the middle wozt vnto the furnace, where it is ſtriken ouer, oz from whence it is taken againe, when it beginneth to boile and mached the ſecond time, whileſt the third liquoz is heat (foz there are three liquozs) no

Charwozt.

this

this laſt put into the furnace, when the ſecond is maſhed againe. When ſhe hath maſhed alſo the laſt liquor (and ſet the ſecond to coole by the firſt) ſhe letteth it runne, and then ſœtheth it againe with a pound and an halfe of new hops, or peraduenture two pounds as ſhe ſéeth cauſe by the goodneſſe or baſeneſſe of the hops, & when it hath ſodden in ſummer two houres & in winter an houre & an halfe, ſhe ſtriketh it alſo and reſerueth it vnto mixture with the reſt when time doth ſerue therefore. Finallie when ſhe ſetteth hir drinke togither, ſhe addeth to hir brackwort or charwort halfe an ounce of arras, and halfe a quarterne of an ounce of baiberries finelie powdered, and then putting the ſame into hir wort with an handfull of wheat flowre, ſhe proceedeth in ſuch vſuall order as common bruing requireth. Some in ſtéd of arras & baies adde ſo much long pepper onelie, but in hir opinion and my liking it is not ſo good as the firſt, and hereof we make thrée hoggeſheads of good beere, ſuch (I meane) as is méet for poore men as I am to liue withall, whoſe ſmall maintenance (for what great thing is fortie pounds a yeare *Computatis computandis* able to performe) may indure no déeper cut, the charges whereof groweth in this manner. I value my malt at ten ſhillings, my wood at foure ſhillings which I buie, my hops at twentie pence, the ſpice at two pence, ſeruants wages two ſhillings ſix pence with meat and drinke, and the wearing of my veſſell at twentie pence, ſo that for my twentie ſhillings I haue ten ſcore gallons of béere or more, notwithſtanding the loſſe in ſœthing, which ſome being loth to forgo do not obſerue the time, and therefore ſpéed thereafter in their ſucceſſe, and worthilie. The continuance of the drinke is alwaie determined after the quantitie of the hops, ſo that being well hopped it laſteth longer. For it kéedeth vpon the hop, and holdeth out ſo long as the force of the ſame continueth, which being extinguiſhed the drinke muſt be ſpent or elſe it dieth, and becommeth of no value.

In this trade alſo our bruers obſerue verie diligentlie the nature of the water, which they dailie occupie; and ſoile through which it paſſeth, for all waters are not of like goodneſſe, ſith the fatteſt ſtanding water is alwaies the beſt: for although the waters that run by chalke or cledgie ſoiles be good, and next vnto the Thames water which is the moſt excellent, yet the water that ſtandeth in either of theſe is the beſt for vs that dwell in the countrie, as whereon the ſunne lieth longeſt, and fatteſt fish is bred. But of all other the ſennie and mooriſh is the worſt, and the cléereſt ſpring water next vnto it. In this buſines therfore the skilfull workeman doth redéeme the iniquitie of that element, by changing of his proportions, which trouble in ale (ſometime our onelie, but now taken with manie for old and ſickmens drinke) is neuer ſéene nor heard of. Howbeit as the bere well ſodden in the bruing, and ſtale, is cléere and well coloured as muſcadell or malueſeie, or rather yellow as the gold noble as our potknights call it: ſo our ale which is not at all or verie little ſodden, and without hops, is more thicke, fulſome, and of no ſuch continuance, which are thrée notable things to be conſidered in that liquor. But what for that? Certes I know ſome aleknights ſo much addicted therevnto, that they will not ceaſſe from morow vntill euen to viſit the ſame, cleanſing houſe after houſe, till they defile themſelues, and either fall quite vnder the bord, or elſe not daring to ſtirre from their ſtoles, ſit ſtill pinking with their narrow eies as halfe ſléeping, till the fume of their aduerſarie be digeſted that he may go to it afreſh. Such ſlights alſo haue the alewiues for the vtterance of this drinke, that they will mire it with roſen and ſalt: but if you heat a knife red hot, and quench it in the ale ſo nære the bottome of the pot as you can put it, you ſhall ſée the roſen come forth hanging on the knife. As for the force of ſalt, it is well knowne by the effect, for the more the drinker tipleth, the more he may, and ſo doth he carrie off a drie dronken noll to bed with him, except his lucke be the better. But to my purpoſe.

In ſome places of England, there is a kind of drinke made of apples, which they call cider or pomage, but that of peares is named pirrie; and both are ground and preſſed in preſſes made for the nonce. Certes theſe two are verie common in Suſſex, Kent, Worceſter, and other ſtéeds, where theſe ſorts of fruits do abound, howbeit they are not their onelie drinke at all times, but referred vnto the delicate ſorts of drinke, as metheglin is in Wales, whereof the Welſhmen make no leſſe accompt (and not without cauſe if it be well handled) than the Gréekes did of their Ambroſia or Nectar, which for the pleaſantneſſe thereof, was ſuppoſed to be ſuch as the gods themſelues did delite in. There is a kind of ſwith ſwaſh made alſo in Eſſex, and diuerſe other places, with honicombs and water, which the homelie countrie wiues, putting ſome pepper and a little other ſpice among, call mead, verie good in mine opinion for ſuch as loue to be looſe bodied at large, or a little eaſed of the cough, otherwiſe it differeth ſo much frō the true metheglin, as chalke from cheeſe. Trulie it is nothing elſe but the waſhing of the combes, when the honie is wrong out, and one of the beſt things that I know belonging thereto is, that they ſpend but litle labour and leſſe coſt in making of the ſame, and therefore no great loſſe if it were neuer occupied. Hitherto of the diet of my countrimen, & ſomewhat more at large peraduenture than manie men will like of, wherefore I thinke good now to finiſh this tractation, and ſo will I, when I haue added a few other things incident vnto that which goeth before, whereby the whole proceſſe of the ſame ſhall fullie be deliuered, & my promiſe to my frend in this behalfe performed.

Heretofore there hath béene much more time ſpent in eating and drinking than commonlie is in theſe daies, for whereas of old we had breakefaſts in the forenoone, beuerages, or nuntions after dinner, and thereto reare ſuppers generallie when it was time to go to reſt (a toie brought into England by hardie Canutus and a cuſtome whereof Athenæus alſo ſpeaketh lib. 1, albeit Hippocrates ſpeake but of twiſe at the moſt *lib. 2. De rat. vict. in feb. ac.*) Now theſe od repaſts thanked be God are verie well left, and ech one in maner (except here and there ſome yong hungrie ſtomath that cannot faſt till dinner time) contenteth himſelfe with dinner & ſupper onelie. The Normans miſliking the gormandiſe of Canutus, ordeined after their arriuall, that no table ſhould be couered aboue once in the daie, which Huntingdon imputeth to their auarice: but in the end either waring wearie of their owne frugalitie, or ſuffering the cockle of old cuſtome to ouergrow the good corne of their new conſtitution, they fell to ſuch libertie, that in often féeding they ſurmounted Canutus ſurnamed the hardie. For whereas he couered his table but thrée or foure times in the daie, theſe ſpred their clothes fiue or ſix times, and in ſuch wiſe as I before rehearſed. They brought in alſo the cuſtome of long and ſtatelie ſitting at meat, whereby their feaſts reſembled thoſe ancient pontificall bankets whereof Macrobius ſpeaketh lib. 3. cap. 13. and Plin. lib. 10. cap. 10. and which for ſumptuouſneſſe of fare, long ſitting and curioſitie ſhewed in the ſame, exceéded all other mens feaſting, which fondneſſe is not yet left with vs, notwithſtanding that it proueth verie beneficiall for the phyſicians, who moſt abound, where moſt exceſſe and miſgouernement of our bodies do apéere, although

Cider. Perrie.

Metheglin.

Mead.

Hydromel.

Leſſe time ſpent in eating than heretofore.

Canutus a glutton, but the Normans at the laſt exceéded him in that vice.

Li.4.epig.8.

although it be a great expenſe of time, and worthie of reprehenſion. For the nobilitie, gentlemen, and merchantmen, eſpeciallie at great meetings doo ſit commonlie till two or three of the clocke at afternoone, ſo that with manie is an hard matter, to riſe from the table to go to euening prayer, and returne from thence to come time inough to ſupper. For my part I am perſuaded that the purpoſe of the Romans at the firſt was to reduce the ancient Roman order or Daniſh cuſtome in feeding once in the daie, and toward the euening, as I haue red and noted. And indeed the Romans had ſuch a cuſtome, and likewiſe the Grecians, as may appeare by the words of Socrates, who ſaid vnto the Atheniens, *Oriente ſole conſilium, occidente conuiuium eſt cogitandum*, although a little ſomething was allowed in the morning to yong children which we now call a breakefaſt. Plato called the Sicilians monſters, for that they vſed to eat twiſe in the daie. Among the Perſians onelie the king dined when the ſunne was at the higheſt, and ſhadow of the ſtile at the ſhorteſt: the reſt (as it is reported) went alwaies but once to meat when their ſtomachs craued it, as the Canariens and Indians doo in my time (who if appetite ſerue refuſe not to go to meat at anie houre of the night) and likewiſe the ancient Caſpians. Yet Arhianus noteth it as a rare thing li.4.cap.16. that the Tyrhenians had taken vp an ill cuſtome to feed twiſe in a daie. Howbeit at the laſt they fell generallie to allow of ſuppers toward the ſetting of the ſunne in all places, becauſe they would haue their whole familie to go to meat togither, and whervnto they would appoint their gueſts to come at a certeine length of the ſhadow, to be perceiued in their dials. And this is more to be noted of antiquitie, that if anie man (as Plutarch ſaith) did feed before that time, he incurred a note of reprehenſion as if he had beene gluttonous and giuen vnto the bellie, 8. Sympoſ.6. Their ſlaues in like ſort were glad, when it grew to the tenth foot, for then were they ſure ſone after to go to meat. In the ſcripture we read of manie ſuppers & few dinners, onelie for that dining was not greatlie vſed in Chriſts time, but taken as a thing latelie ſprong vp, when pampering of the bellie began to take hold, occaſioned by idlenes and great abundance of riches. It is prettie to note in Iuuenal, how he taunteth Marius for that he gaue himſelfe to drinke before the *ninth houre of the daie: for thinking three houres to be too little for the filling of his bellie, he began commonlie at eight, which was an houre too ſone. Afterwards when gurmandiſe increaſed yet more amongſt the Romans, and from them was diſperſed vnto all nations vnder their ſubiection, it came to paſſe that ſix houres onlie were appointed to worke and conſult in, and the other ſix of the daie to feed and drinke in, as the verſe ſaith:

Long ſitting reprehended.

*That is at three of the clocke at afternoone.

Prima ſalutantes, atque altera conſinet horas,
Exercet raucos tertia cauſidicos.
In quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
Sexta quies laſſis, ſeptima finis erit.
Sufficit in nonam nitidis octaua paleſtris,
Imperat extructos frangere nona thoros.
Hora libellorum decima eſt Eupheme meorum,
Temperat Ambroſias cum tua cura dapes.
Et bonus æthereo laxatur Nectare Cæſar,
Ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
Tunc admitte iocos: greſſu timet ire licenti,
Ad matutinum noſtra Thaleia Iouem.

Thus we ſee how the ancient maner of the Gentils was to feed but once in the daie, and that toward night, till gluttonie grew on and altered this good cuſtome. I might here remember alſo their maner in pulling off their ſhoes when they ſat downe to meat, whereof Martial ſaith:

Depoſui ſoleas, affertur protinus ingens
Inter lactucas oxygarumq; liber, &c.

And Tullie alſo remembreth where he ſaith *Seruum à pedibus ad te miſi*, which office grew of the ſaid cuſtome, as *Seruus ad limina* did of keeping the doore, though in moſt houſes both theſe were commonlie one mans office, alſo *Ad pocula* of attending on the cup. But becauſe the good writers of our time haue obſerued theſe phraſes and ſuch like with their cauſes and deſcriptions, in their infinite and ſeuerall treatiſes, I ſhall not need to diſcourſe anie farther vpon them. With vs the nobilitie, gentrie, and ſtudents, doo ordinarilie go to dinner at eleuen before none, and to ſupper at fiue, or betweene fiue and ſix at afternoone. The merchants dine and ſup ſeldome before twelue at none, and ſix at night eſpeciallie in London. The huſbandmen dine alſo at high none as they call it, and ſup at ſeuen or eight: but out of the tearme in our vniuerſities the ſcholers dine at ten. As for the pooreſt ſort they generallie dine and ſup when they may, ſo that to talke of their order of repaſt, it were but a needleſſe matter. I might here take occaſion alſo to ſet downe the varietie vſed by antiquitie in their beginnings of their diets, wherin almoſt euerie nation had a ſeuerall faſhion, ſome beginning of cuſtome (as we doo in ſummer time) with ſalets at ſupper, and ſome ending with lettice, ſome making their entrie with egs, and ſhutting vp their tables with mulberies, as we doo with fruit and conceits of all ſorts. Diuerſe (as the old Romans) began with a few crops of rue, as the Venetians did with the fiſh called Gobius, the Belgies with butter (or as we doo yet alſo) with butter and egs vpon fiſh daies. But whereas we commonlie begin with the moſt groſſe food, and end with the moſt delicate, the Scot thinking much to leaue the beſt for his mentall ſeruants maketh his entrance at the beſt, ſo that he is ſure therby to leaue the worſt. We vſe alſo our wines by degrees, ſo that the hoteſt commeth laſt to the table, but to ſtand vpon ſuch toies would ſpend much time, and turne to ſmall profit, wherfore I will deale with other things more neceſſarie for this turne.

Wherevnto Maximus Planudes (except my memorie faile me) addeth this ſcholie after his maner, ſaieng that from morning vnto none (which is ſix of the clocke after the vnequall accompt) each one doth trauell about his neceſſarie affaires, that being done, he betaketh himſelfe to the refreſhing of his bodie, which is noted and ſet downe by the Greeke letters of the diall (wherewith the Romane horologies were marked, as ours be with their numerall letters) whereby the time is deſcribed; for thoſe which point 7,8,9 and 10 are written with ξ η θ ι, and being ioined yeeld ξηθι, which in Engliſh ſignifieth ſo much as liue, as if they ſhould meane, eat that thou maiſt liue. But how Martial diuided his daie, and with him the whole troope of the learned & wiſer ſort, theſe verſes following doo more euidentlie declare:

Of their apparell and attire.

Chap.7.

AN Engliſhman, indeuoring ſometime to write of our attire, made ſundrie platformes for his purpoſe, ſuppoſing by ſome of them to find out one ſtedfaſt ground whereon to build the ſumme of his diſcourſe. But in the end (like an orator long without exerciſe) when he ſaw what

a difficult peece of woꝛke he had taken in hand, he gaue ouer his trauell, and onelie dꝛue the picture of a naked man, vnto whome he gaue a paire of sheares in the one hand, and a peece of cloth in the other, to the end he ſhould ſhape his apparell after ſuch faſhion as himſelfe liked, ſith he could find no kind of garment that could pleaſe him anie while togither, and this he called an Engliſhman. Certes this writer (otherwiſe being a lewd popiſh hypocrite and vngratious prieſt) ſhewed himſelfe herein not to be altogether void of iudgement, ſith the phantaſticall follie of our nation, euen from the courtier to the carter is ſuch, that no foꝛme of apparell liketh vs longer than the firſt garment is in the wearing, if it continue ſo long and be not laid aſide, to receiue ſome other trinket newlie deuiſed by the fickle headed tailoꝛs, who couet to haue ſeuerall trickes in cutting, thereby to dꝛaw fond cuſtomers to moꝛe expenſe of monie. Foꝛ my part I can tell better how to inueigh againſt this enoꝛmitie, than deſcribe anie certeintie of our attire: ſithence ſuch is our mutabilitie, that to daie there is none to the Spaniſh guiſe, to moꝛrow the French toies are moſt fine and delectable, yer long no ſuch apparell as that which is after the high Alman faſhion, by and by the Turkiſh maner is generallie beſt liked of, otherwiſe the Moꝛiſco gowns, the Barbarian ſléeues, the mandilion woꝛne to Collie weſton ward, and the ſhoꝛt French bꝛeches make ſuch a comelie veſture, that except it were a dog in a doublet, you ſhall not ſée anie ſo diſguiſed, as are my countrie men of England. And as theſe faſhions are diuerſe, ſo likewiſe it is a woꝛld to ſée the coſtlineſſe and the curioſitie: the exceſſe and the vanitie: the pompe and the bꝛauerie: the change and the varietie: and finallie the ficklenеſſe and the follie that is in all degrées: in ſomuch that nothing is moꝛe conſtant in England than inconſtancie of attire. Oh how much coſt is beſtowed now adaies vpon our bodies and how little vpon our ſoules! how manie ſutes of apparell hath the one and how little furniture hath the other? how long time is aſked in decking vp of the firſt, and how little ſpace left wherin to feed the later? how curious, how nice alſo are a number of men and women, and how hardlie can the tailoꝛ pleaſe them in making it fit foꝛ their bodies? how manie times muſt it be ſent backe againe to him that made it? what chafing, what fretting, what repꝛochfull language doth the poꝛe woꝛkeman beare awaie? and manie times when he doth nothing to it at all, yet when it is bꝛought home againe it is verie fit and handſome; then muſt we put it on, then muſt the long ſeames of our hoſe be ſet by a plumb-line, then we puffe, then we blow, and finallie ſweat till we dꝛop, that our clothes may ſtand well vpon vs. I will ſaie nothing of our heads, which ſometimes are polled, ſometimes curled, oꝛ ſuffered to grow at length like womans lockes, manie times cut off aboue oꝛ vnder the eares round as by a woodden diſh. Neither will I meddle with our varietie of beards, of which ſome are ſhauen from the chin like thoſe of Turks, not a few cut ſhoꝛt like to the beard of marques Otto, ſome made round like a rubbing bꝛuſh, other with a pique de vant (O fine faſhion!) oꝛ now and then ſuffered to grow long, the barbers being growen to be ſo cunning in this behalfe as the tailoꝛs. And therfoꝛe if a man haue a leane and ſtreight face, a marqueſſe Ottons cut will make it bꝛoad and large; if it be platter like, a long ſlender beard will make it ſéeme the narrower; if he be weſell becked, then much heare left on the cheekes will make the owner loke big like a bowdled hen, and ſo grim as a goſe, if Coꝛnelis of Chelmereſſoꝛd ſaie true: manie old men do weare no beards at all. Some luſtie courtiers alſo and gentlemen of courage, do weare either rings of gold, ſtones, oꝛ pearle in their eares, whereby they imagine the woꝛkemanſhip of God not to be a little amended. But herein they rather diſgrace than adoꝛne their perſons, as by their niceneſſe in apparell, foꝛ which I ſaie moſt nations do not vnluſtlie deride vs, as alſo foꝛ that we do ſéeme to imitate all nations round about, vs wherein we be like to the Polypus oꝛ Chameleon; and therevnto beſtow moſt coſt vpon our arſes, & much moꝛe than vpon all the reſt of our bodies, as women do likewiſe vpon their heads and ſhoulders. In women alſo it is moſt to be lamented, that they do now farre exceed the lightneſſe of our men (who neuertheleſſe are tranſfoꝛmed from the cap euen to the verie ſhoo) and ſuch ſtaring attire as in time paſt was ſuppoſed méet foꝛ none but light houſewiues onelie, is now become an habit foꝛ chaſt and ſober matrones. What ſhould I ſaie of their doublets with pendant codpéeſes on the bꝛeſt full of iags & cuts, and ſléeues of ſundꝛie colours? their galligaſcons to beare out their bums & make their attire to ſit plum round (as they terme it) about them? their fardingals, and diuerſlie coloured nether ſtocks of ſilke, ierdſeie, and ſuch like, whereby their bodies are rather deforemed than commended? I haue met with ſome of theſe trulles in London ſo diſguiſed, that it hath paſſed my ſkill to diſcerne whether they were men oꝛ women.

Andrew Boꝛd.

Strange cuts.

Much coſt vpon the bodie, and little vpon the ſoule

Beards.

Exceſſe in women.

Thus it is now come to paſſe, that women are become men, and men tranſfoꝛmed into monſters: and thoſe good gifts which almightie God hath giuen vnto vs to releéue our neceſſities withall (as a nation turning altogither the grace of God into wantonneſſe, foꝛ

Luxuriant animi rebus plerunque ſecundis)

not otherwiſe beſtowed than in all exceſſe, as if we will not otherwiſe how to conſume and waſt them. I pꝛaie God that in this behalfe our ſinne be not like vnto that of Sodoma and Gomoꝛha, whoſe eꝛꝛoꝛs were pꝛide, exceſſe of diet, and abuſe of Gods benefits aboundantlie beſtowed vpon them, beſide want of charitie toward the poꝛe, and certeine other points which the pꝛophet ſhutteth vp in ſilence. Certes the common-wealth cannot be ſaid to floꝛiſh where theſe abuſes reigne, but is rather oppꝛeſſed by vnreaſonable exactions made vpon rich farmers, and of poꝛe tenants, wherewith to mainteine the ſame. Neither was it euer merier with England, than when an Engliſhman was knowne abꝛoad by his owne cloth, and contented himſelfe at home with his fine carſie hoſen, and a meane flop: his coat, gowne, and cloake of bꝛowne blue oꝛ puke, with ſome pꝛetie furniture of veluet oꝛ furre, and a doublet of ſad tawnie, oꝛ blacke veluet, oꝛ other comelie ſilke, without ſuch cuts and gawꝛiſh colours as are woꝛne in theſe daies, and neuer bꝛought in but by the conſent of the French, who thinke themſelues the gaieſt men, when they haue moſt diuerſities of iagges and change of colours about them. Certes of all eſtates our merchants do leaſt alter their attire, and therefoꝛe are moſt to be commended: foꝛ albeit that which they weare be verie fine and coſtlie, yet in foꝛme and colour it repꝛeſenteth a great péece of the ancient gratitie apertеining to citizens and burgeſſes, albeit the yonger ſoꝛt of their wiues both in attire and coſtlie houſekeeping can not tell when and how to make an end, as being women in déed in whome all kind of curioſitie is to be found and ſeene, and in farre greater meaſure than in women of higher calling. I might here name a ſoꝛt of hewes deuiſed foꝛ the nonce, wherewith to pleaſe phantaſticall heads, as goſeturd gréene, peaſe poꝛrige tawnie, popingaie blue, luſtie gallant, the diuell in the head (I ſhould ſaie the hedge) and ſuch like: but I paſſe them ouer thinking

Attire of merchants.

Exech. 16.

thinking it ſufficient to haue ſaid thus much of apparell generallie, when nothing can particularlie be ſpoken of ante conſtancie thereof.

Of the high court of parlement, and *authoritie of the ſame.*

Chap. 8.

IN ſpeaking of parlement lawe, I haue in the chapiter precedent ſaid ſomewhat of this high and moſt honorable court. Wherefore it ſhall not need to remember ought heere that is there touched: I will onelie ſpeake of other things therefore concerning the eſtate of aſſemblie, whereby the magnificence thereof ſhall be in ſome part better knowne vnto ſuch as ſhall come after vs. This houſe hath the moſt high and abſolute power of the realme, for thereby kings and mightie princes haue from time to time beene depoſed from their thrones, lawes either enacted or abrogated, offendors of all ſorts puniſhed, and corrupted religion either diſannulled or reformed, which commonlie is diuided into two houſes or parts, the higher or vpper houſe conſiſting of the nobilitie, including all euen vnto the baron and biſhop: the lower called the nether houſe of knights, ſquires, gentlemen, and burgeſſes of the commons, with whome alſo the inferior members of the cleargie are ioined, albeit they ſit in diuerſe places, and theſe haue to deale onelie in matters of religion, till it come that they ioine with the reſt in confirmation of all ſuch acts as are to paſſe in the ſame. For without the conſent of the three eſtates, that is, of the nobilitie, cleargie, and laitie, ſildome anie thing is ſaid to be concluded vpon, and brought vnto the prince for his conſent and allowance. To be ſhort, whatſoeuer the people of Rome did in their *Centuriatis* or *Tribunitijs comitijs*, the ſame is and may be done by authoritie of our parlement houſe, which is the head and bodie of all the realme, and the place wherein euerie particular perſon is intended to be preſent, if not by himſelfe, yet by his aduocate or atturneie. For this cauſe alſo any thing ther enacted is not to be miſliked, but obeied of all men without contradiction or grudge. By the ſpace of fortie dais, before this aſſemblie be begun, the prince ſendeth his writs vnto all his nobilitie particularlie, ſummoning them to appeare at the ſaid court. The like he doth to the ſhiriffe of euerie countie; with commandement to chooſe two knights within ech of their counties, to giue their aduiſe in the name of the ſhire, likewiſe to euerie citie and towne, that they may chooſe their burgeſſes, which commonlie are men beſt ſkilled in the ſtate of their citie or towne, either for the declaration of ſuch benefits as they want, or to ſhew which waie to reforme ſuch enormities as thorough the practiſes of ill members are practiſed and crept in among them: the firſt being choſen by the gentlemen of the ſhire, the other by the citizens and burgeſſes of euerie citie and towne, whereby that court is furniſhed. The firſt daie of the parlement being come, the lords of the vpper houſe, as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall, do attend vpon the prince, who rideth thither in perſon, as it were to open the doore of their authoritie; and being come into the place, after prairs made, and cauſes ſhewed, wherefore ſome not preſent are inforced to be abſent, each man taketh his place according to his degree. The houſe it ſelfe is curiouſlie furniſhed with tapiſſerie, and the king being ſet in his throne, the ſpirituall lords take vp the ſide of the houſe which is on the right hand of the prince, and the temporall lords the left, I meane, ſo well dukes and earles, as viſcounts and barons, as I before remembred. In the middeſt and a pretie diſtance from the prince, lie certeine ſackes ſtuffed with woll or haire, wheron the iudges of the realme, the maſter of the rols, and ſecretaries of eſtate do ſit. Howbeit theſe iudges haue no voice in the houſe, but onelie ſhew what their opinion is of ſuch & ſuch matters as come in queſtion among the lords, if they be commanded ſo to do: as the ſecretaries are to anſwer ſuch letters or things paſſed in the councell, whereof they haue the cuſtodie & knowledge. Finallie, the conſent of this houſe is giuen by each man ſeuerallie, firſt for himſelfe being preſent, then ſeuerallie for ſo manie as he hath letters & proxies directed vnto him, ſaieng onlie, Content or Not content, without any further debating. Of the number aſſembled in the lower houſe, I haue alreadie made a generall report in the chapter precedent, and their particulars ſhall follow here at hand. Theſe therefore being called ouer by name do chooſe a ſpeaker, who is as it were their mouth, and him they preſent vnto the prince, in whom it is either to refuſe or admit him by the lord chancellor, who in the princes name doth anſwer vnto his oration, made at his firſt entrance & preſentation into the houſe, wherein he declareth the good liking that the king hath conceiued of his choiſe vnto that office & function. Being admitted, he maketh fiue requeſts vnto that honorable aſſemblie, firſt that the houſe may (as in times paſt) inioy hir former liberties and priuileges: ſecondlie, that the congregates may frankelie ſhew their minds vpon ſuch matters as are to come in queſtion: thirdlie, that if anie of the lower houſe do giue anie cauſe of offenſe during the continuance of this aſſemblie, that the ſame may inflict ſuch puniſhment vpon the partie culpable, as to the ſaid aſſemblie ſhall be thought conuenient: fourthlie, if anie doubt ſhould ariſe among them of the lower houſe, that he in their name might haue free acceſſe and recourſe vnto his maieſtie & lords of the higher houſe, to be further inſtructed and reſolued in the ſame: fiftlie and laſt, he craueth pardon for himſelfe, if in his going to and fro betweene the houſes, he forget or miſtake anie thing, requiring that he may returne and be better informed in ſuch things as he did faile in without offenſe: vnto which petitions the lord chancellor doth anſwer as apperteineth, and this is done on the firſt daie, or peraduenture the ſecond, if it could not be conuenientlie performed in the firſt.

Beſide the lord chancellor there is another in the vpper houſe called the clerke of the parlement, whoſe office is to read the billes. For euerie thing that commeth in conſultation in either houſe, is firſt put in writing in paper, which being read, he that liſteth riſeth vp and ſpeaketh either with it or againſt it, and ſo one after another ſo long as they ſhall thinke good; that done they go to another, and ſo to the third, &c: the inſtrument ſtill wholie or in part raced or reformed, as cauſe moueth for the amendment of the ſame if the ſubſtance be reputed neceſſarie. In the vpper houſe the lord chancellor demandeth if they will haue it ingroſſed, that is to ſaie, put in parchment, which done, it is read the third time, & after debating of the matter to and fro if the more part do conclude withall, vpon the vtterance of theſe words, Are ye contented that it be enacted or no? the clerke writeth vnderneath Soit baille aux commons, and ſo when they ſee time they ſend ſuch billes approued to the commons by ſome of them that ſit on the woll ſackes, who comming into the houſe, & demanding licence to ſpeake, do vſe this kind of words or the like to the ſpeaker, as ſir Thomas Smith doth deliuer

Places of the peers.

Of the lower houſe. Speaker.

Petitions of the ſpeaker.

Clerke of the parlement.

The parlement houſe diuideth the eſtate of the realme into nobilitie and the commons.

Time of ſummons.

Of the vpper houſe.

and ſet them downe, whoſe onelie direction I vſe, and almoſt word for word in this chapter, requiting him with the like borowage as he hath vſed toward me in his diſcourſe of the ſundrie degrées of eſtates in the common-wealth of England, which (as I hope) ſhall be no diſcredit to his trauell. Maſter ſpeaker, my lords of the vpper houſe haue paſſed amongſt them, and thinke good that there ſhould be enacted by parlement ſuch an act, and ſuch an act (reading their titles in ſuch ſort as he receiued them) they praie you therefore to conſider & ſhew your aduiſe vpon them. Which done they go their waie, and the doore being ſhut after them, the ſpeaker declareth what meſſage was ſent vnto them, and if they be then void of conſultation vpon anie other bill, he preſentlie demandeth what their pleaſures are, firſt of one, then of another, &c: which are ſolemnelie read, or their contents breeflie ſhewed and then debated vpon among them.

Of the nether houſe.

The ſpeaker ſitteth in a chaire erected ſomewhat higher than the reſt, that he may ſée and be ſéene of all men, and before him on a lower ſeat ſitteth his clerke, who readeth ſuch bils as be firſt propounded in the lower houſe, or ſent downe from the lords: for in that point each houſe hath equall authoritie to propound what they thinke meet, either for the abrogation of old or making of new lawes. All bils be thrise and on diuerſe daies read and diſputed vpon before they come to the queſtion, which is, whether they ſhall be enacted or not; and in diſcourſe vpon them, verie good order is vſed in the lower houſe, wherein he that will ſpeake giueth notice thereof by ſtanding vp bare headed. If manie ſtand vp at once (as now & then it happeneth) he ſpeaketh firſt that was firſt ſéene to moue out of his place, and telleth his tale vnto the ſpeaker, without rehearſall of his name whoſe ſpeches he meaneth to confute, ſo that with a perpetuall oration & not with altercation theſe diſcourſes are continued. But as the partie confuted may not replie on that date, ſo one man can not ſpeake twiſe to one bill in one daie though he would change his opinion, but on the next he may ſpeake againe, & yet but once as afore. No vile, ſeditious, vnreuerent or biting words are vſed in this aſſemblie, yet if anie happen to eſcape and be vttered, the partie is puniſhed according to the cenſure of the aſſemblie and cuſtome in that behalfe. In the afternoone they ſit not except vpon ſome vrgent occaſion, neither hath the ſpeaker anie voice in that houſe, wherewith to moue or diſſuade the furtherance or ſtaie of anie bill, but his office is vpon the reading thereof breeflie to declare the contents. If anie bill paſſe, which commeth vnto them from the lords, it is thus ſubſcribed, Les commons ont aſſentus: ſo if the lords agrée vpon anie bill ſent vnto them from the commons, it is ſubſcribed after this maner, Les ſeigniours ont aſſentus. If it be not agreed on after thrise reading, there is conference required and had betweene the vpper and nether houſes, by certeine appointed for that purpoſe vpon the points in queſtion, whereupon if no finall agréement by the more part can be obteined, the bill is daſhed and reiected, or (as the ſaieng is) cleane raſt out of the doores. None of the nether houſe can giue his voice by proxie but in his owne perſon, and after the bill twiſe read, then ingroſſed and the third time read againe & diſcourſed vpon, the ſpeaker aſketh if they will go to the queſtion, whervnto if they agrée he holdeth vp the bill & ſaith; So manie as will haue this bill go forward ſaie Yea: herevpon ſo manie as allow of the thing crie Yea, the other No, & as the crie is more or leſſe on either ſide, ſo is the bill to ſtaie or elſe go forward. If the number of negatiue and affirmatiue voices ſeeme to be equall, ſo manie as allow of the bill go downe withall, the reſt ſit ſtill, and being told by the poll the greater part doo carrie away the matter. If ſomething be allowed and in ſome part reiected, the bill is put to certeine committées to be amended, & then being brought in againe, it is read and paſſeth or ſtaieth as the voices yéeld therto. This is the order of the paſſage of our lawes, which are not ratified till both houſes haue agréed vnto them, and yet not holden for law till the prince haue giuen his aſſent. Vpon the laſt daie therfore of the parlement or ſeſſion, the prince commeth in perſon againe into the houſe, in his robes as at the firſt. Where after thanks giuen to the prince, firſt in the name of the lords by the lord chancellor, then in the name of the commons by the ſpeaker for his great care of the welfare of his realme, &c: the lord chancellor in the princes name giueth thanks to the lords & commons likewiſe for their paines, with promiſe of recompenſe as opportunitie & occaſion ſhall ſerue therefore. This done one readeth the title of euerie act paſſed in that ſeſſion, and then it is noted vpon them what the prince doth allow of with theſe words, Le roy veult. If the prince like not of them, it is written vpon them Le roy aduiſera. And ſo thoſe acts are daſhed, as the other from thenceforth are taken and holden for law, and all imprinted except ſuch as concerne ſome priuat perſons, which are onelie exemplified vnder the ſeale of the parlement, as priuileges to his vſe. And this is the ſumme of the maner after which our parlements in England are holden, without which no forfaiture of life, member or lands of anie Engliſhman, where no law is ordeined for the ſame before hand, is auailable or can take place amongſt vs. And ſo much in maner out of the third chapiter of the ſecond booke of the common-wealth of England written by ſir Thomas Smith: whervnto I will annex a table of the counties, cities, boroughs and ports, which ſend knights, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement houſe, and doth inſue as followeth.

The names of counties, cities, boroughs, and ports, ſending knights, citizens, burgeſſes, and barons to the parlement of England.

Bedford.

Knights. 2
The borough of Bedford. 2

Buckingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Buckingham. 2
The borough of Wickombe. 2
The borough of Aileſburie. 2

Barckeſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of New Windſore. 2
The borough of Reading. 2
The borough of Wallingford. 2
The borough of Abington. 2

Cornewall.

Knights. 2
The borough of Launceſton *alias* Newport. 2
The borough of Leſkerd. 2
The borough of Loſtwithiell. 2
The borough of Dunheuet. 2
The borough of Truro. 2
The borough of Bodmin. 2
The borough of Helſton. 2
The borough of Saltath. 2
The borough of Camelford. 2
The borough of Portighſam *alias* Portlow. 2
The borough of Graunpount.
The borough of Eaſtlow. 2
The borough of Pzurie. 2
The borough of Tregonie. 2
The borough of Trebenna *alias* Bodminie. 2
The borough of S. Jes. 2

The

The borough of Fowaie. 2
The borough of Germine. 2
The borough of Michell. 2
The borough of ſaint Maries. 2

Cumberland.

Knights. 2
The citie of Caerleill. 2

Cambridge.

Knights. 2
The borough of Cambridge. 2

Cheſter.

Knights. 2
The citie of Cheſter. 2

Darbie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Darbie. 2

Deuon.

Knights. 2
The citie of Exceſter. 2
The borough of Totnes. 2
The borough of Plimmouth. 2
The borough of Bardneſtable. 2
The borough of Plimton. 2
The borough of Tauiſtocke. 2
The borough of Dartmouth, Clifton, and Herdines. 2

Dorſetſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Poole. 2
The borough of Dorcheſter. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of Melcombe. 2
The borough of Waiemouth. 2
The borough of Burepoꝛt. 2
The borough of Shaftesburie. 2
The borough of Warham. 2

Eſſex.

Knights. 2
The borough of Colcheſter. 2
The borough of Malden. 2

Yorkeſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Yorke. 2
The borough of Kingſton vpon Hull. 2
The borough of Knareſborough. 2
The borough of Skardborough. 2
The borough of Rippon. 2
The borough of Hudon. 2
The borough of Borroughbridge. 2
The borough of Thuſke. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Beuerleie. 2

Gloceſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Gloceſter. 2
The borough of Cirenceſter. 2

Huntingtonſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Huntingdon. 2

Hertfordſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of ſaint Albons. 2

Herefordſhire.

Knights. 2
The citie of Hereford. 2
The borough of Lempſter. 2

Kent.

Knights. 2
The citie of Canturburie. 2
The citie of Rocheſter. 2
The borough of Maidſtone. 2
The borough of Quinborough. 2

Lincolne.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lincolne. 2
The borough of Boſtone. 2
The borough of great Grimeſbie. 2
The borough of Stamford. 2
The borough of Grantham. 2

Leiceſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Leiceſter. 2

Lancaſterſhire.

Knights. 2
The borough of Lancaſter. 2
The borough of Preſton in Andernes. 2
The borough of Liuerpoole. 2
The borough of Newton. 2
The borough of Wigan. 2
The borough of Clithero. 2

Middleſex.

Knights. 2
The citie of London. 4
The citie of Weſtminſter. 2

Monmouth.

Knights. 2
The borough of Monmouth. 1

Northhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Peterborough, 2
The borough of Northhampton, 2
The borough of Barkleie. 2
The borough of Higham Ferres. 1

Notingham.

Knights. 2
The borough of Notingham. 2
The borough of Eſtreatford. 2

Norffolke.

Knights. 2
The citie of Norwich. 2
The borough of Linne. 2
The borough of great Iernemouth. 2
The borough of Thetford. 2
The borough of caſtell Riſing. 2

Northumberland.

Knights. 2
The borough of New caſtell vpon Tine. 2
The borough of Morpeth. 2
The borough of Barwike. 2

Oxford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Orford. 2
The borough of Bamburie. 2
The borough of Woodſtocke. 2

Rutland.

Knights. 2

Surreie.

Knights. 2
The borough of Southwarke. 2
The borough of Blechingleigh. 2
The borough of Rigate. 2
The borough of Guildford. 2
The borough of Gatton. 2

Stafford.

Knights. 2
The citie of Lichfield. 2
The borough of Stratford. 2
The borough of New caſtell vnder Linne. 2
The borough of Tamworth. 2

Salop.

Knights. 2
The borough of Salop. 2
The borough of Bruges *alias* Bridgenorth. 2
The borough of Ludlow. 2
The borough of Wenlocke. 2

Southhampton.

Knights. 2
The citie of Winton. 2

The borough of Southhampton. 2
The borough of Portesmouth. 2
The borough of Peterfield. 2
The borough of Stockebridge. 2
The borough of Christ church. 2

Suffolke.

Knights. 2
The borough of Ipeswich. 2
The borough of Dunwich. 2
The borough of Oxford. 2
The borough of Aldeborough. 2
The borough of Sudburie. 2
The borough of Eya. 2

Summerset.

Knights. 2
The citie of Bristow. 2
The citie of Bath. 2
The citie of Welles. 2
The borough of Taunton. 2
The borough of Bridgewater. 2
The borough of Pinched. 2

Sussex.

Knights. 2
The citie of Chichester. 2
The borough of Horsham. 2
The borough of Pidhurst. 2
The borough of Lewes. 2
The borough of Shoreham. 2
The borough of Brember. 2
The borough of Stening. 2
The borough of Eastgrenested. 2
The borough of Arundell. 2

Westmerland.

Knights. 2
The borough of Apulbie. 2

Wilton.

Knights. 2
The citie of New Sarum. 2
The borough of Wilton. 2
The borough of Dounton. 2
The borough of Hindon. 2
The borough of Heitesburie. 2
The borough of Westburie. 2
The borough of Caine. 2
The borough of Deuises. 2
The borough of Chipenham. 2
The borough of Malmesburie. 2
The borough of Cricklade. 2
The borough of Budwin. 2
The borough of Ludgesale. 2
The borough of Old Sarum. 2
The borough of Wotton Basset. 2
The borough of Marleborough. 2

Worcester.

Knights. 2
The citie of Worcester. 2
The borough of Withee. 2

Warwike.

Knights. 2
The citie of Couentrie. 2
The borough of Warwike. 2

Barons of the ports.

Hastings. 2
Winchelsete. 2
Rie. 2
Rumneie. 2
Hithe. 2
Douer. 2
Sandwich. 2

Mountgomerie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Mountgomerie. 1

Flint.

Knights. 1
The borough of Flint. 1

Denbigh.

Knights. 1
The borough of Denbigh. 1

Merionneth.

Knights. 1
The borough of Hauerfordwest. 1

Carneruan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Carneruan. 1

Angleseie.

Knights. 1
The borough of Beaumares. 1

Carmarden.

Knights. 1
The borough of new Carmarden. 1

Pembroke.

Knights. 1
The borough of Pembroke. 1

Cairdigan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cairdigan. 1

Brecknoch.

Knights. 1
The borough of Brecknoch. 1

Radnor.

Knights. 1
The borough of Radnor. 1

Glamorgan.

Knights. 1
The borough of Cardiffe. 1

¶ The summe of the foresaid number of the common house *videlicet*, of

Knights. 90.
Citizens. 46.
Burgesses. 289.
Barons. 14.
439.

Of the lawes of England since his *first inhabitation.*

Chap. 9.

THat Samothes or Dis gaue the first lawes to the Celtes (whose kingdome he erected about the fiftéenth of Nimrote) the testimonie of Berosus is prowfe sufficient For he not onelie affirmeth him to publish the same in the fourth of Ninus, but also addeth thereto, how there liued none in his daies of more excellent wisdome, nor politike inuention than he, whereof he was named Samothes, as some other do affirme. What his lawes were, it is now altogither vnknowne, as most things of this age; but that they were altered againe at the comming of Albion, no man can absolutelie denie, sith new lords vse commonlie to giue new lawes, and conquerors abolish such as were in vse before them. Samothes. Albion.

The like also may be affirmed of our Brute, notwithstanding that the certeine knowledge so well of the one as of the other is perished, and nothing worthie memorie left of all their doings. Somewhat yet we haue of Mulmutius, who not onelie subdued such princes as reigned in this land, but also brought the realme to good order, that long before had bene torne with ciuill discord. But where his lawes are to be found, and which they be from other mens, no man liuing in these daies is able to determine. Brute. Mulmutius.

Certes

Certes, there was neuer prince in Britaine, of whome his ſubiects conceiued better hope in the beginning, than of Bladudus, and yet I read of none that made ſo ridiculous an end: in like ſort there hath not reigned anie monarch in this Ile, whoſe waies were more feared at the firſt, than thoſe of Dunwallon (king Henrie the fift excepted) and yet in the end he proued ſuch a prince, as after his death there was in maner no ſubiect, that did not lament his funerals. And this onelie for his policie in gouernance, ſeuere adminiſtration of iuſtice, and prouident framing of his lawes and conſtitutions, for the gouernment of his ſubiects. His people alſo, coueting to continue his name vnto poſteritie, intituled thoſe his ordinances according to their maker, calling them by the name of the lawes of Mulmutius, which indured in execution among the Britons, ſo long as our homelings had the dominion of this Ile. Afterward when the comeling Saxons had once obteined the ſuperioritie of the kingdom, the maieſtie of thoſe lawes fell for a time into ſuch decaie, that although *Non penitùs cecidit, tamen potuit cecidiſſe videri*, as Leland ſaith, and the decrees themſelues had vtterlie periſhed in deed at the verie firſt brunt, had they not beene preſerued in Wales, where they remained amongſt the relikes of the Britons, & not onlie vntill the comming of the Normans, but euen vntill the time of Edward the firſt, who obteining the ſouereigntie of that portion, indeuoured verie earneſtlie to extinguiſh thoſe of Mulmutius, and to eſtabliſh his owne.

The praiſe of Dunwallon.

But as the Saxons at their firſt arriuall did what they could to aboliſh the Britiſh lawes, ſo in proceſſe of time they yelded a little to relent, & not ſo much to abhorre and miſlike of the lawes of Mulmutius, as to receiue and imbrace the ſame, eſpeciallie at ſuch time as the ſaid Saxon princes entered into amitie with the Britiſh nobilitie, and after that began to ioine in matrimonie with the Britiſh ladies, as the Britiſh barons did with the Saxon frowes, both by an eſpeciall ſtatute and decree, wherof in another treatiſe I haue made mention at large. Hereof alſo it came to paſſe in the end, that they were contented to make a choiſe, and inſert no ſmall numbers of them into their owne volumes, as may be gathered by thoſe of Athelbert the great, ſurnamed king of Kent, Inas and Alfred kings of the weſt Saxons, and diuerſe other yet extant to be ſeene. Such alſo was the lateward eſtimation of them, that when anie of the Saxon princes went about to make new ordinances, they cauſed thoſe of Mulmutius (which Gildas ſometime tranſlated into Latine) to be firſt expounded vnto them, and in this peruſall if they found anie there alreadie framed, that might ſerue their turnes, they forthwith reuiued the ſame, and annexed them to their owne.

But in this dealing, the diligence of Alfred is moſt of all to be commended, who not onelie choſe out the beſt, but gathered togither all ſuch whatſoeuer the ſaid Mulmutius had made: and then to the end they ſhould lie no more in corners as forlorne bookes, and vnknowne to the learned of his kingdome, he cauſed them to be turned into the Saxon tong, wherein they continued long after his deceaſe.

As for the Normans, who for a ſeaſon neither regarded the Britiſh, nor cared for the Saxon ſtatutes, they alſo at the firſt vtterlie miſliked of them, till at the laſt, when they had well weied that one kind of regiment is not conuenient for all peoples, and that no ſtranger, being in a forren countrie newlie brought vnder obedience, could make ſuch equall ordinances, as he might thereby gouerne his new common-wealth without ſome care & trouble: they fell in with ſuch a deſire to ſee by what rule the ſtate of the land was gouerned in time of the Saxons, that hauing peruſed the ſame, they not onelie commended their maner of regiment, but alſo admitted a great part of their lawes (now currant vnder the name of S. Edwards lawes, and vſed as principles and grounds) whereby they not onelie qualified the rigor of their owne, and mitigated their almoſt intollerable burden of ſeruitude which they had latelie laid vpon the ſhoulders of the Engliſh, but alſo left vs a great number of the old Mulmutian lawes, whereof the moſt part are in vſe to this daie as I ſaid, albeit that we know not certeinlie how to diſtinguiſh them from others, that are in ſtrength amongſt vs.

After Dunwallon, the next lawgiuer was Martia, whome Leland ſurnameth Proba; and after him John Bale alſo, who in his Centuries doth iuſtlie confeſſe himſelfe to haue beene holpen by the ſaid Leland, as I my ſelfe do likewiſe for manie things conteined in this treatiſe. She was wife vnto Gutteline king of the Britons: and being made protectrix of the realme, after hir huſbands deceaſſe in the nonage of hir ſonne, and ſeeing manie things dailie to grow vp among hir people worthie reformation, ſhe deuiſed ſundrie and thoſe verie politike lawes, for the gouernance of hir kingdome, which hir ſubiects when ſhe was dead and gone, did name the Martian ſtatutes. Who turned them into Latine, as yet I do not read, howbeit (as I ſaid before of the lawes of Mulmutius) ſo the ſame Alfred cauſed thoſe of this excellentlie well learned ladie (whome diuerſe commend alſo for hir great knowledge in the Greeke tong) to be turned into his owne language, whereupon it came to paſſe that they were dailie executed among his ſubiects, afterward allowed of (among the reſt) by the Normans, and finallie remaine in vſe in theſe our daies, notwithſtanding that we can not diſſener them alſo verie readilie from the other.

Martia.

The ſeuenth alteration of lawes was practiſed by the Saxons, for I ouerpaſſe the vſe of the ciuill ordinances vſed in Rome, finallie brought hither by the Romans, & yet in perfect notice among the Ciuilians of our countrie, though neuer generallie nor fullie receiued by all the ſeuerall regions of this Iland. Certes there are great numbers of theſe later, which yet remaine in ſound knowlege, and are to be read, being comprehended for the moſt part vnder the names of the Martian and the Saxon law. Beſide theſe alſo I read of the Dane law, ſo that the people of middle England were ruled by the firſt, the weſt Saxons by the ſecond, as Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire, and part of Herfordſhire were by the third, of all the reſt the moſt inequall and intollerable. And as in theſe daies what ſoeuer the prince in publike aſſemblie commanded vpon the neceſſitie of his ſubiects, or his owne voluntarie authoritie, was counted for law: ſo none of them had appointed anie certeine place, whereunto his people might repaire at ſtred times for iuſtice, but cauſed them to reſort commonlie to their palaces, where in proper perſon they would often determine their cauſes, and ſo make ſhorteſt worke, or elſe commit the ſame to the hearing of other, and ſo diſpatch them awaie. Neither had they any houſe appointed to aſſemble in for the making of their ordinances, as we haue now at Weſtminſter. Wherefore Edmund gaue lawes at London & Lincolne, Ethelred at Yabam, Alfred at Wodſtock and Wannetting, Athelſtane in Exceſter, Grecklade, Feuerſham, & Thunderſleie, Canutus at Wincheſter, &c: other in other places, whereof this may ſuffice.

Martian law. Saxon law. Dane law.

Among other things alſo vſed in the time of the Saxons, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſet downe the forme of their Ordalian law, which they brought hither with

with them from beyond the ſeas out of Scithia, and vſed onelie in the triall of guiltie and vnguiltineſſe. Certes it conteined not an ordinarie proceeding by daies and termes, as in the ciuill and common law we ſee practiſed in theſe daies; but a ſhort diſpatch & triall of the matter by fire or water, whereof at this preſent I will deliuer the circumſtance, as I haue faithfullie tranſlated it out of an ancient volume, and conferred with an vnprinted copie, latelie publiſhed by M. Lambert, and now extant to be read. Neuertheleſſe, as the Scithians were the firſt that vſed this practiſe, ſo I read that it was taken vp and occupied alſo in France in proceſſe of time, yea and likewiſe in Grecia, as G. Pachymerus remembreth in the firſt booke of his hiſtorie (which beginneth with the empire of M. Paleologus) where he noteth his owne ſight and vew in that behalfe. But what ſtand I hereupon?

Ordalian law. Fire.

The Ordalian (ſaith the aforeſaid author) was a certeine maner of purgation vſed two waies, whereof the one was by fire, the other by water. In the execution of that which was done by fire, the partie accuſed ſhould go a certeine number of paſes, with an hot iron in his hand, or elſe bare foted vpon certeine plough ſhares red hot, according to the maner. This iron was ſometime of one pound weight, and then was it called ſingle Ordalium, ſometimes of three, and then named treble Ordalium, and whoſoeuer did beare or tread on the ſame without hurt of his bodie he was adiudged giltleſſe, otherwiſe if his ſkin were ſcorched, he was forthwith condemned as guiltie of the treſpaſſe whereof he was accuſed, according to the proportion and quantitie of the burning.

Water.

There were in like ſort two kinds of triall by the water, that is to ſay, either by hot or cold: and in this triall the partie thought culpable, was either tumbled into ſome pond or huge veſſell of cold water, wherein if he continued for a ſeaſon, without wreſtling or ſtrugling for life, he was forthwith acquited as guiltleſſe of the fact wherof he was accuſed: but if he began to plunge, and labour once for breath immediatlie vpon his falling into that liquor, he was by and by condemned as guiltie of the crime. Or elſe he did thruſt his arme vp to the ſhoulder into a lead, copper, or caldron of ſeething water, from whence if he withdrew the ſame without anie maner of damage, he was diſcharged of further moleſtation: otherwiſe he was taken for a treſpaſſer, and puniſhed accordinglie. The fierie maner of purgation belonged onelie to noble men and women, and ſuch as were free borne: but the huſbandmen and villaines were tried by water. Wherof to ſhew the vnlearned dealing and blind ignorance of thoſe times, it ſhall not be impertinent to ſet forth the whole maner, which continued here in England vntill the time of king Iohn, who ſeeing the manifold ſubtilties in the ſame (by ſundrie ſorcerous and artificiall practiſes whereby the working of the ſaid elements were reſtreined) did extinguiſh it altogither as flat lewdneſſe and bouerie. The Rubrike of the treatiſe entereth thus: Here beginneth the execution of iuſtice, whereby the giltie or vngiltie are tried by hot iron. Then it followeth: After accuſation lawfullie made, and three daies ſpent in faſting and prair, the prieſt being clad in all his holie veſtures, ſauing his veſtiment, ſhall take the iron laid before the altar with a paire of tongs, and ſinging the hymne of the three children, that is to ſaie, O all ye workes of God the Lord, and in Latine *Benedicite omnia opera, &c:* he ſhall carie it ſolemnelie to the fire (alreadie made for that purpoſe) and firſt ſaie theſe words ouer the place where the fire is kindled, whereby this purgation ſhall be made in Latine as inſueth: *Benedic Domine Deus locum iſtum, vt ſit nobis in eo ſanitas, ſanctitas, caſtitas, virtus, & victoria, & ſanctimonia, humilitas, bonitas, lenitas, & plenitudo legis, & obedientia Deo patri, & filio, & ſpiritui ſancto. Hæc benedictio ſit ſuper hunc locum, & ſuper omnes habitantes in eo.* In Engliſh: Bleſſe thou O Lord this place, that it may be to vs health, holineſſe, chaſtitie, vertue, and victorie, pureneſſe, humilitie, goodneſſe, gentleneſſe, and fulneſſe of the law, and obedience to God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt. This bleſſing be vpon this place, and all that dwell in it. Then followeth the bleſſing of the fire.

Domine Deus pater omnipotens, lumen indeficiens, exaudi nos, quia tu es conditor omnium luminum. Benedic Domine hoc lumen, quod ante ſanctificatum eſt, qui illuminaſti omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum (vel mundum) vt ab eo lumine accendamur igne claritatis tuæ. Et ſicut igne illuminaſti Moſen, ita nunc illumina corda noſtra, & ſenſus noſtros, vt ad vitam æternam mereamur peruenire, per Chriſtum, &c. Lord God father almightie, light euerlaſting, heare vs, ſith thou art the maker of all lights. Bleſſe O Lord this light, that is alreadie ſanctified in thy ſight, which haſt lightned all men that come into the world (or the whole world) to the end that by the ſame light we may be lightned with the ſhining of thy brightneſſe. As thou diddeſt lighten Moſes, ſo now illuminate our hearts, and our ſenſes, that we may deſerue to come to euerlaſting life, through Chriſt our, &c. This being ended let him ſay the *Pater noſter, &c:* then theſe words: *Saluum fac ſeruum, &c. Mitte ei auxilium Deus, &c. De Sion tuere eum, &c. Domine exaudi orationem meam, &c.* That is, O Lord ſaue thy ſeruant, &c. Send him helpe O God from thy holie place, &c. Defend him out of Sion, &c. Lord heare, &c. The Lord be with you, &c.

The praier. *Benedic Domine ſancte pater, omnipotens Deus, per inuocationem ſanctiſſimi nominis tui, & per aduentum filij tui, atque per donum ſpiritus paracleti, ad manifeſtandum verum iudicium tuum, hoc genus metalli, vt ſit ſanctificatum, & omni dæmonum falſitate procul remota, veritas veri iudicij tui fidelibus tuis manifeſtaſiat, per eundem Dominum, &c.* In Engliſh: Bleſſe we beſeech thee O Lord, holie father, euerlaſting God, through the inuocation of thy moſt holie name, by the comming of thy ſonne, and gift of the holie ghoſt, and to the manifeſtation of thy true iudgement, this kind of mettall, that being hallowed, and all fraudulent practiſes of the diuels vtterlie remoued, the manifeſt truth of thy true iudgement may be reuealed, by the ſame Lord Ieſus, &c.

After this, let the iron be laid into the fire, and ſprinkled with holie water, and whileſt it heateth, let the prieſt go to maſſe, and doo as order requireth: and when he hath receiued the hoſt, he ſhall call the man that is to be purged (as it is written hereafter) firſt adiuring him, and then permitting him to communicate according to the maner.

The office of the maſſe.

Iuſtus es Domine, &c. O Lord thou art iuſt, &c.

The Praier.

Abſolue quæſumus Domine delicta famuli tui, vt à peccatorum ſuorum nexibus, quæ pro ſua fragilitate contraxit, tua benignitate liberetur, & in hoc iudicio quoad meruit, iuſtitia tua præueniente, ad veritatis cenſuram peruenire mereatur, per Chriſtum Dominum, &c. That is: Pardon we beſeech thee O Lord, the ſinnes of thy ſeruant, that being deliuered from the burden of his offenſes, wherewith he is intangled, he may be cleared by thy benignitie, and in this his triall (ſo far as he hath deſerued, thy mercie preuenting him) he may come to the knowledge of the truth, by Chriſt our Lord, &c.

The Goſpell. Mar. 10.

In illo tempore, cùm egreſſus eſſet Ieſus in via, procurrens quidam genuflexo ante eum, rogabat eum dicens, Magiſter bone,

bone, quid faciam vt vitam æternam percipiam? Ieſus autem dixit ei, Quid me dicis bonum? &c. In thoſe daies when Jeſus went forth toward his iourneie, and one méeting him in the waie running, and kneeling vnto him, aſked him ſaieng: Good maſter what ſhall I do that I may poſſeſſe eternall life? Jeſus ſaid vnto him, Whie calleſt thou me good? &c. Then followeth the ſecret, and ſo forth all of the reſt of the maſſe. But before the partie dooth communicate, the prieſt ſhall vſe theſe words vnto him: *Adiuro te per patrem, & filium, & ſpiritum ſanctum, & per veram chriſtianitatem quam ſuſcepiſti, & per ſanctas relliquias quæ in iſta eccleſia ſunt, & per baptiſmum quo te ſacerdos regenerauit, vt non præſumas vllo modo communicare, neq; accedere ad altare, ſi hoc feciſti aut conſenſiſti, &c.* I adiure thée by the father, the ſonne, and the holie Ghoſt, by the true chriſtendome which thou haſt receiued, by the holie relikes which are in this church, and by the baptiſme wherewith the prieſt hath regenerated thée, that thou preſume not by any maner of means to communicate, nor come about the altar, if thou haſt done or conſented vnto this, whereof thou art accuſed, &c. Here let the prieſt ſuffer him to communicate, ſaieng; *Corpus hoc, & ſanguis Domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti, ſit tibi ad probationem hodie.* This bodie & this blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be vnto thee a triall this daie. The praier: *Perceptis Domine Deus noſter ſacris muneribus, ſupplices deprecamur, vt huius participatio ſacramenti à propriis nos reatibus expediat, & in famulo tuo veritatis ſententiam declaret, &c.* Hauing receiued O Lord God theſe holie myſteries, we humblie beſéech thée that the participation of this ſacrament may rid vs of our guiltineſſe, and in this thy ſeruant ſet forth the truth. Then ſhall follow *Kyrieleſon*, the Letanie, and certeine Pſalmes, and after all them *Oremus*: Let vs praie. *Deus qui per ignem ſigna magna oſtendens, Abraham puerum tuum de incendio Chaldæorum quibuſdam pereuntibus eruiſti, Deus qui rubum ardere ante conſpectum Moſis & minimè comburi permiſiſti, Deus qui de incendio fornacis Chaldaicis pleriſque ſuccenſis, tres pueros tuos illæſos eduxiſti, Deus qui incendio ignis populum Sodomæ inuoluens, Loth famulum tuum cum ſuis ſalute donaſti, Deus qui in aduentu ſancti ſpiritus tui, illuſtratione ignis fideles tuos ab infidelibus decreuiſti: oſtende nobis in hoc prauitatis noſtræ examine virtutem eiuſdem ſpiritus, &c: & per ignis huius feruorem diſcernere infideles, vt à tactu eius cuius inquiſitio agitur, conſcius exhorreſcat, & manus eius comburatur, innocens verò pœnitus illæſus permaneat, &c. Deus cuius noticiam nulla vnquam ſecreta effugiunt, fidei noſtræ tua bonitate reſponde, & præſta vt quiſquis purgandi ſe gratia, hoc ignitum tulerit ferrum, vel abſoluatur vt innocens, vel noxius detegatur, &c.* In Engliſh thus: O God, which in ſhewing great tokens by fire diddeſt deliuer Abraham thy ſeruant from the burning of the Chaldeis, whileſt other periſhed; O God which ſuffereddſt the buſh to burne in the ſight of Moſes, and yet not to conſume; O God which deliuereddſt the three children from bodilie harme in the fornace of the Chaldeis, whileſt diuerſe were conſumed; O God which by fire diddſt wraſp the people of Sodome in their deſtruction, and yet ſauedſt Lot and his daughters from perill; O God which by the ſhining of thy brightneſſe at the comming of the holie ghoſt in likeneſſe of fire, diddeſt ſeparate the faithfull from ſuch as beléeued not: ſhew vnto vs in the triall of this our wickedneſſe, the power of the ſame ſpirit, &c: and by the heat of this fire diſcerne the faithfull from the vnfaithfull, that the guiltie whole cauſe is now in triall, by touching thereof, may tremble and feare, and his hand be burned, or being innocent, that he may remaine in ſafetie, &c. O God from whom no ſecrets are hidden, let thy goodneſſe anſwer to our faith, and grant that whoſoeuer in this purgation, ſhall touch and beare this iron, may either be tried an innocent, or reueled as an offendor, &c. After this the prieſt ſhall ſprinkle the iron with holie water, ſaieng: The bleſſing of God the father, the ſonne, and the holie ghoſt, be vpon this iron, to the reuelation of the iuſt iudgement of God. And forthwith let him that is accuſed beare it, by the length of nine foot, and then let his hand be wrapped and ſealed vp for the ſpace of three daies: after this if any corruption or raw fleſh appeare where the iron touched it, let him be condemned as guiltie: if it be whole and ſound, let him giue thanks to God. And thus much of the firie Ordalia, where vnto that of the water hath ſo preciſe relation, that in ſetting forth of the one, I haue alſo deſcribed the other, wherefore it ſhall be but in vaine to deale anie further withall. Water.

The cup yet in vſe.

Hitherto alſo (as I thinke) ſufficientlie of ſuch lawes as were in vſe before the conqueſt. Now it reſteth that I ſhould declare the order of thoſe, that haue bene made and receiued ſince the comming of the Normans, referred to the eight alteration or change of our maner of gouernance, and therevnto do produce three ſcore and foure ſeuerall courts. But for aſmuch as I am no lawier, and therefore haue but little ſkill to proceed in the ſame accordinglie, it ſhall ſuffice to ſet downe ſome generall diſcourſe of ſuch as are vſed in our daies, and ſo much as I haue gathered by report and common heare-ſaie.

We haue therefore in England ſundrie lawes, and firſt of all the ciuill, vſed in the chancerie, admeraltie, and diuerſe other courts, in ſome of which, the ſeuere rigor of iuſtice is often ſo mitigated by conſcience, that diuerſe things are thereby made eaſie and tollerable, which otherwiſe would appeare to be méere iniurie and extremitie. Ciuill law.

We haue alſo a great part of the Canon law dailie practiſed among vs, eſpeciallie in caſes of tithes, contracts of matrimonie, and ſuch like, as are vſuallie to be ſéene in the conſiſtories of our biſhops and higher courts of the two archbiſhops, where the exerciſe of the ſame is verie hotlie followed. The third ſort of lawes that we haue are our owne, & thoſe alwaies ſo variable, & ſubiect to alteration and change, that oft in one age, diuerſe iudgements do paſſe vpon one maner of caſe, whereby the ſaieng of the poet, Canon law.

Tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur in illis,

may verie well be aplied vnto ſuch, as being vrged with theſe words; In ſuch a yeare of the prince, this opinion was taken for found law; do anſwer nothing elſe, but that the iudgement of our lawiers is now altered, ſo that they ſaie farre otherwiſe. The regiment that we haue therefore after our owne ordinances, dependeth vpon three lawes, to wit, Statute law, Common law, Cuſtomaris law, and Preſcription, according to the triple maner of our trials and iudgments, which is by parlement, verdict of twelue men at an aſſiſe, or wager of battell, of which the laſt is little vſed in our daies, as no appeale dooth hold in the firſt and laſt rehearſed. But to returne to my purpoſe. Lawiers of England not alwaies conſtant in iudgment.

The firſt is deliuered vnto vs by parlement, which court, being for the moſt part holden at Weſtminſter neere London, is the higheſt of all other, & conſiſteth of three ſeuerall ſorts of people, that is to ſaie, the nobilitie, cleargie, and commons of this realme. And thereto is not ſummoned, but vpon vrgent occaſion when the prince doth ſée his time, and that by ſeuerall writs, dated commonlie full ſir weekes before it begin to be holden. Such lawes as are agréed vpon in the higher houſe by the lords ſpirituall and temporall, and in the lower houſe by the commons and bodie of the realme (whereof the conuocation of the cleargie holden in Poules, or if occaſion ſo require in Weſtminſter church, is a member) there ſpeaking by the mouth of the knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes, remaine in the end to be confirmed Parlement law.

by

by the prince, who commonlie reſorteth thither of cuſtome, vpon the firſt and laſt daies of this court, there to vnderſtand what is done, and giue his rotall conſent to ſuch ſtatutes as him liketh of. Comming therefore thither into the higher houſe, and hauing taken his throne, the ſpeaker of the parlement (for one is alwaies appointed to go betweene the houſes, as an indifferent mouth for both) readeth openlie the matters there determined by the ſaid three eſtates, and then craueth the princes conſent and finall confirmation to the ſame. The king hauing heard the ſumme and principall points of each eſtatute briefflie recited vnto him, anſwereth in French with great deliberation vnto ſuch as he liketh (Il nous plaiſt) but to the reſt Il ne plaiſt, whereby the latter are made void and fruſtrate. That alſo which his maieſtie liketh of, is hereby authoriſed, confirmed, & euer after holden for law, except it be repealed in anie the like aſſemblie. The number of the commons aſſembled in the lower houſe, beſide the cleargie, conſiſteth of ninetie knights. For each ſhire of England hath two gentlemen or knights of greateſt wiſedome and reputation, choſen out of the bodie of the ſame for that onelie purpoſe, ſauing that for Wales one onlie is ſuppoſed ſufficient in euerie countie, whereby the number afore mentioned is made vp. There are likewiſe fourtie and ſir citizens, 289 burgeſſes, and fourtéene barons, ſo that the whole aſſemblie of the laitie of the lower houſe, conſiſteth of foure hundred thirtie and nine perſons, if the full number be ſupplied. Of the lawes here made likewiſe ſome are penall and reſtraine the common law, and ſome againe are found to inlarge the ſame. The one ſort of theſe alſo are for the moſt part taken ſtrictlie according to the letter, the other more largelie and beneficiallie after their intendment and meaning.

Number of congregates in the parlement.

Common law.

The Common law ſtandeth vpon ſundrie martmes or principles, and yeares or termes, which do conteine ſuch caſes as by great ſtudie and ſolemne argument of the iudges ſound practiſe confirmed by long experience, fetched euen from the courſe of moſt ancient lawes made farre before the conqueſt, and thereto the déepeſt reach and foundations of reaſon, are ruled and adiudged for law. Certes theſe caſes are otherwiſe called pleas or action, whereof there are two ſorts, the one criminall and the other ciuill. The meanes and meſſengers alſo to determine thoſe cauſes are our writs or bréefes, whereof there are ſome originall and ſome iudiciall. The parties plaintiffe & defendant when they appeare proceed (if the caſe do ſo require) by plaint or declaration, barre or anſwer, replication, reſoinder, and ſo by rebat, ſurrebut to iſſue and triall if occaſion ſo fall out, the one ſide affirmatiuelie, the other negatiuelie as common experience teacheth. Our trials and recoueries are either by verdict and demourre, confeſſion or default, wherein if anie negligence or treſpaſſe hath béene committed, either in proceſſe and forme, or in matter and iudgement, the partie grieued may haue a writ of errour to vndo the ſame, but not in the ſame court where the former iudgement was giuen.

Cuſtomarie law.

Cuſtomarie law conſiſteth of certeine laudable cuſtomes vſed in ſome priuat countrie, intended firſt to begin vpon good and reaſonable conſiderations, as gauell kind, which is all the male children equallie to inherit, and continued to this daie in Kent: where it is onelie to my knowledge reteined, and no where elſe in England. It was at the firſt deuiſed by the Romans, as appeareth by Cæſar in his cõmentaries, wherein I find, that to breake and daunt the force of the rebellious Germans, they made a law that all the male children (or females for want of males which holdeth ſtill in England) ſhould haue their fathers inheritance equallie diuided amongſt them. By this meanes alſo it came to paſſe, that whereas before time for the ſpace of fiftie yeares, they had put the Romans to great and manifold troubles, within the ſpace of thirtie yeares after this law made, their power did wax ſo féeble, and ſuch diſcord fell out amongſt themſelues, that they were not able to mainteine warres with the Romans, nor raiſe anie full armie againſt them. For as a riuer runing with one ſtreame is ſwift and more plentifull of water than when it is drained or drawne into manie branches: ſo the lands and goods of the anceſtors being diſperſed amongſt their iſſue males, of one ſtrong there were raiſed ſundrie weake, whereby the originall or generall ſtrength to reſiſt the aduerſarie, became infeebled and brought almoſt to nothing. *Vis vnita* (ſaith the philoſopher) *fortior eſt eadem diſperſa*, and one good purſe is better than manie euill, and when euerie man is benefited alike, each one will ſéeke to mainteine his priuate eſtate, and few take care to prouide for publike welfare.

Burrow kind, is where the yongeſt is preferred before the eldeſt, which is the cuſtome of manie countries of this region; alſo the woman to haue the third of hir husbands poſſeſſions, the husband that marieth an heire to haue ſuch lands as moue by hir during his naturall life, if he ſuruiue hir, and hath a child by hir which hath béene heard crie thorough foure wals, &c: of ſuch like to be learned elſewhere, and ſometimes frequented generallie ouer all.

Preſcription.

Preſcription is a certeine cuſtome, which hath continued time out of minde, but it is more particular than cuſtomarie law, as where onelie a pariſh or ſome priuat perſon doth preſcribe to haue common, or a waie in another mans ſoile, or tithes to be paid after this or that maner, I meane otherwiſe than the common courſe and order of the law requireth, whereof let this ſuffice at this time, in ſtéed of a larger diſcourſe of our owne lawes, leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to enter farre into that whereof I haue no ſkill. For what hath the meditation of the law of God to do with anie preciſe knowledge of the law of man, ſith they are ſeuerall trades, and incident to diuerſe perſons?

Terme.

There are alſo ſundrie vſuall courts holden once in euerie quarter of the yeare, which we commonlie call termes, of the Latine word *Terminus*, wherein all controuerſies are determined, that happen within the Quéenes dominions. Theſe are commonlie holden at London, except vpon ſome great occaſion they be tranſferred to other places. At what times alſo they are kept both for ſpirituall and temporall dealing, the table inſuing ſhall eaſilie declare. Finallie how well they are followed by ſuitors, the great wealth of lawiers without anie trauell of mine can readilie expreſſe. For as after the comming of the Normans the nobilitie had the ſtart, and after them the cleargie: ſo now all the wealth of the land doth flow vnto our common lawiers, of whome ſome one hauing practiſed little aboue thirtéene or fourtéene yeares is able to buie a purchaſe of ſo manie 1000 pounds: which argueth that they way rich apace, and will be richer if their clients become not the more wiſer & warie hereafter. It is not long, ſince a ſergeant at the law (whome I could name) was arreſted vpon an extent, for three or foure hundred pounds, and another ſtanding by did greatlie maruell that he could not ſpare the gaines of one terme for the ſatisfaction of that dutie. The time hath béene that our lawiers did ſit in Powles vpon ſtoles againſt the pillers and walles to get clients, but now ſome of them will not come from their chambers to the Guildhall in London vnder ten pounds or twentie nobles at the leaſt. And one being demanded why he made ſo much of

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his trauell, anſwered, that it was but follie for him to go ſo farre, when he was aſſured to get more monie by ſitting ſtill at home. A friend of mine alſo had a ſute of late of ſome valure, and to be ſure of counſell at his time, he gaue vnto two lawiers (whoſe names I forbeare to deliuer) twentie ſhillings a peece, telling them of the date and houre wherein his matter ſhould be called vpon. To be ſhort, they came not vnto the barre at all, whervpon he ſtaied for that daie. On the morrow after he met them againe, increaſed his former gifts by ſo much more, and told them of the time, but they once againe ſerued him as before. In the end he met them both in the verie hall doore, and after ſome timorous reprehenſion, of their vncourteous demeanour toward him, he beſtowed either three angels or foure more vpon each of them, whereupon they promiſed peremptorilie to ſpeake earneſtlie in his cauſe. And yet for all this, one of them hauing not yet ſucked enough, vtterlie deceiued him: the other in deed came in, and wagging a ſcroll which he had in his hand before the iudge, he ſpake not aboue three or foure words, almoſt ſo ſoone vttered as a good morrow, and ſo went from the bar, and this was all the poore man gat for his monie, and the care which his counſellours did ſeeme to take of his cauſe, then ſtanding vpon the hazard. But inough of theſe matters, for if I ſhould ſet downe how little law poore men can haue for their ſmall fees in theſe daies, and the great murmurings that are on all ſides vttered againſt their exceſſiue taking of monie (for they can abide no ſmall gaine) I ſhould extend this treatiſe into a farre greater volume than is conuenient for my purpoſe. Wherfore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſet downe ſo much of their demeanour, and ſo much as is euen enough to cauſe them to looke with ſomewhat more conſcience into their dealings, except they be dull and ſenſeleſſe.

Deceipt.

Manie of our lawiers ſtoope not at ſmall fees.

This furthermore is to be noted, that albeit the princes heretofore reigning in this land haue erected ſundrie courts, eſpeciallie of the chancerie at Yorke and Ludlow, for the eaſe of poore men dwelling in thoſe parts, yet will the poore ſelſe (of all men commonlie moſt contentious) refuſe to haue his cauſe heard ſo neere home, but inconuoureth rather to his vtter vndoing to trauell vp to London, thinking there ſomeſt to preuaile againſt his aduerſarie, though his caſe be neuer ſo doubtfull. But in this toie our Welſhmen do exceed of all that euer I heard, for you ſhall here and there haue ſome one od poore Dauid of them giuen ſo much to contention and ſtrife, that without all reſpect of charges he will vp to London, though he go bare legged by the waie, and carie his hoſen on his necke (to ſaue their feet from wearing) bicauſe he hath no change. When he commeth there alſo, he will make ſuch importunate begging of his countrimen, and hard ſhift otherwiſe, that he will ſometimes carie downe ſix or ſeuen writs with him in his purſſe, wherewith to moleſt his neighbor, though the greateſt quarrell be ſcarſelie worth the fee that he hath paid for anie one of them. But inough of this, leaſt in reuealing the ſuperfluous follie of a few brablers in this behalfe, I bring no good will to my ſelfe amongſt the wiſeſt of that nation. Certes it is a lamentable caſe to ſee furthermore, how a number of poore men are daillie abuſed and vtterlie vndone, by ſundrie varlets that go about the countrie, as promoters or brokers betweene the pettie foggers of the lawe, and the common people, onelie to kindle and eſpie coales of contention, whereby the one ſide may reape commoditie, and the other ſpend and be put to trauell. But of all that euer I knew in Eſſex, Denis and Mainford excelled, till John of Ludlow, aliàs Maſon came in place, vnto whome in compariſon they two were but children:

Poore men contentious.

Promoters ſeeke matters to ſet lawiers on worke withall.

for this laſt in leſſe than three or foure yeares, did bring one man (among manie elſe-where in other places) almoſt to extreame miſerie (if beggerie be the vttermoſt) that before he had the ſhauing of his beard, was valued at two hundred pounds (I ſpeake with the leaſt) and finallie feeling that he had not ſufficient wherwith to ſuſteine himſelfe and his familie, and alſo to ſatiſfie that greedie rauenour, which ſtill called vpon him for new fees, he went to bed, and within foure daies made an end of his wofull life, euen with care and penſiueneſſe. After his death alſo he ſo handled his ſonne, that there was neuer ſheepe ſhorne in Kent, ſo neere clipped of his fleece preſent, as he was of manie to come: ſo that he was compelled to let awaie his land, bicauſe his cattell & ſtocke were conſumed, and he no longer able to occupie the ground. But hereof let this ſuffice, & in ſtead of theſe enormities, a table ſhall follow of the termes conteining their beginnings and endings, as I haue borrowed them from my friend Iohn Stow, whoſe ſtudie is the onelie ſtore houſe of antiquities in my time, and he worthie therefore to be had in reputation and honour.

A man would imagine that the time of the execution of our lawes, being little aboue one quarter, or not fullie a third part of the yeare, and the appointment of the ſame to be holden in one place onelie, to wit, neere London in Weſtminſter, and finallie the great expenſes employed vpon the ſame, ſhould be no ſmall cauſe of the ſtaie and hinderance of the adminiſtration of iuſtice in this land: but as it falleth out they proue great occaſions and the ſtaie of much contention. The reaſons of theſe are ſoone to be conceiued, for as the broken ſleeue doth hold the elbow backe, and paine of trauell cauſe manie to ſit at home in quiet; ſo the ſhortneſſe of time and feare of delaie doth driue thoſe oftentimes to like of peace, who otherwiſe would liue at ſtrife, and quickelie be at ods. Some men deſirous of gaines would haue the termes yet made ſhorter, that more delaie might ingender longer ſute; other would haue the houſes made larger, and more offices erected, wherein to miniſter the lawes. But as the times of the tearmes are rather too ſhort than too long by one returne a peece: ſo if there were ſmaller roomes and fowler waies vnto them, they would inforce manie to make pauſes before they did raſhlie enter into plee. But ſith my purpoſe is not to make an ample diſcourſe of theſe things, it ſhall ſuffice to deliuer the times of the holding of our termes, which inſueth after this manner.

The times of our termes no hinderance to iuſtice.

A perfect rule to know the beginning and ending of euerie terme, with their returnes.

Hilarie terme beginneth the three and twentith daie of Januarie (if it be not ſundaie) otherwiſe the nert daie after, and is finiſhed the twelfe of Februarie, it hath foure returnes.

{Octabis Hilarij. / Quind. Hilarij.} {Craſtino Purific. / Octabis Purific.}

¶ Eaſter terme beginneth ſeuentéene daies after Eaſter, endeth foure daies after the Aſcenſion daie, and hath fiue returnes.

{Quind. Paſch. / Tres Paſchæ.} {Menſe / Paſchæ.} {Quinque Paſchæ. / Craſt. Aſcention.}

¶ Trinitie terme beginneth the fridaie after Trinitie ſundaie, and endeth the wedneſdaie fortnight after, in which time it hath foure returnes.

{Craſt. Trinitatis. / Octabis Trinitatis.} {Quind. Trinitatis. / Tres Trinitatis.}

¶ Michaelmaſſe terme beginneth the ninth of October (if it be not ſundaie) and ending the eight and twentith

twentith of Nouember, it hath eight returnes.

Octabis Michael.	Craſt. anima.
Quind. Michael.	Craſt. Martini.
Tres Michael.	Octa. Martini.
Menſe Michael.	Quind. Martini.

Note alſo that the eſcheker, which is *Fiſcus* or *erarium publicum principis*, openeth eight daies before anie terme begin, except Trinitie terme, which openeth but foure daies before.

And thus much for our vſuall termes as they are kept for the adminiſtration of our common lawes, wherevnto I thinke good to adde the lawdaies accuſtomablie holden in the arches and audience of Canturburie, with other eccleſiaſticall and ciuill courts thorough the whole yeare, or for ſomuch time as their execution indureth (which in comparſion is ſcarſelie one halfe of the time if it be diligentlie examined) to the end each one at home being called vp to anſwer may trulie know the time of his appearance; being ſorie in the meane ſeaſon, that the vſe of the popiſh calendar is ſo much reteined in the ſame, and not rather the vſuall daies of the moneth placed in their romes, ſith moſt of them are fixed and palter not their place of ſtanding. Howbeit ſome of our infected lawiers will not let them go awaie ſo eaſilie, pretending facilitie and cuſtome of vſage, but meaning peraduenture inwardlie to keepe a commemoration of thoſe dead men whoſe names are there remembred.

Michaelmas terme.

S. Faith.	All Soules.	S. Andrew.
S. Edward.	S. Martin.	Conception
S. Luke.	Edmund.	of the virgin
Simon & Iu.	Katharine.	Marie.

¶ It is to be remembred that the firſt daie following euerie of theſe feaſts noted in each terme, the court of the arches is kept in Bow church in the forenoone. And the ſame firſt daie in the afternoone is the admeraltie court for ciuill and ſeafaring cauſes kept in Southwarke, where iuſtice is miniſtred & execution done continuallie according to the ſame.

The ſecond daie following euerie one of the ſaid feaſts, the court of audience of Canturburie is kept in the conſiſtorie in Paules in the forenoone. And the ſelfe daie in the afternoone, in the ſame place is the prerogatiue court of Canturburie holden.

The third day after anie ſuch feaſt in the forenoone, the conſiſtorie court of the biſhop of London is kept in Paules church in the ſaid conſiſtorie, and the ſame third daie in the afternoone is the court of the delegates, and the court of the Quenes highneſſe commiſſioners vpon appeales is likewiſe kept in the ſame place on the fourth daie.

Hilarie terme.

S. Hilarie.	S. Scolaſtic.	S. Chad.
S. Wolſtan.	S. Valentine	Perpet. & Fel.
Conuerſion	Aſhwedneſ.	S. Gregorie.
of S. Paule.	S. Matthie.	Annũciation
S. Blaſe.		of our Ladie.

Note that the foure firſt daies of this terme be certeine and vnchanged. The other are altered after the courſe of the yeare, and ſometime kept and ſometime omitted. For if it ſo happen that one of thoſe feaſts fall on wedneſdaie, commonlie called Aſhwedneſdaie after the daie of S. Blaſe (ſo that the ſame lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie cannot be kept becauſe the lawdaie of the other feaſt doth light on the ſame) then the ſecond lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie ſhall be kept, and the other omitted. And if the lawdaie after Aſhwedneſdaie be the next daie after the feaſt of S. Blaſe, then ſhall all and euerie court daies be obſerued in order, as they may be kept conuenientlie. And marke that although Aſhwedneſdaie be put the ſeuenth in order, yet it hath no certeine place, but is changed as the courſe of Eaſter cauſeth it.

Eaſter terme.

The fiftéenth daie after Eaſter.

S. Alphege.	Gordian.	
S. Marke.	S. Dunſtan.	
Inuention of	Aſcenſion daie.	
the croſſe.		

¶ In this terme the firſt ſitting is alwaie kept the mondaie being the fiftéenth daie after Eaſter, and ſo forth after the feaſts here noted, which next follow by courſe of the yeare after Eaſter, and the like ſpace being kept betwéene other feaſts.

The reſt of the lawdaies are kept to the third of the Aſcenſion, which is the laſt day of this terme. And if it happen that the feaſt of the Aſcenſion of our Lord, do come before anie of the feaſts aforeſaid, then they are omitted for that yeare. And likewiſe if anie of thoſe daies come before the fiftéenth of Eaſter, thoſe daies are omitted alſo.

Trinitie terme.

Trinitie ſundaie.	S. Butolph.	S. Swithune.
Corpus Chriſti.	S. Iohn.	S. Margaret.
Boniface biſh.	S. Paule.	S. Anne.
S. Barnabie.	Tranſlat. Thomas.	

Here note alſo that the lawdaies of this terme are altered by meane of Whitſuntide, and the firſt ſitting is kept alwaies on the firſt lawdaie after the feaſt of the holie Trinitie, and the ſecond ſeſſion is kept the firſt lawdaie after the idolatrous and papiſticall feaſt daie called Corpus Chriſti, except Corpus Chriſti daie fall on ſome day aforenamed: which chanceth ſometime, and then the fitter daie is kept. And after the ſecond ſeſſion account foure daies or thereabout, and then loke which is the next feaſt day, and the firſt lawdaie after the ſaid feaſt ſhall be the third ſeſſion. The other law daies follow in order, but ſo manie of them are kept, as for the time of the yeare ſhall be thought meet.

It is alſo generallie to be obſerued, that euerie daie is called a lawdaie that is not ſundaie or holie daie: and that if the feaſt daie being knowne of anie court daie in anie terme, the firſt or ſecond daie following be ſundaie, then the court daie is kept the daie after the ſaid holie daie or feaſt.

Of prouiſion made for the poore.

Chap. 10.

THere is no common-wealth at this daie in Europe, wherin there is not great ſtore of poore people, and thoſe neceſſarilie to be relieued by the welthier ſort, which otherwiſe would ſtarue and come to vtter confuſion. With vs the poore is commonlie diuided into three ſorts, ſo that ſome are poore by impotencie, as the fatherleſſe child, the aged, blind and lame, and the diſeaſed perſon that is iudged to be incurable: the ſecond are poore by caſualtie, as the wounded ſouldier, the decaied houſeholder, and the ſicke perſon viſited with grieuous and painefull diſeaſes: the third conſiſteth of thriftleſſe poore, as the riotour that hath conſumed all, the vagabund that will abide no where, but runneth vp and downe from place to place (as it were ſéeking woorke and finding none) and finallie the roge and ſtrumpet which are not poſſible to be diuided in ſunder, but runne to and fro ouer all the realme, chéefelie kéeping the champaine ſoiles in ſummer to auoid the ſcorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eſchew the bluſtering winds.

Three ſorts of poore.

For

For the firſt two ſorts, that is to ſaie, the poore by impotencie, and the poore by caſualtie, which are the true poore in deed, and for whome the word doth bind vs to make ſome dailie proviſion: there is order taken throughout euerie parith in the realme, that weekelie collection ſhall be made for their helpe and ſuſtentation, to the end they ſhould not ſcatter abroad, and by begging here and there annoie both townes and countries. Authoritie alſo is giuen vnto the iuſtices in euerie ſhuntie, and great penalties appointed for ſuch as make default, to the end the intent of the ſtatute in this behalfe be truelie executed, according to the purpoſe and meaning of the ſame, ſo that theſe two ſorts are ſufficientlie prouided for: and ſuch as can liue within the limits of their allowance (as each one will doo that is godlie and well diſpoſed) may well forbeare to rome and range about. But if they refuſe to be ſupported by this benefit of the law, and will rather indeuour by going to and fro to maintaine their idle trades, then are they adiudged to be parcell of the third ſort, and for ſtead of contenous reſtreining at home, are often corrected with ſharpe execution, and whip of iuſtice abroad. Manie there are, which notwithſtanding the rigor of the lawes prouided in that behalfe, yeld rather with this liberlie (as they call it) to be daille vnder the feare and terrour of the whip, than by abiding there they were borne or bred, to be prouided for by the deuotion of the parithes. I found not long ſince a note of theſe latter ſort, the effect whereof inſueth. Idle beggers are ſuch either through other mens occaſion, or through their owne default. By other mens occaſion (as one waie for example) when ſome couetous man, ſuch I meane as haue the caſt or right veine, dailie to make beggers inough wherby to peſter the land, eſpieng a further commoditie in their commons, holds, and tenures, doth find ſuch meanes as thereby to wipe manie out of their occupiengs, and turne the ſame vnto his priuate gaines. Hereupon it followeth, that although the wiſe and better minded, doo either forſake the realme for altogether, and ſeeke to liue in other countries, as France, Germanie, Barbaria, India, Moſcouia, and verie Calecute, complaining of no rome to be left for them at home, do ſo behaue themſelues that they are worthilie to be accompted among the ſecond ſort: yet the greater part commonlie hauing nothing to ſtaie vpon are wilfull, and therevpon doo either proue idle beggers, or elſe continue ſtarke theeues till the gallowes doo eat them vp, which is a lamentable caſe. Certes in ſome mans iudgements theſe things are but trifles, and not worthie the regarding. Some alſo doo grudge at the great increaſe of people in theſe daies, thinking a neceſſarie breed of cattell farre better than a ſuperfluous augmentation of mankind. But I can liken ſuch men beſt of all vnto the pope and the diuell, who practiſe the hinderance of the furniture of the number of the elect to their vttermoſt, to the end the authoritie of the one vpon earth, the deferring of the locking vp of the other in euerlaſting chaines, and the great gaines of the firſt may continue and indure the longer. But if it ſhould come to paſſe that any forren inuaſion ſhould be made, which the Lord God forbid for his mercies ſake! then ſhould theſe men find that a wall of men is farre better than ſtackes of corne and bags of monie, and complaine of the want when it is too late to ſeeke remedie. The like occaſion cauſed the Romans to deuiſe their law Agraria: but the rich not liking of it, and the couetous vtterlie condemning it as rigorous and vnprofitable, neuer ceaſed to practiſe diſturbance till it was quite aboliſhed. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

A thing often ſeene.

At whoſe hands ſhall the blood of theſe men be required?

Such as are idle beggers through their owne default are of two ſorts, and continue their eſtates either by caſuall or meere voluntaris meanes: thoſe that are ſuch by caſuall means, are in the beginning ſubtile to be referred either to the firſt or ſecond ſort of poore afore mentioned: but degenerating into the thriftleſſe ſort, they doo what they can to continue their miſerie, and with ſuch impediments as they haue to ſtraie and wander about, as creatures abhorring all labour and euerie honeſt exerciſe. Certes I call theſe caſuall meanes, not in reſpect of the originall of their pouertie, but of the continuance of the ſame, from whence they will not be deliuered, ſuch is their owne vngratious lewdneſſe, and froward diſpoſition. The voluntarie meanes proceed from outward cauſes, as by making of corroſiues, and applieng the ſame to the more fleſhie parts of their bodies: and alſo laieng of ratſbane, ſperowort, crowſoot, and ſuch like vnto their whole members, thereby to raiſe pitifull and odious ſores, and moue the harts of the goers by ſuch places where they lie, to pitie at their miſerie, and therevpon beſtow large almeſſe vpon them. How artificiallie they beg, what forcible ſpeech, and how they ſelect and chooſe out words of vehemencie, whereby they doo in maner conſtrue or aſſure the goer by to pitie their caſes, I paſſe ouer to remember, as iudging the name of God and Chriſt to be more conuerſant in the mouths of none: and yet the preſence of the heauenlie maieſtie further off from no men than from this vngratious compaſſe. Which maketh me to thinke that puniſhment is farre meeter for them than liberalitie or almeſſe, and ſith Chriſt willeth vs cheeſlie to haue a regard to himſelfe and his poore members.

Vnto this neſt is another ſort to be referred, more ſturdie than the reſt, which hauing ſound and perfect limbs, doo yet notwithſtanding ſometime counterfeit the poſſeſſion of all ſorts of diſeaſes. Diuerſe times in their apparell alſo they will be like ſeruing men or labourers: oftentimes they can plaie the mariners, and ſeeke for ſhips which they neuer loſt. But in fine, they are all theeues and caterpillers in the common-wealth, and by the word of God not permitted to eat, ſith they doo but licke the ſweat from the true labourers browes, & beereue the godlie poore of that which is due vnto them, to maintaine their exceſſe, conſuming the charitie of well diſpoſed people beſtowed vpon them, after a moſt wicked & deteſtable maner.

It is not yet full threeſcore yeares ſince this trade began: but how it hath proſpered ſince that time, it is eaſie to iudge, for they are now ſuppoſed of one ſer and another, to amount vnto aboue 10000 perſons; as I haue heard reported. Moreouer, in counterfeiting the Egyptian roges, they haue deuiſed a language among themſelues, which they name Canting, but other pedlers French, a ſpeach compact thirtie yeares ſince of Engliſh, and a great number of od words of their owne deuiſing, without all order or reaſon: and yet ſuch is it as none but themſelues are able to vnderſtand. The firſt deuiſer hereof was hanged by the necke, a juſt reward no doubt for his deſerts, and a common end to all of that profeſſion. A gentleman alſo of late hath taken great paines to ſearch out the ſecret practiſes of this vngratious rable. And among other things he ſetteth downe and deſcribeth three & twentie ſorts of them, whoſe names it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, whereby ech one may take occaſion to read and know as alſo by his induſtrie what wicked people they are, and what villanie remaineth in them. Thomas Harman.

The ſeuerall diſorders and degrees amongſt our idle vagabonds.

1 Ruffelers.
2 Vprightmen.
3 Hookers or Anglers.
4 Roges.
5 Wild

5 Wild roges.
6 Priggers or prauſers.
7 Palliards.
8 Fraters.
9 Abrams.
10 Freſhwater mariners, or whiplacks.
11 Dummerers.
12 Drunken tinkers.
13 Swadders or pedlers.
14 Jarkemen or patricoes.

¶ Of women kind.

1 Demanders for glimmar or fire.
2 Baudie baskets.
3 Mortes.
4 Autem mortes.
5 Walking mortes.
6 Dores.
7 Delles.
8 Kinching mortes.
9 Kinching coes.

The punishment that is ordeined for this kind of people is verie sharpe, and yet it can not restreine them from their gadding: wherefore the end must néeds be martiall law, to be exercised upon them, as upon théeues, robbers, despisers of all lawes, and enimies to the common-wealth & welfare of the land. What notable roberies, pilferies, murders, rapes, and stealings of yong children, burning, breaking and disfiguring their lims to make them pitifull in the sight of the people, I néed not to rehearse: but for their idle roging about the countrie, the law ordeineth this maner of correction. The roge being apprehended, committed to prison, and tried in the next assises (whether they be of gaole deliuerie or sessions of the peace) if he happen to be conuicted for a vagabond either by inquest of office, or the testimonie of two honest and credible witnesses upon their oths, he is then immediatlie adiudged to be grieuouslie whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about, as a manifestation of his wicked life, and due punishment receiued for the same. And this iudgement is to be executed upon him, except some honest person worth fiue pounds in the quéenes books in goods, or twentie shillings in lands, or some rich houſholder to be allowed by the iustices, will be bound in recognisance to reteine him in his seruice for one whole yeare. If he be taken the second time, and proued to haue forsaken his said seruice, he shall then be whipped againe, bored likewise through the other eare and set to seruice: from whence if he depart before a yeare be expired, and happen afterward to be attached againe, he is condemned to suffer paines of death as a fellon (except before excepted) without benefit of clergie or sanctuarie, as by the statute doth appeare. Among roges and idle persons finallie, we find to be comprised all proctors that go vp and downe with counterfeit licences, cosiners, and such as gad about the countrie, vsing vnlawfull games, practisers of phisognomie and palmestrie, tellers of fortunes, fensers, players, minstrels, iugglers, pedlers, tinkers, pretensed schollers, shipmen, prisoners gathering for fées, and others so oft as they be taken without sufficient licence. From among which companie our bearewards are not excepted, and iust cause: for I haue read that they haue either voluntarilie, or for want of power to master their sauage beasts, béene occasion of the death and deuoration of manie children in sundrie countries by which they haue passed, whose parents neuer knew what was become of them. And for that cause there is haue béene manie sharpe lawes made for bearwards in Germanie, wherof you may read in other. But to our roges. Each one also that harboreth or aideth them with meat or monie, is fined and compelled to fine with the quéenes maiestie for euerie time that he doth so succour them, as it shall please the iustices of peace to assigne, so that the taxation exceed not twentie shillings, as I haue béene informed. And thus much of the poore, & such prouision as is appointed for them within the realme of England.

Of sundrie kinds of punishments *appointed for malefactors.*

Chap. 11.

IN cases of felonie, manslaughter, roberie, murther, rape, piracie, & such capitall crimes as are not reputed for treason or hurt of the estate, our sentence pronounced vpon the offendor is to hang till he be dead. For of other punishments vsed in other countries we haue no knowledge or vse, and yet so few grieuous crimes committed with vs as else where in the world. To vse torment also or question by paine and torture in these common cases with vs is greatlie abhorred, sith we are found alwaie to be such as despise death, and yet abhorre to be tormented, chosing rather frankelie to open our minds than to yeld our bodies vnto such seruile halings and tearings as are vsed in other countries. And this is one cause wherefore our condemned persons do go so chéerefullie to their deths, for our nation is free, stout, hautie, prodigall of life and bloud, as sir Thomas Smith saith *lib. 2. cap. 25. de republica*, and therefore cannot in anie wise digest to be vsed as villanes and slaues, in suffering continuallie beating, seruitude, and seruile torments. No, our gailers are guiltie of fellonie by an old law of the land, if they torment anie prisoner committed to their custodie for the reuealing of his complices.

The greatest and most grieuous punishment vsed in England, for such as offend against the state, is drawing from the prison to the place of execution vpon an hardle or sled, where they are hanged till they be halfe dead, and then taken downe and quartered aliue, after that their members and bowels are cut from their bodies, and throwne into a fire prouided nére hand and within their owne sight, euen for the same purpose. Sometimes, if the trespasse be not the more hainous, they are suffered to hang till they be quite dead. And when soeuer anie of the nobilitie are conuicted of high treason by their péeres, that is to saie, equals (for an inquest of yeomen passeth not vpon them, but onelie of the lords of the parlement) this maner of their death is conuerted into the losse of their heads onelie, notwithstanding that the sentence do run after the former order. In triall of cases concerning treason, fellonie, or anie other grieuous crime not confessed, the partie accused doth yeld, if he be a noble man, to be tried by an inquest (as I haue said) and his péeres: if a gentleman, by gentlemen: and an inferiour, by God and by the countrie, to wit, the yeomanrie (for combat or battell is not greatlie in vse) and being condemned of fellonie, manslaughter, &c: he is eftsoons hanged by the necke till he be dead, and then cut downe and buried. But if he be conuicted of wilfull murther, done either vpon pretended malice, or in anie notable robberie, he is either hanged aliue in chaines néere the place where the fact was committed (or else vpon compassion taken first strangled with a rope) and so continueth till his bones consume to nothing. We haue vse neither of the wheele nor of the barre, as in other countries; but when wilfull manslaughter is perpetrated, beside hanging, the offendor hath his right hand commonlie striken off before or néere vnto the place where the act was done, after which he is led forth to the place of execution, and there put to death according to the law.

The word fellon is deriued of the Saxon words Fell and One, that is to say, an euill and wicked one,

one

a one of vntamable nature, and lewdneſſe not to be ſuffered for feare of euill example and the corruption of others. In like ſort in the word fellonie are manie grieuous crimes conteined, as breach of priſon An. 1 of Edward the ſecond. Diſfigurers of the princes liege people An. 5. of Henrie the fourth. Hunting by night with painted faces and viſors An. 1 of Henrie the ſeuenth. Rape or ſtealing of women & maidens An. 3 of Henrie the eight. Conſpiracie againſt the perſon of the prince An. 3. of Henrie the ſeuenth. Embeſilling of goods committed by the maſter to the ſeruant, aboue the value of fourtie ſhillings An. 17. of Henrie the eight. Carieng of horſſes or mares into Scotland An. 23. of Henrie the eight. Sodomie and buggerie An. 25. of Henrie the eight. Stealing of hawkes egs An. 31. of Henrie the eight. Coniuring, ſorcerie, witchcraft, and digging vp of croſſes An. 33. of Hen. 8. Deuiſeng vpon armes, cognizances, names & badges An. 33. of Hen. 8. Caſting of ſlanderous bils An. 37. Hen. 8. Wilfull killing by poiſon An. 1. of Edw. the firſt. Departure of a ſoldier from the field An. 2. of Edward the firſt. Diminution of coine, all offenſes within caſe of præmunire, embeſelling of records, goods taken from dead men by their ſeruants, ſtealing of what ſoeuer cattell, robbing by the high waie, vpon the ſea, or of dwelling houſes, letting out of pends, cutting of purſſes, ſtealing of deere by night, counterfeitors of coine, euidences, charters, and writings, & diuerſe other needleſſe to be remembred. If a woman poiſon hir huſband ſhe is burned aliue, if the ſeruant kill his maſter he is to be executed for petie treaſon, he that poiſoneth a man is to be boiled to death in water or lead, although the partie die not of the practiſe: in caſes of murther all the acceſſaries are to ſuffer paines of death accordinglie. Periurie is puniſhed by the pillorie, burning in the forehead with the letter P, the rewalting of the trees growing vpon the grounds of the offendors and loſſe of all his mouables. Manie treſpaſſes alſo are puniſhed by the cutting of one or both eares from the head of the offendor, as the vtterance of ſeditious words againſt the magiſtrates, fraimakers, petie robbers, &c. Roges are burned through the eares, carters of ſheepe out of the land by the loſſe of their hands, ſuch as kill by poiſon are either boiled or ſkalded to death in lead or ſeething water. Heretikes are burned quicke, harlots and their mates by carting, ducking, and doing of open penance in ſheets, in churches and market ſtéds are often put to rebuke. Howbeit as this is counted with ſome either as no puniſhment at all to ſpeake of, or but ſmallie regarded of the offendors, ſo I would wiſh adulterie and fornication to haue ſome ſharper law. For what great ſmart is it to be turned out of an hot ſheet into a cold, or after a little waſhing in the water to be let loſe againe vnto their former trades? Howbeit the dragging of ſome of them ouer the Thames betweene Lambeth and Weſtminſter at the taile of a boat, is a puniſhment that moſt terrifieth them which are condemned thereto; but this is inflicted vpon them by none other than the knight marſhall, and that within the compaſſe of his iuriſdiction & limits onelie. Canutus was the firſt that gaue authoritie to the cleargie to puniſh whoredome, who at that time found fault with the former lawes as being to ſeuere in this behalfe. For before the time of the ſaid Canutus, the adulterer forfeited all his goods to the king, and his bodie to be at his pleaſure; and the adultereſſe was to loſe hir eies or noſe, or both, if the caſe were more than common: whereby it appéreth of what eſtimation marriage was amongſt them, ſith the breakers of that holie ſtate were ſo grieuouſlie rewarded. But afterward the cleargie dealt more fauourablie with them, ſhewting rather at the puniſhments of ſuch priests and clearkes as were maried, than the reformation of adulteric and fornication, wherein you ſhall find no example that anie ſeueritie was ſhewed, except vpon ſuch laie men as had defiled their nuns. As in theft therfore ſo in adulterie and whoredome I would with the parties treſpaſſant, to be made bond or ſlaues vnto thoſe that receiued the iniurie, to ſell and giue where they liſted, or to be condemned to the galles: for that puniſhment would proue more bitter to them than halfe an houres hanging, or than ſtanding in a ſheet, though the weather be neuer ſo cold.

Manſlaughter in time paſt was puniſhed by the purſſe, wherin the quantitie or qualitie of the puniſhment was rated after the ſtate and calling of the partie killed: ſo that one was valued ſometime at 1200, another at 600, or 200 ſhillings. And by an eſtatute made vnder Henrie the firſt, a citizen of London at 100, whereof elſe-where I haue ſpoken more at large. Such as kill themſelues are buried in the field with a ſtake driuen through their bodies.

Witches are hanged or ſometimes burned, but théeues are hanged (as I ſaid before) generallie on the gibbet or gallowes, ſauing in Halifax where they are beheaded after a ſtrange maner, and whereof I find this report. There is and hath beene of ancient time a law or rather a cuſtome at Halifax, that who ſoeuer doth commit anie fellonie, and is taken with the ſame, or confeſſe the fact vpon examination: if it be valued by foure conſtables to amount to the ſum of thirtéene pence halfe penie, he is forthwith beheaded vpon one of the next market daies (which fall vſuallie vpon the tueſdaies, thurſdaies, & ſaturdaies) or elſe vpon the ſame daie that he is ſo conuicted, if market be then holden. The engine wherewith the execution is done, is a ſquare blocke of wood of the length of foure foot and an halfe, which doth ride vp and downe in a ſlot, rabet, or regall betwéene two péeces of timber, that are framed and ſet vpright of fiue yardes in height. In the neather end of the ſliding blocke is an axe keied or faſtened with an iron into the wood, which being drawne vp to the top of the frame is there faſtned by a woodden pin (with a notch made into the ſame after the maner of a Samſons poſt) vnto the middeſt of which pin alſo there is a long rope faſtened that commeth downe among the people, ſo that when the offendor hath made his confeſſion, and hath laid his necke ouer the neathermoſt blocke, euerie man there preſent doth either take hold of the rope (or putteth forth his arme ſo neere to the ſame as he can get, in token that he is willing to ſée true iuſtice executed) and pulling out the pin in this maner, the head blocke wherein the axe is faſtened doth fall downe with ſuch a violence, that if the necke of the tranſgreſſor were ſo big as that of a bull, it ſhould be cut in ſunder at a ſtroke, and roll from the bodie by an huge diſtance. If it be ſo that the offendor be apprehended for an ox, oxen, ſheepe, kine, horſſe, or anie ſuch cattell: the ſelfe beaſt or other of the ſame kind ſhall haue the end of the rope tied ſomewhere vnto them, ſo that they being driuen do draw out the pin wherby the offendor is executed. Thus much of Halifax law, which I ſet downe onelie to ſhew the cuſtome of that countrie in this behalfe.

Halifax law.

Roges and vagabonds are often ſtocked and whipped, ſcolds are ducked vpon cuckingſtooles in the water. Such fellons as ſtand mute and ſpeake not at their arraignement are preſſed to death by huge weights laid vpon a board, that lieth ouer their breſt, and a ſharpe ſtone vnder their backs, and theſe commonlie hold their peace, thereby to ſaue their goods vnto their wiues and children, which if they were condemned ſhould be confiſcated to the prince. Théeues that are ſaued by their bookes and cleargie, for the firſt offenſe,

Mute.

Cleargie.

offenſe, if they haue ſtollen nothing elſe but oxen, ſhéepe, monie, or ſuch like, which be no open robberies, as by the high waie ſide, or aſſailing of anie mans houſe in the night, without putting him in feare of his life, or breaking vp of his wals or doores, are burned in the left hand, vpon the brawne of the thombe with an hot iron, ſo that if they be apprehended againe, that marke bewraieth them to haue beene arraigned of felonie before, whereby they are ſure at that time to haue no mercie. I doo not read that this cuſtome of ſauing by the booke is vſed anie where elſe than in England, neither doo I find (after much diligent inquirie) what Saxon prince ordeined that lawe. Howbeit, this I generallie gather thereof, that it was deuiſed to traine the inhabiters of this land to the loue of learning, which before contemned letters and all good knowledge, as men onelie giuing themſelues to huſbandrie and the warres, the like whereof I read to haue beene amongſt the Gothes and Vandals, who for a time would not ſuffer euen their princes to be lerned for weakening of their courages, nor anie learned men to remaine in the counſell houſe, but by open proclamation would command them to auoid, whenſoeuer anie thing touching the ſtate of the land was to be conſulted vpon. Pirats and robbers by ſea are condemned in the court of the admeraltie, and hanged on the ſhore at lowe water marke, where they are left till three tides haue ouerwaſhed them. Finallie, ſuch as hauing wals and banks néere vnto the ſea, and doo ſuffer the ſame to decaie (after conuenient admonition) whereby the water entereth and drowneth vp the countrie, are by a certeine ancient cuſtome apprehended, condemned, and ſtaked in the breach, where they remaine for euer as parcell of the foundation of the new wall that is to be made vpon them, as I haue heard reported.

Pirats.

And thus much in part of the adminiſtration of iuſtice vſed in our countrie, wherein notwithſtanding that we doo not often heare of horrible, merciles, and wilfull murthers (ſuch I meane as are not ſildome ſéene in the countries of the maine) yet now and then ſome manſlaughter and bloudie robberies are perpetrated and committed, contrarie to the lawes, which be ſeuerelie puniſhed, and in ſuch wiſe as I before reported. Certes there is no greater miſchéefe done in England than by robberies, the firſt by yoong ſhifting gentlemen, which oftentimes doo beare more port than they are able to mainteine. Secondlie by ſeruingmen, whoſe wages cannot ſuffice ſo much as to find them breeches, wherefore they are now and then conſtreined either to kéepe high waies, and breake into the wealthie mens houſes with the firſt ſort, or elſe to walke vp and downe in gentlemens and rich farmers paſtures, there to ſée and view which horſſes féed beſt, whereby they manie times get ſomething, although with hard aduenture it hath béene knowne by their confeſſion at the gallowes, that ſome one ſuch chapman hath had fortie, fiftie, or ſixtie ſtolne horſſes at paſture here and there abroad in the countrie at a time, which they haue ſold at faires and markets farre off, they themſelues in the meane ſeaſon being taken about home for honeſt yeomen, and verie wealthie drouers, till their dealings haue béen bewraied. It is not long ſince one of this companie was apprehended, who was before time reputed for a verie honeſt and wealthie townſman, he vttered alſo more horſſes than anie of his trade, becauſe he ſold a reaſonable pennyworth, and was a faire ſpoken man. It was his cuſtome likewiſe to ſaie, if anie man hucked hard with him about the price of a gelding; So God helpe me gentleman or ſir, either he did coſt me ſo much, or elſe by Jeſus I ſtole him. Which talke was plaine inough, and yet ſuch was his eſtimation, that each beleeued the firſt part of his tale, and made no account of the later, which was the truer indéed.

Our third annoiers of the common-wealth are roges, which doo verie great miſchéefe in all places where they become. For whereas the rich onelie ſuffer iniurie by the firſt two, theſe ſpare neither rich nor poore: but whether it be great gaine or ſmall, all is fiſh that commeth to net with them, and yet I ſaie both they and the reſt are truſſed vp apace. For there is not one yeare ouerpaſſed, wherein three hundred or foure hundred of them are not deuoured and eaten vp by the gallowes in one place and other. It appeareth by Cardane (who writeth it vpon the report of the biſhop of Leroüa) in the geniture of king Edward the ſixt, how Henrie the eight, executing his lawes verie ſeuerelie againſt ſuch idle perſons, I meane great theeues, petie théeues and roges, did hang vp threeſcore and twelue thouſand of them in his time. He ſeemed for a while greatlie to haue terrified the reſt: but ſince his death the number of them is ſo increaſed, yea although we haue had no warres, which are a great occaſion of their breed (for it is the cuſtome of the more idle ſort, hauing once ſerued or but ſéene the other ſide of the ſea vnder colour of ſeruice to ſhake hand with labour, for euer, thinking it a diſgrace for himſelfe to returne vnto his former trade) that except ſome better order be taken, or the lawes alreadie made be better executed, ſuch as dwell in vplandiſh townes and little villages ſhall liue but in ſmall ſafetie and reſt. For the better apprehenſion alſo of theeues and manſlaiers, there is an old law in England verie well prouided, whereby it is ordered, that if he that is robbed, or anie man complaine and giue warning of ſlaughter or murther committed, the conſtable of the village whereunto he commeth and crieth for ſuccour, is to raiſe the pariſh about him, and to ſearch woods, groues, and all ſuſpected houſes and places, where the treſpaſſer may be, or is ſuppoſed to lurke; and not finding him there, he is to giue warning vnto the next conſtable, and ſo one conſtable after ſerch made to aduertiſe another from pariſh to pariſh, till they come to the ſame where the offendor is harbored and found. It is alſo prouided, that if anie pariſh in this buſineſſe doo not his dutie, but ſuffereth the théefe (for the auoiding of trouble ſake) in carrieng him to the gaile; if he ſhould be apprehended, or other letting of their worke, to eſcape the ſame pariſh, is not onlie to make fine to the king, but alſo the ſame with the whole hundred wherein it ſtandeth, to repaie the partie robbed his damages, and leaue his eſtate harmleſſe. Certes this is a good law, howbeit I haue knowne by mine owne experience, fellons being taken to haue eſcaped out of the ſtocks, being reſcued by other for want of watch & gard, that théeues haue beene let paſſe, becauſe the couetous and greedie pariſhoners would neither take the paines, nor be at the charge to carrie them to priſon, if it were far off, that when hue and crie haue béene made euen to the faces of ſome conſtables, they haue ſaid: God reſtore your loſſe, I haue other buſineſſe at this time. And by ſuch meanes the meaning of manie a good law is left vnexecuted, malefactors imboldened, and manie a poore man turned out of that which he hath ſwet and taken great paines for, toward the maintenance of himſelfe and his poore children and familie.

Of the maner of building and *furniture of our houſes.*

Chap. 12.

THe greateſt part of our building in the cities and good townes of England conſiſteth onelie of timber, for as yet few of the houſes of the communaltie (except here & there in the Weſt countrie townes) are made of ſtone, although they may (in my opinion) in diuerſe other places be builded ſo good cheape of the one as of the other. In old time the houſes of the Britons were ſlightlie ſet vp with a few poſts & many radels, with ſtable and all offices vnder one roſe, the like whereof almoſt is to be ſéene in the fennie countries and northerne parts vnto this daie, where for lacke of wood they are inforced to continue this ancient maner of building. It is not in vaine therefore in ſpeaking of building to make a diſtinction betweéne the plaine and woddie ſoiles: for as in theſe, our houſes are commonlie ſtrong and well timbered, ſo that in manie places, there are not aboue foure, ſix, or nine inches betweéne ſtud and ſtud; ſo in the open and champaine countries they are inforced for want of ſtuffe to vſe no ſtuds at all, but onlie ſtranke poſts, raiſins, beames, prickepoſts, groundſels, ſummers (or dormants) tranſoms, and ſuch principals, with here and there a girding, wherevnto they faſten their ſplints or radels, and then caſt it all ouer with thicke claie to keepe out the wind, which otherwiſe would annoie them. Certes this rude kind of building made the Spaniards in quéene Maries daies to wonder, but chéeflie when they ſaw what large diet was vſed in manie of theſe ſo homelie cottages, in ſo much that one of no ſmall reputation amongſt them ſaid after this maner: Theſe Engliſh (quoth he) haue their houſes made of ſticks and durt, but they fare commonlie ſo well as the king. Whereby it appeareth that he liked better of our good fare in ſuch courſe cabins, than of their owne thin diet in their princelike habitations and palaces. In like ſort as euerie countrie houſe is thus apparelled on the out ſide, ſo is it inwardlie diuided into ſundrie romes aboue and beneath; and where plentie of wood is, they couer them with tiles, otherwiſe with ſtraw, ſedge, or réed, except ſome quarrie of ſlate be néere hand, from whence they haue for their monie ſo much as may ſuffice them.

The claie wherewith our houſes are impanelled is either white, red, or blue, and of theſe the firſt doth participat verie much with the nature of our chalke, the ſecond is called loame, but the third eſtſoones changeth colour ſo ſoone as it is wrought, notwithſtanding that it looke blue when it is throwne out of the pit. Of chalke alſo we haue our excellent Aſbeſtos or white lime, made in moſt places, wherewith being quenched we ſtrike ouer our claie workes and ſtone wals, in cities, good townes, rich farmers and gentlemens houſes: otherwiſe in ſtéed of chalke (where it wanteth for it is ſo ſcant that in ſome places it is ſold by the pound) they are compelled to burne a certeine kind of red ſtone, as in Wales, and elſe where other ſtones and ſhels of oiſters and like fiſh found vpon the ſea coaſt, which being conuerted into lime doth naturallie (as the other) abhorre and eſchew water whereby it is diſſolued, and neuertheleſſe deſire oile wherewith it is eaſilie mixed, as I haue ſéene by experience. Within their dores alſo ſuch as are of abilitie doo oft make their flores and parget of fine alabaſter burned, which they call plaſter of Paris, whereof in ſome places we haue great plentie, and that verie profitable againſt the rage of fire.

In plaſtering likewiſe of our faireſt houſes ouer our heads, we vſe to laie firſt a laine or two of white morter tempered with haire vpon laths, which are nailed one by another (or ſometimes vpon réed or wickers more dangerous for fire, and made faſt here and there with ſlaplaths for falling downe) and finallie couer all with the aforeſaid plaſter, which beſide the delectable whiteneſſe of the ſtuffe it ſelfe, is laied on ſo euen and ſmoothlie, as nothing in my iudgment can be done with more exactneſſe. The wals of our houſes on the inner ſides in like ſort be either hanged with tapiſſerie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diuerſe hiſtories, or hearbes, beaſts, knots, and ſuch like are ſtained, or elſe they are ſéeled with oke of our owne, or wainſcot brought hither out of the eaſt countries, whereby the romes are not a little commended, made warme, and much more cloſe than otherwiſe they would be. As for ſtoues we haue not hitherto vſed them greatlie, yet doo they now begin to be made in diuerſe houſes of the gentrie and wealthie citizens, who build them not to worke and féed in as in Germanie and elſe where, but now and then to ſweat in, as occaſion and néed ſhall require it. This alſo hath béene common in England, contrarie to the cuſtomes of all other nations, and yet to be ſéene (for example in moſt ſtréets of London) that many of our greateſt houſes haue outwardlie béene verie ſimple and plaine to ſight, which inwardlie haue bene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their eaſe. Hereby moreouer it is come to paſſe, that the fronts of our ſtréets haue not béene ſo vniforme and orderlie builded as thoſe of forreine cities, where (to ſaie truth) the vtterſide of their manſions and dwellings haue oft more coſt beſtowed vpon them, than all the reſt of the houſe, which are often verie ſimple and vneaſie within, as experience doth confirme. Of old time our countrie houſes in ſtéed of glaſſe did vſe much lattiſe and that made either of wicker or fine rifts of oke in chekerwiſe. I read alſo that ſome of the better ſort, in and before the times of the Saxons (who notwithſtanding vſed ſome glaſſe alſo ſince the time of Benedict Biſcop the monke that brought the feat of glaſing firſt into this land) did make panels of horne in ſtéed of glaſſe, & fix them in wodden calmes. But as horne in windows is now quite laid downe in euerie place, ſo our lattiſes are alſo growne into leſſe vſe, bicauſe glaſſe is come to be ſo plentifull, and within a verie little ſo good cheape if not better then the other.

I find obſcure mention of the ſpecular ſtone alſo to haue béene found and applied to this vſe in England, but in ſuch doubtfull ſort as I dare not affirme it for certeine. Neuertheleſſe certeine it is that antiquitie vſed it before glaſſe was knowen, vnder the name of Selenites. And how glaſſe was firſt found I care not greatlie to remember euen at this preſent, although it be directlie beſide my purpoſed matter. In Syria phenices which bordereth vpon Iurie, & néere to the fot of mount Carmell there is a more or marris, wherout riſeth a brooke called ſomtime Belus, and falleth into the ſea néere to Ptolemais. This riuer was fondlie aſcribed vnto Baall, and alſo honored vnder that name by the infidels, long time before there was anie king in Iſraell. It came to paſſe alſo as a certeine merchant ſailed that waie loden with Nitrum, the paſſengers went to land for to repoſe themſelues, and to take in ſome ſtore of freſh water into their veſſell. Being alſo on the ſhore they kindled a fire, and made proviſion for their dinner, but bicauſe they wanted trouets or ſtones whereon

to ſet their kettels on, ran by chance into the ſhip, and brought great peeces of Nitrum with him, which ſerued their turne for that preſent. To be ſhort, the ſaid ſubſtance being hot, and beginning to melt, it mired by chance with the grauell that laie vnder it; and ſo brought forth that ſhining ſubſtance which now is called glaſſe, and about the time of Semiramis. When the companie ſaw this, they made no ſmall accompt of their ſucceſſe, and forthwith began to practiſe the like in other mixtures, whereby great varietie of the ſaid ſtuffe did alſo inſue. Certes for the time this hiſtorie may well be true: for I read of glaſſe in Iob, but for the reſt I refer me to the common opinion conceiued by writers. Now to turne againe to our windowes. Heretofore alſo the houſes of our princes and noble men were often glaſed with Berill (an example whereof is yet to be ſeene in Sudleie caſtell) and in diuerſe other places with fine chriſtall, but this eſpeciallie in the time of the Romans, whereof alſo ſome fragments haue beene taken vp in old ruines. But now theſe are not in vſe, ſo that onelie the cleareſt glaſſe is moſt eſteemed: for we haue diuerſe ſorts, ſome brought out of Burgundie, ſome out of Normandie, much out of Flanders, beſide that which is made in England, which would be ſo good as the beſt, if we were diligent and carefull to beſtow more coſt vpon it, and yet as it is, each one that may, will haue it for his building. Moreouer the manſion houſes of our countrie townes and villages (which in champaine ground ſtand altogither by ſtreets, ioining one to an other, but in woodland ſoiles diſperſed here and there, each one vpon the ſeuerall grounds of their owners) are builded in ſuch ſort generallie, as that they haue neither dairie, ſtable, nor brewhouſe annexed vnto them vnder the ſame roofe (as in manie places beyond the ſea & ſome of the north parts of our countrie) but all ſeparate from the firſt, and one of them from an other. And yet for all this, they are not ſo farre diſtant in ſunder, but that the goodman lieng in his bed may lightlie heare what is done in each of them with eaſe, and call quicklie vnto his meinie if anie danger ſhould attach him.

The ancient manours and houſes of our gentlemen are yet and for the moſt part of ſtrong timber, in framing whereof our carpenters haue beene and are worthilie preferred before thoſe of like ſcience among all other nations. Howbeit ſuch as be latelie builded, are cõmonlie either of bricke or hard ſtone, or both; their roomes large and comelie, and houſes of office further diſtant from their lodgings. Thoſe of the nobilitie are likewiſe wrought with bricke and hard ſtone, as prouiſion may beſt be made: but ſo magnificent and ſtatelie, as the baſeſt houſe of a baron doth often match in our daies with ſome honours of princes in old time. So that if euer curious building did flouriſh in England, it is in theſe our yeares, wherin our workemen excell, and are in maner comparable in ſkill with old Vitruuius, Leo Baptiſta, and Serlo. Neuertheleſſe, their eſtimation more than their greedie and ſcrule couetouſneſſe, ioined with a lingering humour cauſeth them often to be reiected, & ſtrangers preferred to greater bargaines, who are more reaſonable in their takings, and leſſe waſters of time by a great deale than our owne.

The furniture of our houſes alſo exceedeth, and is growne in maner euen to paſſing delicacie: and herein I doo not ſpeake of the nobilitie and gentrie onelie, but likewiſe of the loweſt ſort in moſt places of our ſouth countrie, that haue anie thing at all to take to. Certes in noble mens houſes it is not rare to ſee abundance of Arras, rich hangings of tapiſtrie, ſiluer veſſell, and ſo much other plate, as may furniſh ſundrie cupboords, to the ſumme oftentimes of a thouſand or two thouſand pounds at the leaſt: whereby the value of this and the reſt of their ſtuffe doth grow to be almoſt ineſtimable. Likewiſe in the houſes of knights, gentlemen, marchantmen, and ſome other wealthie citizens, it is not geſon to behold generallie their great prouiſion of tapiſtrie, Turkie worke, pewter, braſſe, fine linen, and thereto coſtlie cupboords of plate, worth fiue or ſix hundred or a thouſand pounds, to be deemed by eſtimation. But herein all theſe ſorts doo far exceed their elders and predeceſſors, and in neatneſſe and curioſitie, the merchant all other; ſo in time paſt, the coſtlie furniture ſtaied there, whereas now it is deſcended yet lower, euen vnto the inferiour artificers and manie farmers, who by vertue of their old and not of their new leaſes haue for the moſt part learned alſo to garniſh their cupboords with plate, their ioined beds with tapiſtrie and ſilke hangings, and their tables with carpets & fine naperie, whereby the wealth of our countrie (God be praiſed therefore, and giue vs grace to imploie it well) doth infinitelie appeare. Neither doo I ſpeake this in reproch of anie man, God is my iudge, but to ſhew that I do reioiſe rather, to ſee how God hath bleſſed vs with his good gifts; and whileſt I behold how that in a time wherein all things are growen to moſt exceſſiue prices, & what commoditie ſo euer is to be had, is dailie plucked from the communaltie by ſuch as looke into euerie trade, we doo yet find the means to obteine & atchiue ſuch furniture as heretofore hath beene vnpoſſible. There are old men yet dwelling in the village where I remaine, which haue noted three things to be maruellouſlie altered in England within their ſound remembrance; & other three things too too much increaſed. One is, the multitude of chimnies latelie erected, whereas in their yong daies there were not aboue two or three, if ſo manie in moſt vplandiſh townes of the realme (the religious houſes, & manour places of their lords alwaies excepted, and peraduenture ſome great perſonages) but eech one made his fire againſt a reredoſſe in the hall, where he dined and dreſſed his meat.

Three things greatlie amended in England.

Chimnies.

The ſecond is the great (although not generall) amendment of lodging, for (ſaid they) our fathers (yea and we our ſelues alſo) haue lien full oft vpon ſtraw pallets, on rough mats couered onelie with a ſheet vnder couerlets made of dagſwain or hopharlots (I vſe their owne termes) and a good round log vnder their heads in ſtead of a bolſter or pillow. If it were ſo that our fathers or the good man of the houſe, had within ſeuen yeares after his marriage purchaſed a matteres or flockebed, and thereto a ſacke of chaffe to reſt his head vpon, he thought himſelfe to be as well lodged as the lord of the towne, that peraduenture laie ſeldome in a bed of downe or whole fethers; ſo well were they contented, and with ſuch baſe kind of furniture: which alſo is not verie much amended as yet in ſome parts of Bedfordſhire, and elſewhere further off from our ſouthern parts. Pillowes (ſaid they) were thought meet onelie for women in childbed. As for ſeruants, if they had anie ſheet aboue them it was well, for ſeldome had they anie vnder their bodies, to keepe them from the pricking ſtraws that ran oft through the canuas of the pallet, and raſed their hardened hides.

Hard lodging

The third thing they tell of, is the exchange of veſſell, as of treene platters into pewter, and wodden ſpoones into ſiluer or tin. For ſo common were all ſorts of treene ſtuffe in old time, that a man ſhould hardlie find foure peeces of pewter (of which one was peraduenture a ſalt) in a good farmers houſe, and yet for all this frugalitie (if it may ſo be iuſtlie called) they were ſcarſe able to liue and paie their rents at their daies without ſelling of a cow, or an horſſe, or more, although they paid but foure pounds at the vtter-

Furniture of houſehold.

This was in the time of generall ſcarcenes.

moſt

moſt by the yeare. Such alſo was their pouertie, that if ſome one od farmer or huſbandman had bene at the alehouſe, a thing greatlie vſed in thoſe daies, amongſt ſix or ſeuen of his neighbours, and there in a brauerie to ſhew what ſtore he had, did caſt downe his purſſe, and therein a noble or ſix ſhillings in ſiluer vnto them (for few ſuch men then cared for gold becauſe it was not ſo readie paiment, and they were oft inforced to giue a penie for the exchange of an angell) it was verie likelie that all the reſt could not laie downe ſo much againſt it: whereas in my time, although peraduenture foure pounds of old rent be improued to fortie, fiftie, or an hundred pounds, yet will the farmer as another palme or date tree thinke his gaines verie ſmall toward the end of his terme, if he haue not ſix or ſeuen yeares rent lieng by him, therewith to purchaſe a new leaſe, beſide a faire garniſh of pewter on his cupbord, with ſo much more in od veſſell going about the houſe, three or foure featherbeds, ſo manie couerlids and carpets of tapiſtrie, a ſiluer ſalt, a bowle for wine (if not an whole neaſt) and a dozzen of ſpones to furniſh vp the ſute. This alſo he taketh to be his owne cleere, for what ſtocke of monie ſoeuer he gathereth & laieth vp in all his yeares, it is often ſeene, that the Landlord will take ſuch order with him for the ſame, when he renueth his leaſe, which is commonlie eight or ſix yeares before the old be expired (ſith it is now growen almoſt to a cuſtome, that if he come not to his lord ſo long before, another ſhall ſtep in for a reuerſion, and ſo defeat him out right) that it ſhall neuer trouble him more than the haire of his beard, when the barber hath waſhed and ſhauen it from his chin. And as they commend theſe, ſo (beſide the decaie of houſekeeping whereby the poore haue beene relieued) they ſpeake alſo of three things that are growen to be verie grieuous vnto them, to wit, the inhanſing of rents, latelie mentioned; the dailie oppreſſion of copiholders, whoſe lords ſeeke to bring their poore tenants almoſt into plaine ſeruitude and miſerie, dailie deuiſing new meanes, and ſeeking vp all the old how to cut them ſhorter and ſhorter, doubling, trebling, and now & then ſeuen times increaſing their fines, driuing them alſo for euerie trifle to loſe and forfeit their tenures (by whome the greateſt part of the realme doth ſtand and is maintained) to the end they may fleece them yet more, which is a lamentable hering. The third thing they talke of is vſurie, a trade brought in by the Iewes, now perfectlie practiſed almoſt by euerie chriſtian, and ſo commonlie that he is accompted but for a fole that doth lend his monie for nothing. In time paſt it was *Sors pro ſorte*, that is, the principall onelie for the principall; but now beſide that which is aboue the principall properlie called *Vſura*, we chalenge *Fœnus*, that is commoditie of ſoile, & fruits of the earth, if not the ground it ſelfe. In time paſt alſo one of the hundred was much, from thence it roſe vnto two, called in Latine *Vſura Exſextante*; three, to wit *Ex quadrante*; then to foure, to wit *Ex triente*; then to fiue, which is *Ex quincunce*; then to ſix, called *Exſemiſſe*, &c: as the accompt of the *Aſſis* ariſeth, and comming at the laſt vnto *Vſura ex aſſe*, it amounteth to twelue in the hundred, and therefore the Latines call it *Centeſima*, for that in the hundred moneth it doubleth the principall; but more of this elſewhere. See Cicero againſt Verres, Demoſthenes againſt Aphobus, and Athenæus *lib.* 13. *in fine*: and when thou haſt read them well, helpe I praie thee in lawfull manner to hang vp ſuch as take *Centũ pro cento*, for they are no better worthie as I do iudge in conſcience. Forget not alſo ſuch landlords as vſe to value their leaſes at a ſecret eſtimation giuen of the wealth and credit of the taker, whereby they ſeeme (as it were) to fat them vp and deale with bondmen, ſo that if the leaſſee be thought to be worth an hundred pounds, he ſhall paie no leſſe for his new terme, or elſe another to enter with hard and doubtfull couenants. I am ſorie to report it, much more greeued to vnderſtand of the practiſe; but moſt ſorowfull of all to vnderſtand that men of great port and countenance are ſo farre from ſuffering their farmers to haue anie gaine at all, that they themſelues become graſiers, butchers, tanners, ſheepmaſters, woodmen, and *denique quid non*, thereby to inrich themſelues, and bring all the wealth of the countrie into their owne hands, leauing the commonaltie weake, or as an idoll with broken or feeble armes, which may in a time of peace haue a plauſible ſhew, but when neceſſitie ſhall inforce, haue an heauie and bitter ſequele.

By the yeare.

Of cities and townes in *England*.

Cap. 13.

Six and twentie cities in England.

AS in old time we read that there were eight and twentie flamines and archflamines in the ſouth part of this Ile, and ſo manie great cities vnder their iuriſdiction: ſo in theſe our daies there is but one or two fewer, and each of them alſo vnder the eccleſiaſticall regiment of ſome one biſhop or archbiſhop, who in ſpirituall cauſes haue the charge and ouerſight of the ſame. So manie cities therefore are there in England and Wales, as there be biſhoprikes & archbiſhoprikes. For notwithſtanding that Lichfield and Couentrie, and Bath and Welles, do ſeeme to extend the aforeſaid number vnto nine and twentie: yet neither of theſe couples are to be accounted, but as one entier citie and ſee of the biſhop, ſith one biſhoprike can haue relation but vnto one ſee, and the ſaid ſee be ſituate but in one place, after which the biſhop doth take his name. It appeareth by our old and ancient hiſtories, that the cities of this ſouthерlie portion haue beene of exceeding greatneſſe and beautie, whereof ſome were builded in the time of the Samotheans, and of which not a few in theſe our times are quite decaied, and the places where they ſtood worne out of all remembrance. Such alſo for the moſt part as yet remaine are marueilouſlie altered, inſomuch that whereas at the firſt they were large and ample, now are they come either vnto a verie few houſes, or appeare not to be much greater in compariſon than poore & ſimple villages. Antoninus the moſt diligent writer of the thorough fares of Britaine, noteth among other theſe ancient townes following, as Sitomagus, which he placeth in the waie from Norwich, as Leland ſuppoſeth (wherin they went by Colcheſter) to London, Nouiomagus that lieth betweene Carleill and Canturburie, within ten miles eaſt of London, and likewiſe Neomagus and Niomagus which take their names of their firſt founder Magus, the ſonne of Samothes, & ſecond king of the Celtes that reigned in this Iland; and not *A profunditate*, onelie, as Bodinus affirmeth out of Plinie, as if all the townes that ended in Magus ſhould ſtand in holes and low grounds: which is to be diſproued in diuerſe cities in the maine, as alſo here with vs. Of theſe moreouer ſir Thomas Eliot ſuppoſeth Neomagus to haue ſtood ſomewhere about Cheſter; & George Lillie in his booke of the names of ancient places, iudgeth Niomagus to be the verie ſame that we do now call Buckingham, and lieth farre from the ſhore. And as theſe and ſundrie other now periſhed tooke their denomination of this prince, ſo there

Sitomagus. Nouiomagus. Neomagus Niomagus.

are

are diuerſe cauſes, which moue me to coniecture, that Saliſburie doth rather take the firſt name of Sarron the ſonne of the ſaid Magus, than of Cæſar, Caradoc or Seuerus (as ſome of our writers do imagine) or elſe at the leaſt wiſe of Salisburge of the maine, from whence ſome Sarons came to inhabit in this land. And for this later not vnlikelie, ſith before the comming of the Sarons, the king of the Sueſſionenſes had a great part of this Iland in ſubiection, as Cæſar ſaith; and in another place that ſuch of Belgie as ſtale ouer hither from the maine, builded and called diuerſe cities after the names of the ſame from whence they came, I meane ſuch as ſtood vpon the coaſt, as he himſelfe doth witneſſe. But ſith coniectures are no verities, and mine opinion is but one mans iudgement, I will not ſtand now vpon the proſe of this matter, leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to take great paines in adding new coniectures vnto old, in ſuch wiſe to deteine the heads of my readers about theſe trifles, that otherwiſe peraduenture would be farre better occupied in matters of more importance. To proceed therefore. As ſome after the firſt inhabitation of this Iland, our cities began no doubt to be builded and increaſed, ſo they ceaſed not to multiplie from time to time, till the land was throughlie furniſhed with hir conuenient numbers, whereof ſome at this preſent with their ancient names, do ſtill remaine in knowledge, though diuerſe be doubted of, and manie more periſhed by continuance of time, and violence of the enimie. I doubt not alſo but the leaſt of theſe were comparable to the greateſt of thoſe which ſtand in our time, for ſith that in thoſe daies the moſt part of the Iland was reſerued vnto paſture, the townes and villages either were not at all (but all ſorts of people dwelled in the cities indifferentlie, an image of which eſtate may yet be ſeene in Spaine) or at the leaſt wiſe ſtood not ſo thicke, as they did afterward in the time of the Romans, but chéefelie after the comming of the Sarons, and after them the Normans, when euerie lord builded a church neare vnto his owne manſion houſe, and thereto imparted the greateſt portion of his lands vnto ſundrie tenants, to hold the ſame of him by coppie of court roll, which rolles were then kept in ſome eſpeciall place indifferentlie appointed by them and their lord, ſo that the one could haue no reſort vnto them without the other, by which means the number of townes and villages was not a little increaſed. If anie man be deſirous to know the names of thoſe ancient cities, that ſtood in the time of the Romans, he ſhall haue them here at hand, in ſuch wiſe as I haue gathered them out of our writers, obſeruing euen their manner of writing of them ſo neare as to me is poſſible, without alteration of anie corruption crept vp into the ſame.

Salisburie or Sarron.

Sarronum. Sarrons burg.

Greater cities in times paſt when huſbandmen alſo were citizens.

The cauſe of the increaſe of villages.

1. London otherwiſe called
- Trenouanton.
- Cair Lud.
- Londinum or Longidinium.
- Auguſta of the legion Auguſta that ſoiourned there, when the Romans ruled here.

2 Yorke otherwiſe called
- Cairbranke.
- Vrouicum or Yurewijc.
- Eorwijc or Eoforwijc.
- Yeworwijc.
- Eboracum.
- Victoria of the legion victrix that laie there ſometime.

Leouitius placeth yorke in Scotland de eclipſibus.

A legion conteined ſixtie centuries, thirtie manipuli, three cohortes.

3 Canturburie
- Duroruerno *alias* Duraruenno.
- Dorobernia.
- Cantwarbiric.

4 Colcheſter
- Cair Colon.
- Cair Colden.
- Cair Colkin of Coilus.
- Cair Colun, of the riuer that runneth thereby.
- Colonia, of the colonie planted there by the Romans. Plin.lib.2. ca.75.
- Colonceſter. Tacitus.
- Camulodunum, Ptolome.

5 Lincolne
- Cair Lud Coit, of the woods that ſtood about it.
- Cair Loichoit, by corruption.
- Lindum.
- Lindocollinum.

6 Warwijc had ſometime 9 pariſh churches.
- Cair Guttelin.
- Cair Line or Cair Leon.
- Cair Gwair.
- Cair Vmber.
- Cair Gwaerton.

7 Cheſter vpon Vske was a famous vniuerſitie in the time of Arthur.
- Cair legion.
- Carlheon.
- Cairlium.
- Legeceſter.
- ...itas legionum.

8 Carleill
- Cair Lucill.
- Cair Leill.
- Lugibalia.
- Cair Doill.

9 S. Albanes
- Cair Maricipit.
- Cair Municip.
- Verolamium.
- Verlamceſter.
- Cair Wattelin, of the ſtreet whereon it ſtood.

10 Wincheſter.
- Cair Gwent.
- Cair Gwin.
- Cair Wine.
- Venta Simenorum.

11 Ciſceter.
- Cair Churne.
- Cair Kyrne.
- Cair Kery.
- Cair Cery.
- Cirneceſter.
- Churneceſter.

12 Silceſter.
- Cair Segent.
- Seleceſter.

Cair Segent ſtood vpon the Thames, not farre from Reding.

13 Bath.
- Cair Badon.
- Thermæ.
- Aquæ ſolis.

14 Shaftesbyry
- Cair Paladour.
- Septonia.

15 Worceſter.
- Wigornia.
- Cair Gworangon.
- Brangonia.
- Cair Frangon.
- Woorkeceſter.

16 Chicheſter.
- Cair Key or Kair Kis.
- Cair Chic.

17 Briſtow
- Cair Oder nant Badon.
- Oder.
- Cair Bren.
- Venta Belgarum.
- Brightſtow.

18 Rocheſter.

18 Rochester. Durobreuis, corruptlie Durobrouis. Roſcester. Dubobrius. Roffa. Durobrius.

19 Porchester. Cair Peris. Cair Porcis.

20 Cairmarden. Cair Maridunum. Cair Merdine. Maridunum. Cair Martin. Cair Fridhin.

21 Gloceſter. Cair Clowy. Cair Glow. Claudiocestria.

22 Leircester. Cair Beir. Cair Leir. Cair Lirion. Wirall, teſte Matth. West. 895.

23 Cambridge. Grantabric. Cair Graunt.

24 Cair Vrnach, peraduenture Burgh caſtell.
25 Cair Cucurat.
26 Cair Draiton, now a ſlender village.
27 Cair Celennon.
28 Cair Megwaid.

As for Cair Dorme (another whereof I read likewiſe) it ſtood ſomewhere vpon the Neene in Huntingdon ſhire, but now vnknowne, ſith it was twiſe raced to the ground, firſt by the Saxons, then by the Danes, ſo that the ruines thereof are in theſe daies not extant to be ſeene. And in like ſort I am ignorant where moſt of them ſtood, that are noted with the Itas. I find in like ſort mention of a noble citie called Alcluid ouer and beſide theſe afore mentioned, ſometime builded by Ebracus of Britaine, as the fame goeth, and finallie deſtroied by the Danes, about the yeare of Grace 870. It ſtood vpon the banks of the riuer Cluda, to wit, betweene it and the blanke on the north, and the Lound lake on the weſt, and was ſometime march betweene the Britons and the Picts, and likewiſe the Picts and the Scots; neuertheleſſe, the caſtell (as I heare) doth yet remaine, and hath beene ſince well repared by the Scots, and called Dombrittain or Dunbritton, ſo that it is not an hard matter by theſe few words to find where Alcluid ſtood. I could here, if leiſure ſerued, and haſt of the printer not require diſpatch, deliuer the ancient names of ſundrie other townes, of which Stafford in time paſt was called Stadtford, and therfore (as I geſſe) builded or the name altered by the Saxons, Kinebanton now Kinbalton. But if anie man be deſirous to ſee more of them, let him reſort to Houeden in the life of Henrie the ſecond, and there he ſhall be further ſatiſfied of his deſire in this behalfe.

When Albane was martyred Aclepiodotus was legat in Britaine.

It ſhould ſeeme when theſe ancient cities flouriſhed, that the ſame towne, which we now call ſaint Albons, did moſt of all excell: but cheefelie in the Romans time, and was not onelie nothing inferior to London it ſelfe, but rather preferred before it, becauſe it was newer, and made a Municipium of the Romans, whereas the other was old and ruinous, and inhabited onelie by the Britons, as the moſt part of the Iland was alſo in thoſe daies. God notice hereof alſo is to be taken by Matthew Paris, and others before him, out of whoſe writings I haue thought good to note a few things, whereby the matter of this ancient citie may appeare vnto poſteritie, and the former eſtate of Verlamceſter not lie altogither (as it hath done hitherto) raked vp in forgetfulnes, through the negligence of ſuch as might haue deſerued better of their ſucceſſours, by leauing the deſcription thereof in a booke by it ſelfe, ſith manie particulars thereof were written to their hands, that now are loſt and perithed. Tacitus in the fourteenth booke of his hiſtorie maketh mention of it, ſhewing that in the rebellion of the Britons, the Romans there were miſerablie diſtreſſed, *Eadem clades* (ſaith he) *municipium Verolamium ſtat.* And here vpon Nennius in his catalog of cities calleth it Cair municip, as I before haue noted. Ptolomie ſpeaking of it, doth place it among the Catyeuchlanes, but Antoninus maketh it one and twentie Italian miles from London, placing Sullonaca nine mile from thence, whereby it is euident, that Sullonaca ſtood neere to Barnet, if it were not the verie ſame. Of the old compaſſe of the walles of Verolamium there is now ſmall knowledge to be had by the ruines, but of the beautie of the citie it ſelfe you ſhall partlie vnderſtand by that which followeth at hand, after I haue told you for your better intelligence what *Municipium Romanorum* is: for there is great difference betweene that and *Colonia Romanorum*, ſith *Colonia alio traducitur a ciuitate Roma*, but *Municipes aliunde in ciuitatem veniunt ſuiſq; iuribus & legibus viuunt*: moreouer their ſoile is not changed into the nature of the Romane, but they liue in the ſtedfaſt friendſhip and protection of the Romans, as did ſometime the Ceretes, who were the firſt people which euer obteined that priuilege. The Britiſh Verolamians therefore, hauing for their noble ſeruice in the warres deſerued great commendations at the hands of the Romans, they gaue vnto them the whole freedome of Romans, whereby they were made *Municipes*, and became more free in truth than their *Colonies* could be. To conclude therefore, *Municipium* is a citie infranchiſed and indued with Romane priuileges, without anie alteration of his former inhabitants or priuileges; whereas a *Colonie* is a companie ſent from Rome into anie other region or prouince, to poſſeſſe either a citie newlie builded, or to replenith the ſame from whence hir former citizens haue beene expelled and driuen out. Now to proceed.

Sullomaca and Barnet all one, or not far in ſunder.

In the time of king Edgar it fell out, that one Eldred was abbat there; who being deſirous to inlarge that houſe, it came into his mind to ſearch about in the ruines of Verolamium (which now was ouerthrowne by the furie of the Saxons & Danes) to ſee if he might there come by anie curious peeces of worke, wherewith to garniſh his building taken in hand. To be ſhort, he had no ſooner begun to dig among the rubbiſh, but he found an exceeding number of pillers, peeces of antike worke, threſholds, doore frames, and ſundrie other peeces of fine maſonrie for windowes and ſuch like, verie conuenient for his purpoſe. Of theſe alſo ſome were of porphyrite ſtone, ſome of diuerſe kinds of marble, touch, and alabaſter, beſide manie curious deuiſes of hard mettall, in finding whereof he thought himſelfe an happie man, and his ſucceſſe to be greatlie guided by S. Albane. Beſides theſe alſo he found ſundrie pillers of braſſe, and ſockets of latton, alabaſter and touch, all which he laid aſide by great heaps, determining in the end (I ſaie) to laie the foundation of a new abbaie, but God ſo preuented his determination, that death tooke him awaie, before his building was begun. After him ſucceeded one Eadmerus, who followed the doings of Eldred to the vttermoſt: and therefore not onlie peruſed what he had left with great diligence, but alſo cauſed his pioners to ſearch

yet further, within the old walles of Verolamium, where they not onelie found infinite other peeces of excellent workemanſhip, but came at the laſt to certeine vaults vnder the ground, in which ſtood diuers idols, and not a few altars, verie ſuperſtitiouſlie and religiouſlie adorned, as the pagans left them belike in time of neceſſitie. Theſe images were of ſundrie mettals, and ſome of pure gold, their altars likewiſe were richlie couered, all which ornaments Edmerus tooke awaie, and not onelie conuerted them to other vſe in his building, but alſo deſtroied an innumerable ſort of other idols, whoſe eſtimation conſiſted in their formes, and ſubſtances could do ſeruice. He tooke vp alſo ſundrie curious pots, iugs, and cruſes of ſtone and wood moſt artificiallie wrought and carued, and that in ſuch quantitie, beſides infinite ſtore of fine houſhold ſtuffe, as if the whole furniture of the citie had beene brought thither of purpoſe to be hidden in thoſe vaults. In proceeding further, he tooke vp diuerſe pots of gold, ſiluer, braſſe, glaſſe and earth, whereof ſome were filled with the aſhes and bones of the gentils, the mouths being turned downewards (the like of which, but of finer earth, were found in great numbers alſo of late in a well at little Mallingham in Norffolke, of ſix or eight gallons a peece, about the yeare 1578, and alſo in the time of Henrie the eight) and not a few with the coines of the old Britons and Romane emperours. All which veſſels the ſaid abbat brake into peeces, and melting the mettall, he reſerued it in like ſort for the garniſhing of his church.

He found likewiſe in a ſtone wall two old bookes, whereof one conteined the rites of the gentils, about the ſacrifices of their gods, the other (as they now ſaie) the martyrdome of ſaint Albane, both of them written in old Britiſh letters, which either becauſe no man then liuing could read them, or for that they were not worth the keeping, were both conſumed to aſhes, ſauing that a few notes were firſt taken out of this later, concerning the death of their Albane. Thus much haue I thought good to note of the former beautie of Verolamium, whereof infinite other tokens haue beene found ſince that time, and diuerſe within the memorie of man, of paſſing workemanſhip, the like whereof hath no where elſe beene ſeene in anie ruines within the compaſſe of this Ile, either for coſt or quantitie of ſtuffe.

(This ſounded like a lie.

Furthermore, whereas manie are not afraid to ſaie that the Thames came ſometimes by this citie, indeed it is nothing ſo; but that the Uerlume (afterward called Uere and the Pure) did and doth ſo ſtill (whatſoeuer Gildas talketh here of, whoſe books may be corrupted in that behalfe) there is yet euident proofe to be confirmed by experience. For albeit that the riuer be now growne to be verie ſmall by reaſon of the ground about it, which is higher than it was in old time; yet it keepeth in maner the old courſe, and runneth betweene the old citie that was, and the new towne that is ſtanding on Holmehirſt crag, as I beheld of late. Thoſe places alſo which now are meadow beneath the abbaie, were ſometimes a great lake, mere, or poole, through which the ſaid riuer ran, and (as I read) with a verie ſwift and violent courſe, whereas at this preſent it is verie ſlow, and of no ſuch deapth as of ancient times it hath beene. But heare what mine author ſaith further of the ſame. As thoſe aforeſaid workemen digged in theſe ruines, they happened oftentimes vpon Lempet ſhels, peeces of ruſtie anchors, and keeles of great veſſels, whereupon ſome by and by gathered that either the Thames or ſome arme of the ſea did beat vpon that towne, not vnderſtanding that theſe things might aſwell happen in great lakes and meres, whereof there was one adioining to the north ſide of the citie, which laie then (as ſome men thinke) vnwalled, but that alſo is falſe. For being there vpon occaſion this ſummer paſſed, I ſaw ſome remnant of the old wals ſtanding in that place, which appeared to haue beene verie ſubſtantiallie builded; the ruines likewiſe of a greater part of them are to be ſeene running along by the old chappell hard by in maner of a banke. Whereby it is euident that the new towne ſtandeth cleane without the limits of the old, and that the bridge whereof the hiſtorie of S. Albane ſpeaketh, was at the nether end of Hallitwell ſtreet or there about; for ſo the view of the place doth inforce me to coniecture. This mere (which the Latine copie of the deſcription of Britaine, written of late by Humfrey Lhoid our countrie man calleth corruptlie *Stagnum enaximum* for *Stagnum maximum*) at the firſt belonged to the king, and thereby Offa in his time did reape no ſmall commoditie. It continued alſo vntill the time of Alfrye the ſeuenth abbat of that houſe, who bought it outright of the king then liuing, and by exceſſiue charges draned it ſo narrowlie, that within a while he left it drie (ſauing that he reſerued a chanell for the riuer to haue hir vſuall courſe, which he held vp with high bankes) becauſe there was alwaies contention betweene the monks and the kings ſeruants, which fiſhed on that water vnto the kings behoofe.

In theſe daies therefore remaineth no maner mention of this poole, but onelie in one ſtreet, which yet is called Fiſhpoole ſtreet, whereof this may ſuffice for the reſolution of ſuch men, as ſeeke rather to yeeld to an inconuenience, than that their Gildas ſhould ſeeme to miſtake this riuer.

Hauing thus digreſſed to giue ſome remembrance of the old eſtate of Verolamium, it is now time to returne againe vnto my former purpoſe. Certes I would gladlie ſet downe with the names and number of the cities, all the townes and villages in England and Wales, with their true longitudes and latitudes, but as yet I cannot come by them in ſuch order as I would: howbeit the tale of our cities is ſome found by the biſhoprikes, ſith euerie ſee hath ſuch prerogatiue giuen vnto it, as to beare the name of a citie, & to vſe *Regale ius* within hir owne limits. Which priuilege alſo is granted to ſundrie ancient townes in England, eſpeciallie northward, where more plentie of them is to be found by a great deale than in the ſouth. The names therefore of our cities are theſe:

London.	Worceſter.	Cheſter.
Yorke.	Gloceſter.	Chicheſter.
Canturburie.	Hereford.	Oxford.
Windheſter.	Salisburie.	Peterborow.
Cairleill.	Exceſter.	Landaffe.
Durham.	Bath.	S. Dauids.
Elie.	Lichfield.	Bangor.
Norwich.	Briſtow.	S. Aſaph.
Lincolne.	Rocheſter.	

Whoſe particular plots and models with their deſcriptions ſhall inſue, if it may be brought to paſſe, that the cutters can make diſpatch of them before this chronologie be publiſhed. Of townes and villages likewiſe thus much will I ſaie, that there were greater ſtore in old time (I meane within three or foure hundred yeare paſſed) than at this preſent. And this I note out of diuerſe records, charters, and donations (made in times paſt vnto ſundrie religious houſes, as Glaſſenburie, Abbandon, Ramſete, Elie, and ſuch like) and whereof in theſe daies I find not ſo much as the ruines. Leland in ſundrie places complaineth likewiſe of the decaie of pariſhes in great cities and townes, miſſing in ſome ſix, or eight, or twelue churches and more, of all which he giueth particular notice. For albeit that the Saxons builded manie townes and villages, and the Normans well

more

more at their firſt comming, yet ſince the firſt two hundred yeares after the latter conqueſt, they haue gone ſo faſt againe to decaie, that the ancient number of them is verie much abated: Ranulph the monke of Cheſter telleth of generall ſurueie made in the fourth, ſixteenth, & nineteenth of the reigne of William Conqueror, ſurnamed the Baſtard, wherein it was found, that (notwithſtanding the Danes had ouerthrowne a great manie) there were to the number of 52000 townes, 45002 parith churches, and 75000 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held 28015. He addeth moreouer that there were diuerſe other builded ſince that time, within the ſpace of an hundred yeares after the comming of the Baſtard, as it were in lieu or recompenſe of thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe for the erection of his new forreſt. For by an old booke which I haue, and ſometime written as it ſéemeth by an vnderſhiriffe of Nottingham, I find, euen in the time of Edw. 4. 45120 parith churches, and but 60216 knights fées, whereof the cleargie held as before 28015, or at the leaſt 28000: for ſo ſmall is the difference which he doth ſéeme to vſe. Howbeit if the aſſertions of ſuch as write in our time concerning this matter, either are or ought to be of anie credit in this behalfe, you ſhall not find aboue 17000 townes and villages, and 9210 in the whole, which is little more than a fourth part of the aforeſaid number, if it be throughlie ſcanned.

Certes this miſfortune hath not onelie happened vnto our Ile & nation, but vnto moſt of the fameus countries of the world heretofore, and all by the grédie deſire of ſuch as would liue alone and onelie to themſelues. And hereof we may take example in Candie of old time called Creta, which (as Homer writeth) was called Hetacompolis, bicauſe it conteined an hundred cities, but now it is ſo vnfurniſhed that it may hardlie be called Tripolis. Diodorus Siculus ſaith, that Aegypt had once 18000 cities, which ſo decaied in proceſſe of time, that when Ptolomeus Lagus reigned, there were not aboue 3000: but in our daies both in all Aſia & Aegypt this leſſer number ſhall not verie readilie be found. In time paſt in Lincolne (as the fame goeth) there haue bene two and fiftie parith churches, and good record appeareth for eight and thirtie: but now if there be foure and twentie it is all. This inconuenience hath growen altogither to the church by appropriations made vnto monaſteries and religious houſes, a terrible canker and enimie to religion.

But to leaue this lamentable diſcourſe of ſo notable and gréeuous an inconuenience, growing (as I ſaid) by incroching and ioining of houſe to houſe, and laieng land to land, whereby the inhabitants of manie places of our countrie are deuoured and eaten vp, and their houſes either altogither pulled downe or ſuffered to decaie by litle and litle, although ſometime a poore man peraduenture doth dwell in one of them, who not being able to repare it, ſuffereth it to fall downe, & thereto thinketh himſelfe verie friendlie dealt withall, if he may haue an acre of ground aſſigned vnto him whereon to kéepe a cow, or wherein to ſet cabbages, radiſhes, parſneps, carrets, melons, pompons, or ſuch like ſtuffe, by which he and his poore houſehold liueth as by their principall food, ſith they can do no better. And as for wheaten bread, they eat it when they can reach vnto the price of it, contenting themſelues in the meane time with bread made of otes or barleie: a poore eſtate God wot! Howbeit what care our great incrochers? But in diuers places where rich men dwelled ſometime in good tenements, there be now no houſes at all, but hoppards, and ſheads for poles, or peraduenture gardens, as we may ſée in caſtell Hedingham, and diuerſe other places. But to proceed.

It is ſo, that our ſoile being diuided into champaine ground and woodland, the houſes of the firſt lie vnſomelie builded in euerie towne togither with ſtreets and lanes, whereas in the woodland countries (except here and there in great market townes) they ſtand ſcattered abroad, each one dwelling in the midſt of his owne occupieng. And as in manie and moſt great market townes, there are commonlie three hundred or foure hundred families or manſions, & two thouſand communicants, or peraduenture more: ſo in the other, whether they be woodland or champains, we find not often aboue fortie, fiftie, or three ſcore houſeholds, and two or three hundred communicants, whereof the greateſt part neuertheleſſe are verie poore folkes, oftentimes without all maner of occupieng, ſith the ground of the parith is gotten vp into a few mens hands, yea ſometimes into the tenure of one, two or three, whereby the reſt are compelled either to be hired ſeruants vnto the other, or elſe to beg their bread in miſerie from doore to doore.

There are ſome (ſaith Leland) which are not ſo fauourable when they haue gotten ſuch lands, as to let the houſes remaine vpon them to the vſe of the poore; but they will compound with the lord of the ſoile to pull them downe for altogither, laieng that if they did let them ſtand, they ſhould but toll beggers to the towne, therby to ſurcharge the reſt of the parith, & laie more burden vpon them. But alas theſe pitifull men ſée not that they themſelues hereby do laie the greateſt log vpon their neighbors necks. For ſith the prince doth commonlie loſe nothing of his duties accuſtomable to be paid, the reſt of the parithioners that remaine muſt anſwer and beare them out: for they plead more charge other waies, ſaieng; I am charged alreadie with a light horſſe, I am to anſwer in this ſort and after that maner. And it is not yet altogither out of knowledge, that where the king had ſeuen pounds thirtéene ſhillings at a taſke gathered of fiftie wealthie houſeholders of a parith in England: now a gentleman hauing three parts of the towne in his owne hands, foure houſholds do beare all the aforeſaid paiment, or elſe Leland is deceiued in his Commentaries lib. 13. latelie come to my hands, which thing he eſpeciallie noted in his trauell ouer this Ile. A common plague & enormitie, both in the hart of the land and likewiſe vpon the coaſts. Certes a great number complaine of the increaſe of pouertie, laieng the cauſe vpon God, as though he were in fault for ſending ſuch increaſe of people, or want of wars that ſhould conſume them, affirming that the land was neuer ſo full, &c: but few men do ſée the verie root from whence it doth proceed. Yet the Romans found it out, when they flouriſhed, and therefore preſcribed limits to euerie mans tenure and occupieng. Homer commendeth Achilles for ouerthrowing of fiue and twentie cities: but in mine opinion Ganges is much better preferred by Suidas for building of three ſcore in Inde, where he did plant himſelfe. I could (if néed required) ſet downe in this place the number of religious houſes and monaſteries, with the names of their founders that haue bene in this Iland: but ſith it is a thing of ſmall importance, I paſſe it ouer as impertinent to my purpoſe. Yet herein I will commend ſundrie of the monaſticall votaries, eſpeciallie monkes, for that they were authors of manie goodlie borowes and endwares, nére vnto their dwellings, although otherwiſe they pretended to be men ſeparated from the world. But alas their couetous minds one waie in inlarging their reuenues, and carnall intent an other, appéered herin to too much. For being bold from time to time to viſit their tenants, they wrought oft

great

great wickednesse, and made those endwares little better than brodelhouses, especiallie where nunries were farre off, or else no safe accesse vnto them. But what doo I spend my time in the rehearsall of these filthinesses? Would to God the memorie of them might perish with the malefactors! My purpose was also at the end of this chapter to haue set downe a table of the parish churches and market townes thorough out all England and Wales: but sith I can not performe the same as I would, I am forced to giue ouer my purpose: yet by these few that insue you shall easilie see what order I would haue vsed according to the shires, if I might haue brought it to passe.

Shires.	*Market townes.*	*Parishes.*
Middlesex.	3	73
London within the walles, and without.		120
Surrie.	6	140
Sussex.	18	312
Kent.	17	398
Cambridge.	4	163
Bedford.	9	13
Huntingdon.	5	78
Rutland.	2	47
Barkeshire.	11	150
Northhampton.	10	326
Buckingham.	11	196
Oxford.	10	216
Southhampton.	18	248
Dorset.	19	279
Norffolke.	26	625
Suffolke.	25	575
Essex.	18	415

Of castels and holds.

Chap. 14.

IT hath béene of long time a question in controuersie, and not yet determined, whether holds and castels néere cities or anie where in the hart of common-wealths, are more profitable or hurtfull for the benefit of the countrie? Neuertheles it séemeth by our owne experience that we here in England suppose them altogither vnnédfull. This also is apparant by the testimonie of sundrie writers, that they haue béene the ruine of manie a noble citie. Of old Salisburie I speake not, of Antwarpe I saie nothing more than of sundrie other, whereof some also in my time neuer cease to incroch vpon the liberties of the cities adioining, thereby to hinder them what and wherin they may. For my part I neuer read of anie castell that did good vnto the citie abutting theron, but onelie the capitoll of Rome: and yet but once good vnto the same, in respect of the nine times whereby it brought it into danger of vtter ruine and confusion. Aristotle vtterlie denieth that anie castle at all can be profitable to a common wealth well gouerned. Timotheus of Corinthum affirmeth, that a castle in a common wealth is but a brééder of tyrants. Pyrhus king of Epire being receiued also on a time into Athens, among other courtesies shewed vnto him, they led him also into their castell of Pallas, who at his departure gaue them great thanks for the frendlie intertainment; but with this item, that they should let so few kings come into the same as they might, least (saith he) they teach you to repent too late of your great gentlenesse. Caietanus in his common-wealth hath finallie no liking of them, as appéereth in his eight booke of that most excellent treatise. But what haue I to deale whether they be profitable or not, sith my purpose is rather to shew what plentie we haue of them, which I will performe so far as shall be needfull.

There haue béene in times past great store of castels & places of defense within the realme of England, of which some were builded by the Britons, manie by the Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but most of all by the barons of the realme, in & about the time of king Stephan, who licenced each of them to build so manie as them liked vpon their owne demeasnes, hoping thereby that they would haue imploied their vse to his aduantage and commoditie. But finallie when he saw that they were rather fortified against himselfe in the end, than vsed in his defense, he repented all too late of his inconsiderate dealing, sith now there was no remedie but by force for to subdue them. After his decease king Henrie the second came no sooner to the crowne, but he called to mind the inconuenience which his predecessour had suffered, and he himselfe might in time sustaine by those fortifications. Therefore one of the first things he did was an attempt to race and deface the most part of these holds. Certes he thought it better to hazard the méeting of the enimie now and then in the plaine field, than to liue in perpetuall feare of those houses, and the rebellion of his lords vpon euerie light occasion conceiued, who then were full so strong as he, if not more strong; and that made them the readier to withstand and gainesaie manie of those procéedings, which he and his successours from time to time intended. Herevpon therefore he caused more than eleuen hundred of their said castels to be raced and ouerthrowne, whereby the power of his nobilitie was not a little restreined. Since that time also, not a few of those which remained, haue decaied, partlie by the commandement of Henrie the third, and partlie of themselues, or by conuersion of them into the dwelling houses of noble men, their martiall fronts being remoued: so that at this present, there are verie few or no castels at all mainteined within England, sauing onelie vpon the coasts and marches of the countrie for the better kéeping backe of the forren enimie, when soeuer he shall attempt to enter and annoie vs.

The most prouident prince that euer reigned in this land, for the fortification thereof against all outward enimies, was the late prince of famous memorie king Henrie the eight, who beside that he repared most of such as were alreadie standing, builded sundrie out of the ground. For hauing shaken off the more than seruile yoke of popish tyrannie, and espieng that the emperour was offended for his diuorce from quéene Catharine his aunt, and thereto vnderstanding that the French king had coupled the Dolphin his sonne with the popes neece, and maried his daughter to the king of Scots (whereby he had cause more iustlie to suspect than safelie to trust anie one of them all as Lambert saith) he determined to stand vpon his owne defense, and therefore with no small spéed, and like charge, he builded sundrie blockehouses, castels, and platformes vpon diuerse frontiers of his realme, but chieflie the east and southeast parts of England, whereby (no doubt) he did verie much qualifie the conceiued grudges of his aduersaries, and vtterlie put off their hastie purpose of inuasion. But would to God he had cast his eie toward Harwich, and the coasts of Norffolke and Suffolke, where nothing as yet is done! albeit there be none so fit and likelie places for the enimie to enter vpon, as in those parts, where, at a full sea they may touch vpon the shore and come to land without resistance. And thus much briefflie for my purpose at this present. For I néed not to make anie long discourse of castels,

ſtels, ſith it is not the nature of a good Engliſhman to regard to be caged vp as in a coope, and hedged in with ſtone walls, but rather to meet with his enimie in the plaine field at hand ſtrokes, where he may trauaile his ground, chooſe his plot, and vſe the benefit of ſunne ſhine, wind and weather, to his beſt aduantage & commoditie. Iſocrates alſo ſaith that towres, walles, bulwarkes, ſoldiers, and plentie of armour, are not the beſt keepers of kingdomes; but freends, loue of ſubiects, & obedience vnto martiall diſcipline, which they want that ſhew themſelues either cruell or couetous toward their people. As for thoſe tales that go of Beſton caſtell, how it ſhall ſaue all England on a daie, and likewiſe the brag of a rebellious baron in old time named Hugh Bigot, that ſaid in contempt of king Henrie the third, and about the fiftith yeare of his reigne:

The beſt keepers of kingdomes.

If I were in my caſtell of Bungeie,
Vpon the water of Wauencie,
I wold not ſet a button by the king of Cockneie,

I repute them but as toies, the firſt meere vaine, the ſecond fondlie vttered if anie ſuch thing were ſaid, as manie other words are and haue beene ſpoken of like holds (as Wallingford, &c:) but now growen out of memorie, and with ſmall loſſe not heard of among the common ſort. Certes the caſtell of Bungeie was ouerthrowen by the aforeſaid prince, the ſame yeare that he ouerthrew the walles and caſtell of Leiceſter, alſo the caſtels of Treſke and Maleſar, apperteining to Roger Mowbraie, and that of Fremlingham belonging likewiſe to Hugh Bigot, wherof in the chronologie following you may read at large. I might here in like ſort take occaſion to ſpeake of ſundrie ſtrong places where camps of men haue lien, and of which we haue great plentie here in England in the plaine fields: but I paſſe ouer to talke of anie ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes. This neuertheleſſe concerning two of them is not to be omitted, to wit, that the one neere vnto Cambridge now Gogmagogs hill, was called Windleburie before time, as I read of late in an old pamphlet. And to ſaie the truth I haue often heard them named Winterburie hilles, which difference may eaſilie grow by corruption of the former word: the place likewiſe is verie large and ſtrong. The ſecond is to be ſeene in the edge of Shropſhire about two miles from Colme, betweene two riuers, the Clun or Colunus, and the Tewie otherwiſe named Themis, wherevnto there is no acceſſe but at one place. The Welſhmen call it Cair Caradoc, and they are of the opinion, that Caractatus king of the Sillures was ouercome there by Oſtorius, at ſuch time as he fled to Cartimanda queene of the Brigants for ſuccour, who betraied him to the Romans, as you may ſee in Tacitus.

The wandles in time paſt were called windles.

Of palaces belonging to *the prince.*

Chap. 15.

IT lieth not in me to ſet down exactlie the number & names of the palaces belonging to the prince, nor to make anie deſcription of hir graces court, ſith my calling is and hath beene ſuch, as that I haue ſcarſelie preſumed to peepe in at hir gates, much leſſe then haue I aduentured to ſearch out and know the eſtate of thoſe houſes, and what magnificent behauiour is to be ſeene within them. Yet thus much will I ſaie generallie of all the houſes and honours perteining to hir maieſtie, that they are builded either of ſquare ſtone or bricke, or elſe of both. And thervnto although their capacitie and hugenelſe be not ſo monſtrous, as the like of diuerſe forren princes are to be ſeene in the maine, and new found nations of the world: yet are they ſo curious, neat, and commodious as any of them, both for conueiance of offices and lodgings, and excellencie of ſituation, which is not the leaſt thing to be conſidered of in building. Thoſe that were builded before the time of king Henrie the eight, reteine to theſe daies the ſhew and image of the ancient kind of workemanſhip vſed in this land: but ſuch as he erected after his owne deuiſe (for he was nothing inferiour in this trade to Adrian the emperour and Iuſtinian the lawgiuer) do repreſent another maner of paterne, which as they are ſuppoſed to excell all the reſt that he found ſtanding in this realme, ſo they are and ſhall be a perpetuall preſident vnto thoſe that do come after, to follow in their workes and buildings of importance. Certes maſonrie did neuer better flouriſh in England than in his time. And albeit that in theſe daies there be manie goodlie houſes erected in the ſundrie quarters of this Iland; yet they are rather curious to the eie like paper worke, than ſubſtantiall for continuance: whereas ſuch as he did ſet vp excell in both, and therefore may iuſtlie be preferred farre aboue all the reſt. The names of thoſe which come now to my remembrance, and are as yet reſerued to hir maieſties onelie vſe at pleaſure are theſe: for of ſuch as are giuen awaie I ſpeake not, neither of thoſe that are vtterlie decaied, as Bainards caſtell in London builded in the daies of the Conquerour by a noble man called William Bainard, whoſe wife Inga builded the priorie of litle Donemow in the daies of Henrie the firſt; neither of the tower roiall there alſo, &c: ſith I ſee no cauſe wherefore I ſhould remember them and manie of the like, of whoſe verie ruines I haue no certeine knowledge. Of ſuch I ſaie therfore as I erſt mentioned, we haue firſt of all White hall at the weſt end of London (which is taken for the moſt large & principall of all the reſt) was firſt a lodging of the archbiſhops of Yorke, then pulled downe, begun by cardinall Wolſete, and finallie inlarged and finiſhed by king Henrie the eight. By eaſt of this ſtandeth Durham place, ſometime belonging to the biſhops of Durham, but conuerted alſo by king Henrie the eight into a palace roiall, & lodging for the prince. Of Summerſet place I ſpeake not, yet if the firſt beginner thereof (I meane the lord Edward, the learned and godlie duke of Summerſet) had liued, I doubt not but it ſhould haue beene well finiſhed and brought to a ſumptuous end: but as vntimelie death tooke him from that houſe & from vs all, ſo it prooued the ſtaie of ſuch proceeding as was intended about it. Wherby it commeth to paſſe that it ſtandeth as he left it. Neither will I remember the Tower of London, which is rather an armorie and houſe of munition, and therevnto a place for the ſafekeeping of offendors, than a palace roiall for a king or queene to ſoiourne in. Yet in times paſt I find that Belline held his aboad there, and therevnto extended the ſite of his palace in ſuch wiſe, that it ſtretched ouer the Broken wharfe, and came further into the citie, in ſo much that it approched neere to Bellines gate, & as it is thought ſome of the ruines of his houſe are yet extant, howbeit patched vp and made warehouſes in that tract of ground in our times. S. Iames ſometime a nonrie, was builded alſo by the ſame prince. Hir grace hath alſo Otelande, Aſhridge, Hatfield, Hauering, Enuéeld, Eltham, Langleie, Richmond builded by Henrie the ſift, Hampton court (begun ſometime by cardinall Wolſete, and finiſhed by hir father) and therevnto Woodſtocke, erected by king

White hall.

S. Iames.

Otelande.
Aſhridge.
Hatfield.
Enuéeld.
Richmond.
Hampton.
Woodſtocke.

King Hen. 8. not inferior to Adrian and Iuſtinian.

Henrie the firſt, in which the quéenes maieſtie delighteth greatlie to ſoiourne, notwithſtanding that in time paſt it was the place of a parcell of hir captiuitie, when it pleaſed God to trie hir by affliction and calamitie.

Windleſor. For ſtrength Windleſor or Winſor is ſuppoſed to be the chéefe, a caſtell builded in time paſt by king Arthur, or before him by Aruiragus, as it is thought, and repared by Edward the third, who erected alſo a notable college there. After him diuerſe of his ſucceſſours haue beſtowed exceeding charges vpon the ſame, which notwithſtanding are farre ſurmounted by the quéenes maieſtie now liuing, who hath appointed huge ſummes of monie to be employed vpon the ornature and alteration of the mould, according to the forme of building vſed in our daies, which is more for pleaſure than for either profit or ſafegard. Such alſo hath béene the eſtimation of this place, that diuerſe kings haue not onelie béene interred there, but alſo made it the chiefe houſe of aſſemblie, and creation of the knights of the honorable order of the garter, than the which there is nothing in this land more magnificent and ſtatelie.

Grénewich. Grænewich was firſt builded by Humfreie duke of Gloceſter, vpon the Thames ſide foure miles eaſt from London, in the time of Henrie the firſt, and called Pleaſance. Afterwards it was greatlie inlarged by king Edw. 4. garniſhed by king Hen. 7. and finallie made perfect by king Hen. 8. the onelie Phenix of his time for fine and curious maſonrie.

Dartford. Not farre from this is Dartford, and not much diſtant alſo from the ſouthſide of the ſaid ſtreame, ſometime a nonnerie builded by Edward the third, but now a verie commodious palace, whereunto it was

Eltham. alſo conuerted by K. Henrie the eight. Eltham (as I take it) was builded by king Henrie the third, if not before. There are beſide theſe moreouer diuerſe other. But what ſhall I néed to take vpon me to repeat all, and tell what houſes the quéenes maieſtie hath? ſith all is hirs, and when it pleaſeth hir in the ſummer ſeaſon to recreat hir ſelfe abroad, and view the eſtate of the countrie, and heare the complaints of hir poore commons iniuried by hir vniuſt officers or their ſubſtitutes, euerie noble mans houſe is hir palace, where ſhe continueth during pleaſure, and till ſhe returne againe to ſome of hir owne, in which ſhe remaineth ſo long as pleaſeth hir.

Of the court. The court of England, which neceſſarilie is holden alwaies where the prince lieth, is in theſe daies one of the moſt renowmed and magnificent courts that are to be found in Europe. For whether you regard the rich and infinit furniture of houſehold, order of officers, or the interteinement of ſuch ſtrangers as dailie reſort vnto the ſame, you ſhall not find manie equall thereunto, much leſſe one excelling it in anie maner of wiſe. I might here (if I would, or had ſufficient diſpoſition of matter conceiued of the ſame) make a large diſcourſe of ſuch honorable parts, of ſuch graue councellors, and noble perſonages, as giue their dailie attendance vpon the quéenes maieſtie there. I could in like ſort ſet forth a ſingular commendation of the vertuous beautie, or beautifull vertues of ſuch ladies and gentlewomen as wait vpon hir perſon, betweene whoſe amiable countenances and coſtlineſſe of attire, there ſéemeth to be ſuch a dailie conflict and contention, as that it is verie difficult for me to geſſe, whether of the twaine ſhall beare awaie the préeminence. This further is

English courtiers the beſt learned & the worſt liuers. not to be omitted, to the ſingular commendation of both ſorts and ſeres of our courtiers here in England, that there are verie few of them, which haue not the vſe and ſkill of ſundrie ſpeaches, beſide an excellent veine of writing before time not regarded. Would to God the reſt of their liues and conuerſations were correſpondent to theſe gifts! for as our common courtiers (for the moſt part) are the beſt lerned and indued with excellent gifts, ſo are manie of them the worſt men when they come abroad, that anie man ſhall either heare or read of. Truelie it is a rare thing with vs now, to heare of a courtier which hath but his owne language. And to ſaie how many gentlewomen and ladies there are, that beſide ſound knowledge of the Gréeke and Latine tongs, are thereto no leſſe ſkilfull in the Spaniſh, Italian, and French, or in ſome one of them, it reſteth not in me: ſith I am perſuaded, that as the noble men and gentlemen do ſurmount in this behalfe, ſo theſe come verie little or nothing at all behind them for their parts, which induſtrie God continue, and accompliſh that which otherwiſe is wanting!

Beſide theſe things I could in like ſort ſet downe the waies and meanes, whereby our ancient ladies of the court do ſhun and auoid idleneſſe, ſome of them exerciſing their fingers with the nædle, other in caulworke, diuerſe in ſpinning of ſilke, ſome in continuall reading either of the holie ſcriptures, or hiſtories of our owne or forren nations about vs, and diuerſe in writing volumes of their owne, or tranſlating of other mens into our Engliſh and Latine tong, whileſt the youngeſt ſort in the meane time aplie their lutes, citharnes, prickeſong, and all kind of muſike, which they vſe onelie for recreation ſake, when they haue leiſure, and are free from attendance vpon the quéenes maieſtie, or ſuch as they belong vnto. How manie of the eldeſt ſort alſo are ſkilfull in ſurgerie and diſtillation of waters, beſide ſundrie other artificiall practiſes perteining to the ornature and commendations of their bodies, I might (if I liſted to deale further in this behalfe) eaſilie declare, but I paſſe ouer ſuch maner of dealing, leaſt I ſhould ſéeme to glauer, and currie fauour with ſome of them. Neuertheleſſe this I will generallie ſaie of them all, that as ech of them are cunning in ſomthing wherby they kéepe themſelues occupied in the court, ſo there is in maner none of them, but when they be at home, can helpe to ſupplie the ordinarie want of the kitchen with a number of delicat diſhes of their owne deuiſing, wherein the Portingall is their chéefe counſellor, as ſome of them are moſt commonlie with the clearke of the kitchen, who vſeth (by a tricke taken vp of late) to giue in a breéfe rehearſall of ſuch and ſo manie diſhes as are to come in at euerie courſe throughout the whole ſeruice in the dinner or ſupper while: which bill ſome do call a memorall, other a billet, but ſome a fillet, becauſe ſuch are commonlie hanged on the file, and kept by the ladie or gentlewoman vnto ſome other purpoſe. But whither am I digreſſed?

I might finallie deſcribe the large allowances in offices, and yearelie liueries, and thereunto the great plentie of gold and ſiluer plate, the ſeuerall peeces whereof are commonlie ſo great and maſſie, and the quantitie therof ſo abundantlie ſeruing all the houſhold, that (as I ſuppoſe) Cyniras, Creſus, and Traſus had not the like furniture: naie if Midas were now liuing & once againe put to his choiſe, I thinke he could aſke no more, or rather not halfe ſo much as is there to be ſéene and vſed. But I paſſe ouer to make ſuch needleſſe diſcourſes, reſoluing my ſelfe, that euen in this alſo, as in all the reſt, the exceeding mercie and louing kindneſſe of God doth wonderfullie appéere towards vs, in that he hath ſo largelie indued vs with theſe his ſo ample benefits.

In ſome great princes courts beyond the ſeas, & which euen for that cauſe are likened vnto hell by diuerſe learned writers that haue ſpent a great part of their time in them, as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, one (for example) who in his epiſtle *Ad aulicum quendam*

dam, ſaith thus: *An non in inferno es amice, qui es in aula, vbi dæmonum habitatio eſt, qui illic ſuis artibus humana licèt effigie regnant, atque vbi ſcelerum ſchola eſt, & animarum tactura ingens, ac quicquid vſpiam eſt perfidiæ ac doli, quicquid crudelitatis & inclemẽtiæ, quicquid effrænatæ ſuperbiæ, & rapacis auariciæ, quicquid obſcenæ libidinis fœdiſſimæ impudicitiæ, quicquid nefandæ impietatis, & morum peſſimorum, totum illic æceruatur cumulatiſſimè, vbi ſtupra, raptus, inceſtus, adulteria, principum & nobilium ludi ſunt, vbi faſtus & tumor, ira, liuor, fœdáque cupido cum ſocijs ſuis imperauit, vbi criminum omnium procellæ virtutúmque omniũ inenarrabile naufragium, &c.* In ſuch great princes courts (I ſaie) it is a woꝛld to ſée what lewd behauiour is vſed among diuerſe of thoſe that reſoꝛt vnto the ſame, and what whoꝛedome, ſwearing, ribaldꝛie, atheiſme, dicing, carding, carowſing, dꝛunkennelle, gluttonie, quareling, and ſuch like inconueniences dꝛw dailie take hold, and ſometimes euen among thoſe, in whoſe eſtates the like behauiour is leaſt conuenient (whereby their talke is verified which ſay that the thing increaſeth and groweth in the courts of pꝛinces ſauing vertue, which in ſuch places dooth languiſh and dailie vade away) all which enoꝛmities are either vtterlie expelled out of the court of England, oꝛ elſe ſo qualified by the diligent endeuour of the chiefe officers of hir graces houſehold, that ſeldome are anie of theſe things apparantlie ſéene there, without due repꝛehenſion, and ſuch ſeuere coꝛrection as belongeth to thoſe treſpaſſes. Finallie to auoid idlenelle, and pꝛeuent ſundꝛie tranſgreſſions, otherwiſe likelie to be committed and dꝛwne, ſuch oꝛder is taken, that euerie office hath either a bible, oꝛ the bookes of the acts and monuments of the church of England, oꝛ both, beſide ſome hiſtoꝛies and chꝛonicles lieng therein, foꝛ the exerciſe of ſuch as come into the ſame: whereby the ſtranger that entereth into the court of England vpon the ſudden, ſhall rather imagine himſelfe to come into ſome publike ſchoole of the vniuerſities, where manie giue eare to one that readeth, than into a pꝛinces palace, if you conferre the ſame with thoſe of other nations. Would to God all honoꝛable perſonages would take erample of hir graces godlie dealing in this behalfe, and ſhew their confoꝛmitie vnto theſe hir ſo good beginnings! which if they would, then ſhould manie grieuous offenſes (wherewith God is highlie diſpleaſed) be cut off and reſtreined, which now dꝛw reigne exceedinglie, in moſt noble and gentlemens houſes, wherof they ſée no paterne within hir graces gates.

Traines of attendants.

I might ſpeake here of the great traines and troopes of ſeruing men alſo, which attend vpon the nobilitie of England in their ſeuerall liueries, and with differences of cognilſances on their ſléeues, whereby it is knowen to whome they apperteine. I could alſo ſet dꝛwne what a godlie ſight it is to ſée them muſter in the court, which being filled with them dooth yéeld the contemplation of a noble varietie vnto the beholder, much like to the ſhew of the peacocks taile in the full beautie, oꝛ of ſome medow garniſhed with infinit kinds and diuerſitie of pleaſant floures. But I paſſe ouer the rehearſall hereof to other men, who moꝛe delite in vaine amplification than I, and ſéeke to be moꝛe curious in theſe points than I pꝛofeſſe to be.

The diſcipline of firme peace alſo that is maintened within a certeine compaſſe of the pꝛinces palace, is ſuch, as is nothing inferiour to that we ſée dailie pꝛactiſed in the beſt gouerned holds & foꝛtreſſes. And ſuch is the ſeuere puniſhment of thoſe that ſtrike within the limits pꝛohibited, that without all hope of mercie, benefit of clergie, oꝛ ſanctuarie, they are ſure to loſe their right hands at a ſtroke, and that in verie ſolemne maner, the forme whereof I will ſet dꝛwne, and then make an end of this chapter, to deale with other matters.

Striking within the court and palace of the pꝛince.

At ſuch time therefoꝛe as the partie tranſgreſſing is conuicted by a ſufficient inqueſt impanelled foꝛ the ſame purpoſe, and the time come of the execution of the ſentence, the ſergeant of the kings wood-yard pꝛouideth a ſquare blocke, which he bꝛingeth to ſome appointed place, and therewithall a great bꝛtle, ſtaple, and coꝛds, wherewith to faſten the hand of the offendoꝛ vnto the ſaid blocke, vntill the whole circumſtance of his execution be perfoꝛmed. The yeoman of the ſcullarie likewiſe foꝛ the time being, dooth pꝛouide a great fire of coales hard by the blocke, wherein the ſearing irons are to be made readie againſt the chiefe ſurgeon to the pꝛince oꝛ his deputie ſhall occupie the ſame. Upon him alſo dooth the ſergeant oꝛ chiefe farrour attend with thoſe irons, whoſe office is to deliuer them to the ſaid ſurgeon when he ſhall be redie by ſearing to vſe the ſame. The gꝛome of the ſalarie foꝛ the time being oꝛ his deputie is furthermoꝛe appointed to be readie with vineger and cold water, and not to depart from the place vntill the arme of the offendoꝛ be bound vp and fullie dꝛeſſed. And as theſe things are thus pꝛouided, ſo the ſergeant ſurgeon is bound from time to time to be readie to execute his charge, and ſeare the ſtumpe, when the hand is taken from it. The ſergeant of the cellar is at hand alſo with a cup of red wine, and likewiſe the chiefe officer of the pantrie with manchet bꝛead to giue vnto the ſaid partie after the execution dꝛwne, and the ſtumpe ſeared, as the ſergeant of the ewerie is with clothes, wherein to wind and wꝛap vp the arme, the yeoman of the poultrie with a cocke to laie vnto it, the yeoman of the chandꝛie with ſeared cloths, and finallie the maiſter cooke oꝛ his deputie with a charpe dꝛeſſing knife, which he deliuereth at the place of execution to the ſergeant of the larder, who dooth hold it vpꝛight in his hand, vntill the execution be perfoꝛmed by the publike officer appointed therevnto. And this is the maner of puniſhment oꝛdeined foꝛ thoſe that ſtrike within the pꝛinces palace, oꝛ limits of the ſame. Which ſhould firſt haue bæne executed on ſir Edmund Kneuet, in the yeare 1541. But when he had made great ſute to ſaue his right hand foꝛ the further ſeruice of the king in his warres, and willinglie yælded to foꝛgo his left, in the end the king pardoned him of both, to no ſmall benefit of the offendoꝛ, and publication of the bountifull nature that remained in the pꝛince. The like pꝛiuilege almoſt is giuen to churches and churchyards, although in maner of puniſhment great difference dꝛw appære. Foꝛ he that bꝛalleth oꝛ quarelleth in either of them, is by and by ſuſpended *Ab ingreſſu eccleſiæ*, vntill he be abſolued: as he is alſo that ſtriketh with the fiſt, oꝛ laieth violent hands vpon anie whome ſo euer. But if he happen to ſmite with ſtaffe, dagger, oꝛ anie maner of weapon, & the ſame be ſufficientlie found by the verdict of twelue men at his arrainement, beſide excommunication, he is ſure to loſe one of his eares without all hope of releaſe. But if he be ſuch a one as hath bæne twiſe condemned and executed, whereby he hath now none eares, then is he marked with an hot iron vpon the cheeke, and by the letter F, which is ſeared dæpe into his fleſh, he is from thenceforth noted as a common barratour and fraie maker, and therevnto remaineth excommunicate, till by repentance he deſerue to be abſolued. To ſtrike a clearke alſo (that is to ſaie) a miniſter, is plaine excommunication, and the offendoꝛ not to be abſolued but by the pꝛince oꝛ his eſpeciall cõmiſſion. Such alſo is the generall eſtate of the excõmunicate in euery reſpect, that he can yéeld no teſtimonie in anie matter ſo long as he ſo ſtandeth. No bargaine oꝛ ſale that he maketh is auaileable in law, neither anie of his acts whatſoeuer pleadable, wherby he liueth as

an outlaw & a man altogither out of the princes protection, although it be not lawfull to kill him, nor anie man otherwiſe outlawed, without the danger of fellonie.

Of armour and munition.

Chap. 16.

HOw well or how ſtronglie our countrie hath bene furniſhed in times paſt with armor and artillerie, it lieth not in me as of my ſelfe to make reherſall: Yet that it lacked both in the late time of queen Marie, not onlie the experience of mine elders, but alſo the talke of certeine Spaniards not yet forgotten, did leaue ſome manifeſt notice. Upon the firſt I need not ſtand, for few will denie it. For the ſecond I haue heard, that when one of the greateſt peeres of Spaine eſpied our naked neſſe in this behalfe, and did ſolemnelie vtter in no obſcure place, that it ſhould be an eaſie matter in ſhort time to conquer England, bicauſe it wanted armor, his words were then not ſo raſhlie vttered, as they were politikelie noted. For albeit that for the preſent time their efficacie was diſſembled, and ſemblance made as though he ſpake but merilie, yet at the verie enterance of this our gratious queene vnto the poſſeſſion of the crowne, they were ſo prouidentlie called to remembrance, and ſuch ſpedie reformation ſought of all hands for the redreſſe of this inconuenience, that our countrie was ſomer furniſhed with armour and munition, from diuerſe parts of the maine (beſide great plentie that was forged here at home) than our enimies could get vnderſtanding of anie ſuch prouiſion to be made. By this policie alſo was the no ſmall hope conceiued by Spaniards vtterlie cut off, who of open frends being now become our ſecret enimies, and thereto watching a time wherein to atchieue ſome heanie exploit againſt vs and our countrie, did thereupon change their purpoſes, whereby England obteined reſt, that otherwiſe might haue bene ſure of ſharpe and cruell wars. Thus a Spaniſh word vttered by one man at one time, ouerthrew or at the leaſt wiſe hindered ſundrie priuie practiſes of manie at another. In times paſt the cheefe force of England conſiſted in their long bowes. But now we haue in maner generallie giuen ouer that kind of artillerie, and for long bowes in deed do practiſe to ſhot compaſſe for our paſtime: which kind of ſhooting can neuer yeld anie ſmart ſtroke, nor beat downe our enimies, as our countrie men were wont to do at euerie time of need. Certes the Frenchmen and Rutters deriding our new archerie in reſpect of their corſlets, will not let in open ſkirmiſh, if anie leiſure ſerue, to turne vp their tailes and crie; Shote English, and all bicauſe our ſtrong ſhooting is decaied and laid in bed. But if ſome of our Engliſhmen now liued that ſerued king Edward the third in his warres with France, the breech of ſuch a varlet ſhould haue bene nailed to his bum with one arrow, and an other fethered in his bowels, before he ſhould haue turned about to ſee who ſhot the firſt. But as our ſhooting is thus in manner vtterlie decaied among vs one waie, ſo our countrie men wer ſkilfull in ſundrie other points, as in ſhooting in ſmall peeces, the caliuer, and handling of the pike, in the ſeuerall vſes whereof they are become verie expert.

Our armour differeth not from that of other nations, and therefore conſiſteth of corſlets, almaine riuets, ſhirts of maile, tackes quilted and couered ouer with leather, fuſtian, or canuas, ouer thicke plates of iron that are ſowed in the ſame, & of which there is no towne or village that hath not hir conuenient furniture. The ſaid armour and munition likewiſe is kept in one ſeuerall place of euerie towne, appointed by the conſent of the whole pariſh, where it is alwaies readie to be had and worne within an houres warning. Sometime alſo it is occupied, when it pleaſeth the magiſtrate either to view the able men, & take note of the well keeping of the ſame, or finallie to ſee thoſe that are inrolled to exerciſe each one his ſeuerall weapon, at the charge of the townſmen of each pariſh according to his appointment. Certes there is almoſt no village ſo poore in England (be it neuer ſo ſmall) that hath not ſufficient furniture in a readineſſe to ſet forth three or foure ſoldiors, as one archer, one gunner, one pike, & a bilman at the leaſt. So there is not ſo much wanting as their verie liueries and caps, which are leaſt to be accounted of, if anie haſt required: ſo that if this good order may continue, it ſhall be vnpoſſible for the ſudden enimie to find vs vnprouided. As for able men for ſeruice, thanked be God, we are not without good ſtore, for by the muſters taken 1574 and 1575, our number amounted to 1172674, and yet were they not ſo narrowlie taken, but that a third part of this like multitude was left vnbilled and vncalled. What ſtore of munition and armour the queenes maieſtie hath in hir ſtore-houſes, it lieth not in me to yeld account, ſith I ſuppoſe the ſame to be infinit. And whereas it was commonlie ſaid after the loſſe of Calis, that England ſhould neuer recouer the ſtore of ordinance there left and loſt: that ſame is at this time proued falſe, ſith euen ſome of the ſame perſons do now confeſſe, that this land was neuer better furniſhed with theſe things in anie kings daies that reigned ſince the conqueſt.

The names of our greateſt ordinance are commonlie theſe.

Robinet, whoſe weight is two hundred pounds, and it hath one inch and a quarter within the mouth.

Falconet weigheth fiue hundred pounds, and his widenеſſe is two inches within the mouth.

Falcon hath eight hundred pounds, and two inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Minion poiſeth eleauen hundred pounds, and hath three inches and a quarter within the mouth.

Sacre hath fifteene hundred poundes, and is three inches and a halfe wide in the mouth.

Demie Culuerijn weigheth three thouſand pounds, and hath foure inches and a halfe within the mouth.

Culuerijn hath foure thouſand pounds, and fiue inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Demie Canon ſix thouſand pounds, and ſix inches and an halfe within the mouth.

Canon ſeauen thouſand pounds, and eight inches within the mouth.

E. Canon eight thouſand pounds, and ſeauen inches within the mouth.

Baſiliske 9000 pounds, eight inches, and three quarters within the mouth. By which proportions alſo it is eaſie to come by the weight of euerie ſhot, how manie ſcores it doth flee at point blanke, how much pouder is to be had to the ſame, & finallie how manie inches in height ech bullet ought to carrie.

Malè muſi cum Marte.

The

The names of the greateſt ordinance.		Weight of the ſhot.	Scores of cariage.	Pounds of pouder.	Height of bullet.
Robinet.		1. li.	0	½	1
Falconet.		2. li.	14	2	1 ⅜
Falcon.		2. ½.	16	2⅝	2 ¼
Minion.		4. ½.	17	4½	3
Sacre.		5	18	5	3 ⅜
Demie Culuerijn.	hath	9	20	9	4
Culuerijn.		18	25	18	5 ⅛
Demie canon.		30	38	28	6 ¾
Canon.		60	20	44	7 ⅞
E. Canon.		42	20	20	6 ⅝
Baſiliske.		60	21	60	8 ¼

I might here take iuſt occaſion to ſpeake of the princes armories. But what ſhall it need? ſith the whole realme is hir armorie, and therefore hir furniture infinit. The Turke had one gun made by one Orban a Dane, the caſter of his ordinance, which could not be drawen to the ſiege of Conſtantinople, but by ſeauentie yokes of oxen, and two thouſand men; he had two other there alſo whoſe ſhot poiſed aboue two talents in weight, made by the ſame Orban. But to proceed. As for the armories of ſome of the nobilitie (whereof I alſo haue ſeene a part) they are ſo well furniſhed, that within ſome one barons cuſtodie I haue ſeene three ſcore or a hundred coſſets at once, beſide caliuers, handguns, bowes, ſheffes of arrowes, pikes, bils, polaxes, flaſkes, touchboxes, targets, &c: the verie ſight whereof appalled my courage. What would the wearing of ſome of them do then (trow you) if I ſhould be inforced to vſe one of them in the field? But thanked be God, our peaceable daies are ſuch, as no man hath anie great cauſe to occupie them at all, but onelie taketh good leiſure to haue them in a readineſſe, and therefore both high and lowe in England

Cymbala pro galeis pro ſcutis tympana pulſant.

I would write here alſo of our maner of going to the warres, but what hath the long blacke gowne to do with glittering armour? what ſound acquaintance can there be betwixt Mars and the Muſes? or how ſhould a man write anie thing to the purpoſe of that wherewith he is nothing acquainted? This neuertheleſſe will I adde of things at home, that ſeldome ſhall you ſee anie of my countriemen aboue eightéene or twentie yéeres old to go without a dagger at the leaſt at his backe or by his ſide, although they be aged burgeſſes or magiſtrates of anie citie, who in appearance are moſt exempt from brabling and contention. Our nobilitie weare commonlie ſwords or rapiers with their daggers, as doth euerie common ſeruing man alſo that followeth his lord and maſter. Some deſperate cutters we haue in like ſort, which carrie two daggers or two rapiers in a ſheath alwaies about them, wherewith in euerie drunken fraie they are knowen to worke much miſchiefe; their ſwords & daggers alſo are of a great length, and longer than the like vſed in anie other countrie, whereby ech one pretendeth to haue the more aduantage of his enimie. But as manie orders haue béene taken for the intollerable length of theſe weapons; ſo I ſée as yet ſmall redreſſe: but where the cauſe thereof doth reſt, in ſooth for my part I wote not. I might here ſpeake of the exceſſiue ſtaues which diuerſe that trauell by the waie do carrie vpon their ſhoulders, whereof ſome are twelue or thirtéene foote long, beſide the pike of twelue inches: but as they are commonlie ſuſpected of honeſt men to be theeues and robbers, or at the leaſt wiſe ſcarſe true men which beare them; ſo by reaſon of this and the like ſuſpicious weapons, the honeſt trauceller is now inforced to ride with a caſe of dags at his ſadle bow, or with ſome prettie ſhort ſnapper, whereby he may deale with them further off in his owne defenſe before he come within the danger of theſe weapons. Finallie, no man trauelleth by the waie without his ſword, or ſome ſuch weapon, with vs; except the miniſter, who cõmonlie weareth none at all, vnleſſe it be a dagger or hanger at his ſide. Seldome alſo are they or anie other waifaring men robbed without the conſent of the chamberleine, tapſter, or oſtler where they bait & lie, who taking at their alighting whether their capcaſes or budgets be of anie weight or not, by taking them downe from their ſadles, or otherwiſe ſee their ſtore in drawing of their purſes, do by and by giue intimation to ſome one or other attendant dailie in the yard or houſe, or dwelling hard by vpon ſuch matches, whether the prete be worth the following or no. If it be for their turne, then the gentleman peraduenture is aſked which waie he trauelleth, and whether it pleaſe him to haue another gheſt to beare him companie at ſupper, who rideth the ſame waie in the morning that he doth, or not. And thus if he admit him or be glad of his acquaintance, the cheate is halfe wrought. And often it is ſeene that the new gheſt ſhall be robbed with the old, onelie to colour out the matter and keepe him from ſuſpicion. Sometimes when they knowe which waie the paſſenger trauelleth, they will either go before and lie in wait for him, or elſe come galloping apace after, wherby they will be ſure, if he ride not the ſtronger, to be fingering with his purſe. And theſe are ſome of the policies of ſuch ſhrewes or cloſe booted gentlemen as lie in wait for fat booties by the high waies, and which are moſt commonlie practiſed in the winter ſeaſon about the feaſt of Chriſtmas, when ſeruing men and vnthriftie gentlemen want monie to plaie at the dice and cards, lewdlie ſpending in ſuch wiſe whatſoeuer they haue wickedlie gotten, till ſome of them ſharplie ſet vpon their cheuiſances, be truſſed vp in a Tiburne tippet, which happeneth vnto them commonlie before they come to middle age. Wherby it appéereth that ſome ſort of youth will oft haue his ſwinge, although it be in a halter.

Malmeſb. de Geſt. Regum.

I might alſo intreat of our old maner of warfare vſed in and before the time of Ceſar, when as the cheefe brunt of our fight was in *Eſſedis* or wagons; but this I alſo paſſe ouer, noting neuertheleſſe out of Propertius, that our ſaid wagons were gorgeous and gaillie painted, which he ſetteth downe in theſe foure verſes inſuing, *Arethuſæ ad Lycotam, lib. 4. eleg. 3.*

Te modò viderunt iteratos Bactra per ortus,
Te modò munito Sericus hoſtis equo,
Hibernique Getæ, pictóque Brittannia curru,
Pſius & Eoa diſcolor Indus aqua.

Of the nauie of England.

Chap. 17.

THere is nothing that hath brought me into more admiration of the power and force of antiquitie, than their diligence and care had of their names: wherein, whether I conſider their ſpeedie building, or great number of ſhips which ſome one kingdome or region poſſeſſed at one inſtant; it giueth me ſtill occaſion, either to ſuſpect the hiſtorie, or to thinke that in our times we come verie farre behind them. For what a thing is it to haue a ſhip growing on the ſtub, and ſailing on the ſea within the ſpace of fiue and fiftie daies? And yet ſuch a nauie was to be ſeene in the firſt warre of Carthage, led thither by Duellius the Romane. In the warres alſo againſt Hieron two hundred and twentie tall ſhips bare leafe & ſaile within fiue and fortie daies. In the ſecond warre of Carthage the nauie that went with Scipio was felled in the wood, and ſeene to ſaile on the ſea fullie furniſhed in ſire werkes: which vnto them that are ignorant of things doth ſeeme to be falſe and vnpoſſible. In like maner for multitude, we find in Polybius, that at one ſkirmiſh on the ſea the Romans loſt ſeauen hundred veſſels, which bare ech of them fiue rowes of ores on a ſide, and the Carthaginenſes fiue hundred. And albeit the formes and apparell of theſe veſſels were not altogither correſpondent to our ſhips and gallies made in theſe daies: yet the capacitie of moſt of them did not onelie match, but farre exceed them; ſo that if one of their biremes onlie conteined ſo much in burden as a ſhip of ours of ſir hundred tun: what ſhall we thinke of thoſe which had ſeauen rowes of ores walking on a ſide? But leaſt I ſhould ſeeme to ſpeake more of theſe forren things than the courſe of the hiſtorie doth permit without licence to digreſſe: giue me leaue (I beſeech thee gentle reader) to wade yet a little further in the report of theſe ancient formes & kinds of veſſels. For albeit that the diſcourſe hereof maketh little to the deſcription of our preſent nauie in England: yet ſhall the report thereof not be vnprofitable and vnpleaſant to ſuch as ſhall reade among the writings of their capacities and moulds. It ſhall not be amiſſe therefore to begin at the nauie of Xerxes, of which ech meane veſſell (as appeereth by Herodot) was able to receiue two hundred and thirtie ſouldiers, and ſome of them three hundred. Theſe were called triremes, and were indeede gallies that had three rowes of ores on euerie ſide; for the word *Nauis* is indifferentlie applied ſo well to the gallie as ſhip, as to the conuerſant in hiſtories is eaſie to be found. In old time alſo they had gallies of foure rowes, fiue rowes, ſir, ſeauen, eight, nine, twelue, yea fiftéene rowes of ores on a ſide; iudge you then of what quantitie thoſe veſſels were. Plinie lib. 7. noteth one Damaſthenes to be the firſt maker of the gallies with two rowes called biremes: Thucidides referreth the triremes to Ammocles of Corinthum; the quadriremes were deuiſed by Ariſtotle of Carthage; the quinquiremes by Meſichthon of Salamina; the gallie of ſir rowes by Xenagoras of Syracuſa: from this to the tenth Peſigiton brought vp; Alexander the great cauſed one to be made of twelue; Ptolomeus Soter of fiftéene; Demetrius the ſonne of Antigonus of thirtie; Ptolom. Philad. of fortie; Ptol. Triphon of fiftie: all which aboue foure were none other (in mine opinion) than vnweldie carts, and more ſeruing for pleaſure and to gaze vpon, than anie vſe in the wars for which they ſhould be deuiſed. But of all other I note one of fortie rowes, which Ptolo. Philopater builded, conteining 200 and eightie cubits in length, and eight and fortie cubits in breadth: it held alſo foure thouſand ores, foure hundred mariners, and three thouſand ſouldiers, ſo that in the ſaid veſſell were ſeauen thouſand and foure hundred perſons: a report incredible, if truth and good teſtimonie did not confirme the ſame. I muſt needs confeſſe therefore, that the ancient veſſels far exceeded ours for capacitie: neuertheleſſe if you regard the forme, and the aſſurance from perill of the ſea, and therewithall the ſtrength and nimbleneſſe of ſuch as are made in our time, you ſhall eaſilie find that ours are of more value than theirs: for as the greateſt veſſell is not alwaies the ſafeſt, ſo that of moſt huge capacitie is not alwaies the aptеſt to ſhift and breake the ſeas: as might be ſeene by the great Henrie, the hugeſt veſſell that euer England framed in our times. Neither were the ſhips of old like vnto ours in mould and maner of building aboue the water (for of low gallies in our ſeas we make ſmall account) nor ſo full of eaſe within, ſith time hath ingendred more ſkill in the wrights, and brought all things to more perfection than they had in the beginning. And now to come vnto our purpoſe at the firſt intended.

The nauie of England may be diuided into three ſortes, of which the one ſerueth for the warres, the other for burden, and the third for fiſhermen, which get their liuing by fiſhing on the ſea. How manie of the firſt order are mainteined within the realme, it paſſeth my cunning to expreſſe; yet ſith it may be parted into the nauie rotall and common fleete, I thinke good to ſpeake of thoſe that belong vnto the prince, and ſo much the rather, for that their number is certeine & well knowne to verie manie. Certes there is no prince in Europe that hath a more beautifull or gallant ſort of ſhips than the queenes maieſtie of England at this preſent, and thoſe generallie are of ſuch exceeding force, that two of them being well appointed and furniſhed as they ought, will not let to encounter with three or foure of thoſe of other countries, and either bowge them or put them to flight, if they may not bring them home.

Neither are the moulds of anie forren barkes ſo conuenientlie made, to breake ſo well one ſea as another lieng vpon the ſhore in anie part of the continent as thoſe of England. And therefore the common report that ſtrangers make of our ſhips amongſt themſelues is dailie confirmed to be true, which is, that for ſtrength, aſſurance, nimbleneſſe and ſwiftneſſe of ſailing, there are no veſſels in the world to be compared with ours. And all theſe are committed to the regiment and ſafe cuſtodie of the admerall, who is ſo called (as ſome imagine) of the Greeke word Almiras a capiteine on the ſea, for ſo ſaith Zonaras *in Baſilio Macedone & Baſilio Porphyriogenito*, though other fetch it from Admare the Latine words, another ſort from Amyras the Saracen magiſtrate, or from ſome French deriuation: but theſe things are not for this place, and therefore I paſſe them ouer. The queenes highneſſe hath at this preſent (which is the foure and twentith of hir reigne) alreadie made and furniſhed, to the number of foure or fiue and twentie great ſhips, which lie for the moſt part in Gillingham rode, beſide three gallies, of whoſe particular names and furnitures (ſo far forth as I can come by them) it ſhall not be amiſſe to make report at this time.

The names of ſo manie ſhips belonging to hir maieſtie as I could come by at this preſent.

The Bonaduenture.	Foreſight.
Elizabeth Ionas.	Swift ſute.
White Beare.	Aid.
Philip and Marie.	Handmaid.
Triumph.	Dread nought.
Bull.	Swallow.
Tiger.	Genet.
Antlope.	Barke of Bullen.
Hope.	Adiates.
Lion.	Falcon.
Victorie.	George.
Marie Roſe.	Reuenge.

It is ſaid, that as kings and princes haue in the yong dates of the world, and long ſince framed themſelues to erect euerie yeare a citie in ſome one place or other of their kingdoms (and no ſmall wonder that Sardanapalus ſhould begin & finiſh two, to wit, Anchialus and Tharſus in one daie) ſo hir grace doth yearelie build one ſhip or other to the better defenſe of hir frontiers from the enimie. But as of this report I haue no aſſured certeintie, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much of theſe things: yet this I thinke worthie further to be added, that if they ſhould all be driuen to ſeruice at one inſtant) which God forbid) ſhe ſhould haue a power by ſea of about nine or ten thouſand men, which were a notable companie, beſide the ſupplie of other veſſels apperteining to hir ſubiects to furniſh vp hir voiage.

Beſide theſe hir grace hath other in hand alſo, of whom hereafter as their turnes do come about, I will not let to leaue ſome further remembrance. She hath likewiſe three notable gallies: the Speed well, the Tric right, and the Blacke gallie, with the ſight whereof and reſt of the nauie roiall, it is incredible to ſaie how greatlie hir grace is delighted: and not without great cauſe (I ſaie) ſith by their meanes hir coaſts are kept in quiet, and ſundrie forren enimies put backe, which otherwiſe would inuade vs. The number of thoſe that ſerue for burden with the other, whereof I haue made mention alreadie, and whoſe vſe is dailie ſeene, as occaſion ſerueth, in time of the warres, is to me vtterlie vnknowne. Yet if the report of one record be anie thing at all to be credited, there are 135 ſhips that exceed 500 tun, topmen vnder 100 and aboue fortie 656: hoies 100: but of hulkes, catches, fiſherboats, and craiers, it lieth not in me to deliuer the iuſt account, ſith they are hardlie to come by. Of theſe alſo there are ſome of the queenes maieſties ſubiects that haue two or three, ſome foure or ſix, and (as I heard of late) one man whoſe name I ſuppreſſe for modeſties ſake, hath bene knowne not long ſince to haue had ſixteene or ſeuenteene, and emploied them wholie to the waſting in and out of our merchants, whereby he hath reaped no ſmall commoditie and gaine. I might take occaſion to tell of the notable and difficult voiages made into ſtrange countries by Engliſhmen, and of their dailie ſucceſſe there: but as theſe things are nothing incident to my purpoſe, ſo I ſurceaſe to ſpeake of them. Onelie this will I ad, to the end all men ſhall vnderſtand ſomewhat of the great maſſes of treaſure dailie emploied vpon our nauie, how there are few of thoſe ſhips, of the firſt and ſecond ſort, that being apparelled and made readie to ſale, are not worth one thouſand pounds, or three thouſand ducats at the leaſt, if they ſhould preſentlie be ſold. What ſhall we thinke then of the greater, but eſpeciallie of the nauie roiall, of which ſome one veſſell is worth two of the other, as the ſhipwrights haue often told me? It is poſſible that ſome couetous perſon hearing this report, will either not credit it at all, or ſuppoſe monie ſo emploied to be nothing profitable to the quæenes coffers: as a good huſband ſaid once when he hard there ſhould be prouiſion made for armor, wiſhing the quæenes monie to be rather laid out to ſome ſpeedier returne of gaine vnto hir grace, becauſe the realme (ſaith he) is in caſe good enough, and ſo peraduenture he thought. But if as by ſtore of armour for the defenſe of the countrie, he had likewiſe vnderſtanded that the good keeping of the ſea, is the ſafegard of our land, he would haue altered his cenſure, and ſome giuen ouer his iudgement. For in times paſt, when our nation made ſmall account of nauigation, how ſone did the Romans, then the Saxons, & laſt of all the Danes inuade this Iland? whoſe crueltie in the end inforced our countrimen, as it were euen againſt their wils, to prouide for ſhips from other places, and build at home of their owne, whereby their enimies were oftentimes diſtreſſed. But moſt of all were the Normans therein to be commended. For in a ſhort proceſſe of time after the conqueſt of this Iland, and good conſideration had for the well keeping of the ſame, they ſuppoſed nothing more commodious for the defenſe of the countrie, than the maintenance of a ſtrong nauie, which they ſpedilie prouided, mainteined, and thereby reaped in the end their wiſhed ſecuritie, wherewith before their times this Iland was neuer acquainted. Before the comming of the Romans, I do not read that we had anie ſhips at all, except a few made of wicker and couered with buffle hides, like vnto the which there are ſome to be ſeene at this preſent in Scotland (as I heare) although there be a little (I wote not well what) difference betweene them. Of the ſame alſo Solinus ſpeaketh, ſo far as I remember: neuertheleſſe it may be gathered by his words, how the vpper parts of them aboue the water onelie were framed of the ſaid wickers, and that the Britons did vſe to faſt all the whiles they went to the ſea in them: but whether it were done for policie or ſuperſtition, as yet I do not read.

The Britons faſted all the while they were at the ſea in theſe ſhips.

In the beginning of the Saxons regiment we had ſome ſhips alſo, but as their number and mould was litle and nothing to the purpoſe, ſo Egbert was the firſt prince that euer throughlie began to know this neceſſitie of a nauie, and vſe the ſeruice thereof in the defenſe of his countrie. After him alſo other princes, as Alfred, Edgar, Ethelred, &c: indeuoured more and more to ſtore themſelues at the full with ſhips of all quantities, but chieflie Edgar, for he prouided a nauie of 1600 *alias* 3600 ſaile, which he diuided into foure parts, and ſent them to abide vpon foure ſundrie coaſts of the land to keepe the ſame from pirats. Next vnto him (and worthie to be remembred) is Ethelred, who made a law, that euerie man holding 310 hidelands, ſhould find a ſhip furniſhed to ſerue him in the warres. Howbeit, and as I ſaid before, when all their nauie was at the greateſt, it was not comparable for force and ſure building, to that which afterward the Normans prouided; neither that of the Normans anie thing like to the ſame that is to be ſeene now in theſe our daies. For the iourneies alſo of our ſhips, you ſhall vnderſtand, that a well builded veſſell will run or ſaile commonlie three hundred leagues or nine hundred miles in a weeke, or peraduenture ſome will go 2200 leagues in ſix weekes and an halfe. And ſuerlie, if their lading be readie againſt they come thither, there be of them that will be here, at the weſt Indies, & home againe in twelue or thirteene weekes from Colcheſter; although the ſaid Indies be eight hundred leagues from the cape or point of Cornewall, as I haue beene informed. This alſo I vnderſtand

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by report of ſome trauellers, that if anie of our veſſels happen to make a voiage to Hiſpaniola or new Spaine, called in time paſt Quinquezia and Haiti, and lieth betweene the north tropike and the equator, after they haue once touched at the Canaries, (which are eight daies ſailing or two hundred and fiftie leages from S. Lucas de Barameda in Spaine) they will be there in thirtie or fourtie daies, & home againe in Cornewall in other eight weekes, which is a goodlie matter, beſide the ſafetie and quietneſſe in the paſſage. But more of this elſewhere.

Of faires and markets.

Chap. 18.

THere are (as I take it) few great townes in England, that haue not their weekelie markets, one or more granted from the prince, in which all maner of proviſion for houſhold is to be bought and ſold, for eaſe and benefit of the countrie round about. Wherby as it cõmeth to paſſe that no buier ſhall make anie great iourneie in the purueiance of his neceſſities: ſo no occupier ſhall haue occaſion to trauell far off with his commodities, except it be to ſeeke for the higheſt prices, which commonlie are nere vnto great cities, where round and ſpeedieſt vtterance is alwaies to be had. And as theſe haue beene in times paſt created for the benefit of the realme, ſo are they in manie places too too much abuſed: for the reliefe and eaſe of the buier is not ſo much intended in them, as the benefit of the ſeller. Neither are the magiſtrats for the moſt part (as men loth to diſpleaſe their neighbours for their one yeares dignitie) ſo carefull in their offices, as of right and dutie they ſhould bee. For in moſt of theſe markets neither aſſiſes of bread nor orders for goodneſſe and ſweetneſſe of graine, and other commodities that are brought thither to be ſold, are anie whit looked vnto; but ech one ſuffered to ſell or ſet vp what and how himſelfe liſteth: & this is one euident cauſe of dearth and ſcarſitie in time of great abundance.

I could (if I would) exemplifie in manie, but I will touch no one particularlie, ſith it is rare to ſee in anie countrie towne (as I ſaid) the aſſiſe of bread well kept according to the ſtatute. And yet if anie countrie baker happen to come in among them on the market daie with bread of better quantitie, they find fault by and by with one thing or another in his ſtuffe; whereby the honeſt poore man, whome the law of nations doo commend, for that he indeuoureth to liue by anie lawfull meanes, is driuen awaie, and no more to come there vpon ſome round penaltie, by vertue of their priuileges. Howbeit though they are ſo nice in the proportion of their bread, yet in lieu of the ſame, there is ſuch headie ale & beere in moſt of them, as for the mightineſſe thereof among ſuch as ſeeke it out, is commonlie called huffecap, the mad dog, father whoreſonne, angels food, dragons milke, go by the wall, ſtride wide, and lift leg, &c. And this is more to be noted, that when one of late fell by Gods prouidence into a troubled conſcience, after he had conſidered well of his reacheleſſe life, and dangerous eſtate: another thinking belike to change his colour and not his mind, caried him ſtraightwaie to the ſtrongeſt ale, as to the nert phyſician. It is incredible to ſaie how our maltbugs lug at this liquor, euen as pigs ſhould lie in a row, lugging at their dames teats, till they lie ſtill againe, and be not able to wag. Neither did Romulus and Remus ſucke their thee woolfe or ſhepheards wife Lupa, with ſuch eger and ſharpe deuotion, as theſe men hale at huſcap, till they be red as cockes, & little wiſer than their combs. But how am I fallen from the market into the ale-houſe? In returning therefore vnto my purpoſe, I find that in corne great abuſe is dailie ſuffered, to the great preiudice of the towne and countrie, eſpeciallie the poore artificer and houſeholder, which tilleth no land, but laboring all the weeke to buie a buſhell or two of graine on the market daie, can there haue none for his monie: bicauſe bodgers, loders, and common carriers of corne doo not onlie buie vp all, but giue aboue the price, to be ſerued of great quantities. Shall I go anie further? Well I will ſaie yet a little more, and ſomewhat by mine owne experience.

At Michaelmaſſe time poore men muſt make monie of their graine, that they may paie their rents. So long then as the poore man hath to ſell, rich men will bring out none, but rather buie vp that which the poore bring, vnder pretenſe of ſeed corne, or alteration of graine, although they bring none of their owne, bicauſe one wheat often ſowen without change of ſeed, will ſome deeale and be conuerted into darnell. For this cauſe therefore they muſt needs buie in the markets, though they be twentie miles off and where they be not knowne, promiſing there if they happen to be eſpied (which God wot is verie ſeldome) to ſend ſo much to their next market, to be performed I wot not when.

If this ſhift ſerue not (neither doth the for vſe alwaies one tracke for feare of a ſnare) they will compound with ſome one of the towne where the market is holden, who for a pot of huſcap or merie go downe, will not let to buie it for them, and that in his owne name. Or elſe they wage one poore man or other, to become a bodger, and thereto get him a licence vpon ſome forged ſurmiſe, which being done, they will feed him with monie, to buie for them till he hath filled their lofts, and then if he can doo any good for himſelfe ſo it is, if not, they will giue him ſomewhat for his paines at this time, & reſerue him for an other yeare. How manie of the like prouiders ſtumble vpon blind creekes at the ſea coaſt, I wote not well; but that ſome haue ſo done and yet doo vnder other mens wings, the caſe is too too plaine. But who dare find fault with them, when they haue once a licence? yea though it be but to ſerue a meane gentlemans houſe with corne, who hath caſt vp all his tillage, bicauſe he boaſteth how he can buie his graine in the market better cheape, than he can ſow his land, as the rich grazier often doth alſo vpon the like deuiſe, bicauſe grazing requireth a ſmaller houſehold and leſſe attendance and charge. If anie man come to buie a buſhell or two for his expenſes vnto the market croſſe, anſwer is made; Forſooth here was one euen now that bad me monie for it, and I hope he will haue it. And to ſaie the truth, theſe bodgers are faire chapmen, for there are no more words with them, but Let me ſee it, what ſhall I giue you, knit it vp, I will haue it, go carie it to ſuch a chamber, and if you bring in twentie ſeme more in the weeke daie to ſuch an Inne or ſollar where I laie my corne, I will haue it and giue you pence or more in euerie buſhell for ſir weekes day of paiment than an other will. Thus the bodgers beare awaie all, ſo that the poore artificer and labourer cannot make his proviſion in the markets, ſith they will hardlie now adaies ſell by the buſhell, nor breake their meaſure; and ſo much the rather, for that the buier will looke (as they ſaie) for ſo much ouer meaſure in a buſhell as the bodger will doo in a quarter. Naie the poore man cannot off get anie of the farmer at home, bicauſe he prouideth altogither to ſerue the bodger, or hath an hope grounded vpon a greedie and inſatiable deſire of gaine, that the ſale will be better in the market: ſo that he muſt

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giue two pence or a groate more in a buſhell at his houſe than the laſt market craued, or elſe go without it, and ſléepe with an hungrie bellie. Of the common carriage of corne ouer vnto the parts beyond the ſeas I ſpeake not; or at the leaſtwiſe if I ſhould, I could not touch it alone but néeds muſt ioine other prouiſion withall, whereby not onelie our frends abroad, but alſo manie of our aduerſaries and countriemen the papiſts are abundantlie relieued (as the report goeth) but ſith I ſée it not, I will not ſo truſt mine eares as to write it for a truth. But to returne to our markets againe.

By this time the poore occupier hath all ſold his crop for néed of monie, being readie peraduenture to buie againe yer long. And now is the whole ſale of corne in the great occupiers hands, who hitherto haue threſhed little or none of their owne, but bought vp of other men, ſo much as they could come by. Henceforth alſo they begin to ſell, not by the quarter or load at the firſt, for marring the market, but by the buſhell or two, or an horſeload at the moſt, therby to be ſéene to kéepe the croſſe, either for a ſhew, or to make men eger to buie, and ſo as they may haue it for monie, not to regard what they paie. And thus corne wareth déere, but it will be déerer the nert market daie. It is poſſible alſo that they miſlike the price in the beginning for the whole yeare inſuing, as men ſuppoſing that corne will be litle worth for this, & of better price in the nert yeare. For they haue certeine ſuperſtitious obſeruations, whereby they will giue a geſſe at the ſale of corne for the yeare following. And our countriemen doo vſe commonlie for barleie where I dwell, to iudge after the price at Baldocke vpon S. Matthewes daie, and for wheat as it is ſold in ſéed time. They take in like ſort experiment by light of the firſt flockes of cranes that flée ſouthward in winter, the age of the moone in the beginning of Januarie, & ſuch other apiſh toies, as by laieng twelue cornes vpon the hot hearth for the twelue moneths, &c: whereby they ſhew themſelues to be ſcant good chriſtians, but what care they ſo they may come by monie? Herevpon alſo will they threſh out three parts of the old corne, toward the latter end of the ſummer, when new commeth apace to hand, and caſt the ſame in the fourth vnthreſhed, where it ſhall lie vntill the nert ſpring, or peraduenture till it muſt and putriſie. Certes it is not to intie to ſée muſtie corne in manie of our great markets of England, which theſe great occupiers bring forth when they can kéepe it no longer. But as they are inforced oftentimes vpon this one occaſion ſomwhat to abate the price, ſo a plague is not ſeldome ingendred thereby among the poore ſort that of neceſſitie muſt buie the ſame, wherby manie thouſands of all degrees are conſumed, of whoſe deaths (in mine opinion) theſe farmers are not vnguiltie. But to proceed. If they laie not vp their graine or wheat in this maner, they haue yet another policie, whereby they will ſéeme to haue but ſmall ſtore left in their barnes: for elſe they will gird their ſheues by the band, and ſtacke it vp of new in leſſe rome, to the end it may not onlie ſéeme leſſe in quantitie, but alſo giue place to the corne that is yet to come into the barne, or growing in the field. If there happen to be ſuch plentie in the market on anie market daie, that they cannot ſell at their own price, then will they ſet it vp in ſome frends houſe, againſt an other or the third daie, & not bring it forth till they like of the ſale. If they ſell anie at home, beſide harder meaſure, it ſhall be déerer to the poore man that bieth it by two pence or a groat in a buſhell than they may ſell it in the market. But as theſe things are worthie redreſſe, ſo I wiſh that God would once open their eies that deale thus, to ſée their owne errours: for as yet ſome of them little care how manie poore men ſuffer extremitie, ſo that they may fill their purſes, and carie awaie the gaine.

It is a world alſo to ſée how moſt places of the realme are peſtered with purueiours, who take vp egs, butter, cheeſe, pigs, capons, hens, chickens, hogs, bakon, &c: in one market, vnder pretenſe of their commiſſions, & ſuffer their wiues to ſell the ſame in another, or to pulters of London. If theſe chapmen be abſent but two or three market daies, then we may perfectlie ſée theſe wares to be more reaſonablie ſold, and thereunto the croſſes ſufficientlie furniſhed of all things. In like ſort, ſince the number of butchermen haue ſo much increaſed, and ſince they trauell in ſuch wiſe, that they come to mens houſes for their butter faſter than they can make it; it is almoſt incredible to ſée how the price of butter is augmented: whereas when the owners were inforced to bring it to the market townes, & fewer of theſe butter buiers were ſtirring, our butter was ſcarſlie worth eightéene pence the gallon, that now is worth three ſhillings foure pence, & perhaps fiue ſhillings. Wherby alſo I gather that the maintenance of a ſuperfluous number of dealers in moſt trades, tillage alwaies excepted, is one of the greateſt cauſes why the prices of things become exceſſiue: for one of them doo cõmonlie vſe to out bid another. And whileſt our countrie commodities are commonlie bought and ſold at our priuate houſes, I neuer loke to ſée this enormitie redreſſed, or the markets well furniſhed.

I could ſaie more, but this is euen inough, & more peraduenture than I ſhall be well thanked for: yet true it is though ſome thinke it no treſpaſſe. This moreouer is to be lamented, that one generall meaſure is not in vſe throughout all England, but euerie market towne hath in maner a ſeuerall buſhell, and the leſſer it be, the more ſellers it draweth to reſort vnto the ſame. Such alſo is the couetouſneſſe of manie clearkes of the market, that in taking view of meaſures, they will alwaie ſo prouide, that one and the ſame buſhell ſhall be either to big or to little at their nert comming, and yet not depart without a fee at the firſt: ſo that what by their mending at one time and empairing the ſame at another, the countrie is greatlie charged, and few iuſt meaſures to be had in anie ſtéed. It is oft found likewiſe, that diuerſe vnconſcionable dealers haue one meaſure to ſell by, & another to buie withall, the like is alſo in weights and yet all ſealed and bronded. Wherefore it were verie good that theſe two were reduced vnto one ſtandard, that is, one buſhell, one pound, one quarter, one hundred, one tale, one number: ſo ſhould things in time fall into better order, and fewer cauſes of contention be moued in this land. Of the complaint of ſuch poore tenants as paie rent corne vnto their landlords, I ſpeake not, who are often dealt withall verie hardlie. For beſide that in the meaſuring of ten quarters, for the moſt part they loſe one through the iniquitie of the buſhell (ſuch is the gréedineſſe of the appointed receiuers thereof) fault is found alſo with the goodneſſe and cleanneſſe of the graine. Wherby ſome péece of monie muſt néeds paſſe vnto their purſes to ſtop their mouths withall, or elſe my lord will not like of the corne; Thou art worthie to loſe thy leaſe, &c. Or if it be cheaper in the market, than the rate allowed for it is in their rents, then muſt they paie monie and no corne, which is no ſmall extremitie. And thereby we may ſée how each one of vs indeuoureth to fléece and eat vp another.

Another thing there is in our markets worthie to be loked vnto, and that is the recariage of graine from the ſame into lofts and ſollars, of which before I gaue ſome intimation: wherefore if it were ordered, that euerie ſeller ſhould make his market by an houre, or elſe the baillie or clearke of the ſaid market

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to make ſale therof according to his diſcretion, without libertie to the farmer to ſet vp their come in houſes and chambers, I am perſuaded that the prices of our graine would ſone be abated. Againe, if it were enacted that each one ſhould kéepe his nert market with his graine, and not to rum ſix, eight, ten, foureteene, or twentie miles from home to ſell his come, where he doth find the higheſt price, and therby leaueth his neighbours vnfurniſhed, I dw not thinke but that our markets would be farre better ſerued than at this preſent they are. Finallie if mens barns might be indifferentlie viewed immediatlie after haruеſt, and a note gathered by an eſtimat, and kept by ſome appointed & truſtie perſon for that purpoſe, we ſhould haue much more plentie of come in our towne croſſes than as yet is commonlie ſéene: bicauſe each one hideth and hordeth what he may vpon purpoſe either that it will be dérer, or that he ſhall haue ſome priuie veine by bodgers, who dw accuſtomablie ſo deale, that the ſea doth load awaie no ſmall part therof into other countries & our enimies, to the great hinderance of our common-wealth at home, and more likelie yet to be, except ſome remedie be found. But what dw I talke of theſe things, or deſire the ſuppreſſion of bodgers being a miniſter? Certes I may ſpeake of them right well, as féeling the harme in that I am a buier, neuertheleſſe I ſpeake generallie in ech of them.

To conclude therefore, in our markets all things are to be ſold neceſſarie for mans vſe, and there is our prouiſion made commonlie for all the wéeke inſuing. Therefore as there are no great townes without one weekelie market at the leaſt, ſo there are verie few of them that haue not one or two faires or more within the compaſſe of the yeare aſſigned vnto them by the prince. And albeit that ſome of them are not much better than Lowſe faire or the common kirkemeſſes beyond the ſea, yet there are diuerſe not inferiour to the greateſt marts in Europe, as Sturbridge faire nére to Cambridge, Bziſtow faire, Bartholomew faire at London, Lin mart, Cold faire at Newport pond for cattell, and diuerſe other, all which or at leaſt wiſe the greateſt part of them (to the end I may with the more eaſe to the reader and leſſe trauell to my ſelfe fulfill my taſke in their rectall) I haue ſet downe, according to the names of the moneths wherein they are holden, at the end of this booke, where you ſhall find them at large, as I borowed the ſame from I. Stow, and the reports of others.

Of Parkes and Warrens.

Chap. 19.

IN euerie ſhire of England there is great plentie of parkes, whereof ſome here and there, to wit, welnere to the number of two hundred for hir daily prouiſion of that fleſh apperteine to the prince, the reſt to ſuch of the nobilitie and gentlemen as haue their lands and patrimonies lieng in or nére vnto the ſame. I would gladlie haue ſet downe the iuſt number of theſe incloſures to be found in euerie countie: but ſith I cannot ſo dw, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie, that in Kent and Eſſex onelie are to the number of an hundred, and twentie in the biſhoprike of Durham, wherein great plentie of fallow déere is cheriſhed and kept. As for warrens of conies, I iudge them almoſt innumerable, and dailie like to increaſe, by reaſon that the blacke ſkins of thoſe beaſts are thought to countervaile the prices of their naked carcaſes, and this is the onelie cauſe whie the graie are leſſe eſtéemed. Nére vnto London their quickeſt merchandize is of the yong rabbets, wherfore the older conies are brought from further off, where there is no ſuch ſpeedie vttérance of rabbets and ſucklings in their ſeaſon, nor ſo great loſſe by their ſkins, ſith they are ſuffered to growe vp to their full greatneſſe with their owners. Our parkes are generallie incloſed with ſtrong pale made of oke, of which kind of wood there is great ſtore cheriſhed in the woodland countries from time to time in ech of them, onelie for the maintenance of the ſaid defenſe, and ſafkéeping of the fallow déere from ranging about the countrie. Howbeit in times paſt diuerſe haue bén fenſed in with ſtone walles (eſpeciallie in the times of the Romans, who firſt brought fallow déere into this land as ſome coniecture) albeit thoſe incloſures were diuerſe throwne againe by the Saxons & Danes, as Caniſham, Towner, and Woodſtocke, beſide other in the weſt countrie, and one alſo at Bolton. Among other things alſo to be ſéene in that towne, there is one of the faireſt clockes in Europe. Where no woos is, they are alſo incloſed with piles of ſlate; and therto it is douted of manie whether our bucke or doe are to be reckoned in wild or tame beaſts or not. Plinie déemeth them to be wild, Martial is alſo of the ſame opinion, where he ſaith, *Imbelles damæ quid miſi præda ſumus?* And ſo in time paſt the like controuerſie was about bées, which the lawiers call *Feras, tit. de acquirendo rerum dominio, & lib. 2. inſtit.* But Plinie attempting to decide the quarell calleth them *Medias inter feras & placidas aues*. But whither am I ſo ſuddenlie digreſſed? In returning therefore vnto our parks, I find alſo the circuit of theſe incloſures in like manner conteine often times a walke of foure or fiue miles, and ſometimes more or leſſe. Wherby it is to be ſéene what ſtore of ground is emploied vpon that vaine commoditie, which bringeth no manner of gaine or profit to the owner, ſith they commonlie giue awaie their fleſh, neuer taking penie for the ſame, except the ordinarie fée and parts of the déere giuen vnto the kéeper by a cuſtome, who beſide three ſhillings foure pence, or fiue ſhillings in monie, hath the ſkin, head, vmbles, chine, and ſhoulders: whereby he that hath the warrant for an whole bucke, hath in the end little more than halfe, which in my iudgement is ſcarſelie equall dealing; for veniſon in England is neither bought nor ſold, as in other countries, but mainteined onelie for the pleaſure of the owner and his friends. Albeit I heard of late of one ancient ladie, which maketh a great gaine by ſelling yærelie hir huſbands veniſon to the cookes (as another of no leſſe name will not ſticke to ride to the market to ſée hir butter ſold) but not performed without infinite ſcoffes and mockes, euen of the pooreſt peaſants of the countrie, who thinke them as odious matters in ladies and women of ſuch countenance to ſell their veniſon and their butter, as for an earle to ſeele his oxen, ſheepe, and lambs, whether they be readie for the butcher or not, or to ſell his woll vnto the clothier, or to kéepe a tan-houſe, or deale with ſuch like affaires as belong not to men of honor, but rather to farmers, or graſiers; for which ſuch, if there be anie may well be noted (and not vniuſtlie) to degenerate from true nobilitie, and betake themſelues to huſbandrie. And euen the ſame enormitie take place ſometime among the Romans, and entred ſo farre as into the verie ſenate, of whome ſome one had two or three ſhips going vpon the ſea, pretending prouiſion for their houſes; but in truth following the trades of merchandize, till a law was made which did inhibit and reſtraine them. Liuie alſo telleth of another

Tillage and mankind diminiſhed by parkes.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome.

ther law which paſſed likewiſe againſt the ſenators by Claudius the tribune, and helpe onelie of C. Flaminius, that no ſenator, or he that had beene father to anie ſenator ſhould poſſeſſe anie ſhip or veſſell aboue the capacitie of three hundred amphoras, which was ſuppoſed ſufficient for the cariage and recariage of ſuch neceſſities as ſhould apperteine vnto his houſe: ſith further trading with merchandizes and commodities doth declare but a baſe and couetous mind, not altogither void of enuie, that anie man ſhould liue but he; or that if anie gaine were to be had, he onelie would haue it himſelfe: which is a wonderfull dealing, and muſt needs proue in time the confuſion of that countrie wherein ſuch enormities are exerciſed. Where in times paſt, manie large and wealthie occupiers were dwelling within the compaſſe of ſome one parke, and thereby great plentie of corne and cattell ſeene, and to be had among them, beſide a more copious procreation of humane iſſue, whereby the realme was alwaies better furniſhed with able men to ſerue the prince in his affaires: now there is almoſt nothing kept but a ſort of wild and ſauage beaſts, cheriſhed for pleaſure and delight; and yet ſome owners ſtill deſirous to inlarge thoſe grounds, as either for the breed and feeding of cattell, do not let daillie to take in more, not ſparing the verie commons whervpon manie townſhips now and then do liue, affirming that we haue alreadie too great ſtore of people in England; and that youth by marrieng too ſone do nothing profit the countrie, but fill it full of beggars, to the hurt and vtter vndoing (they ſaie) of the common wealth.

Tillage and mankind diminiſhed by parkes.

Certes if it be not one curſe of the Lord, to haue our countrie conuerted in ſuch ſort from the furniture of mankind, into the walks and ſhrowds of wild beaſts, I know not what is anie. How manie families alſo theſe great and ſmall games (for ſo moſt keepers call them) haue eaten vp and are likelie hereafter to deuoure, ſome men may coniecture, but manie more lament, ſith there is no hope of reſtraint to be loked for in this behalfe, becauſe the corruption is ſo generall. But if a man may preſentlie giue a gheſſe at the vniuerſalitie of this euill by contemplation of the circumſtance, he ſhall ſaie at the laſt, that the twentith part of the realme is imploied vpon deere and conies alreadie, which ſeemeth verie much if it be not dulie conſidered of.

The decaie of the people is the deſtruction of a kingdome.

King Henrie the eight, one of the nobleſt princes that euer reigned in this land, lamented oft that he was conſtreined to hire forren aid, for want of competent ſtore of ſouldiors here at home, perceiuing (as it is indeed) that ſuch ſupplies are oftentimes more hurtfull than profitable vnto thoſe that interteine them, as may cheeflie be ſeene in Valens the emperor, our Vortiger, and no ſmall number of others. He would oft maruell in priuate talke, how that when ſeuen or eight princes ruled here at once, one of them could lead thirtie or fortie thouſand men to the field againſt another, or two of them 100000 againſt the third, and thoſe taken out onelie of their owne dominions. But as he found the want, ſo he ſaw not the cauſe of this decaie, which grew beſide this occaſion now mentioned, alſo by laieng houſe to houſe, and land to land, whereby manie mens occupiengs were conuerted into one, and the breed of people not a little thereby diminiſhed. The auarice of landlords by increaſing of rents and fines alſo did ſo wearie the people, that they were readie to rebell with him that would ariſe, ſuppoſing a ſhort end in the warres to be better than a long and miſerable life in peace.

Priuileges and faculties alſo are another great cauſe of the ruine of a common wealth, and diminution of mankind: for whereas law and nature doth permit all men to liue in their beſt maner, and whatſoeuer trade they be exerciſed in, there commeth ſome priuilege or other in the waie, which cutteth them off from this or that trade, wherby they muſt néeds ſhift ſoile, and ſéeke vnto other countries. By theſe alſo the greateſt commodities are brought into the hands of few, who imbaſe, corrupt, and yet raiſe the prices of things at their owne pleaſures. Example of this laſt I can giue alſo in bookes, which (after the firſt impreſſion of anie one booke) are for the moſt part verie negligentlie handled: whereas if another might print it ſo well as the firſt, then would men ſtriue which of them ſhould do it beſt; and ſo it falleth out in all other trades. It is an eaſie matter to proue that England was neuer leſſe furniſhed with people than at this preſent; for if the old records of euerie manour be ſought, and ſearch made to find what tenements are fallen, either downe, or into the lords hands, or brought and vnited togither by other men: it will ſone appéere, that in ſome one manour ſeuentéen, eightéene, or twentie houſes are ſhrunke. I know what I ſaie by mine owne experience: notwithſtanding that ſome one cotage be here and there erected of late, which is to little purpoſe. Of cities and townes either vtterlie decaied, or more than a quarter or halfe diminiſhed, though ſome one be a little increaſed here and there; of townes pulled downe for ſheepe-walks, and no more but the lordſhips now ſtanding in them, beſide thoſe that William Rufus pulled downe in his time; I could ſaie ſomewhat: but then I ſhould ſwarue yet further from my purpoſe, wherevnto I now returne.

Wée had no parkes left in England at the comming of the Normans, who added this calamitie alſo to the ſeruitude of our nation, making men of the beſt ſort furthermore to become keepers of their game, whileſt they liued in the meane time vpon the ſpoile of their reuennues, and daillie ouerthrew townes, villages, and an infinit ſort of families, for the maintenance of their venerie. Neither was anie parke ſuppoſed in theſe times to be ſtatelie enough, that conteined not at the leaſt eight or ten hidelands, that is, ſo manie hundred acres or families (or as they haue béene alwaies called in ſome places of the realme carrucats or cartwares) of which one was ſufficient in old time to mainteine an honeſt yeoman.

King John trauelling on a time northwards, to wit 1209 to warre vpon the king of Scots, becauſe he had married his daughter to the earle of Bullen without his conſent: in his returne ouerthrew a great number of parkes and warrens, of which ſome belonged to his barons, but the greateſt part to the abbats and prelats of the cleargie. For hearing (as he trauelled) by complaint of the countrie, how theſe incloſures were the cheefe decaie of men, and of tillage in the land, he ſware with an oth that he would not ſuffer wild beaſts to féed vpon the fat of his ſoile, and ſée the people periſh for want of abilitie to procure and buie them food that ſhould defend the realme. Howbeit, this act of his was ſo ill taken by the religious and their adherents, that they inuerted his intent herein to another end; affirming moſt ſlanderouſlie how he did it rather of purpoſe to ſpoile the corne and graſſe of the commons and catholikes that held againſt him of both eſtates, and by ſo doing to impouriſh and bring the north part of the realme to deſtruction, becauſe they refuſed to go with him into Scotland. If the ſaid prince were aliue in theſe daies, wherein Andrew Boord ſaith there are more parks in England than in all Europe (ouer which he trauelled in his owne perſon) and ſaw how much ground they conſume,

I thinke he would either double his othes, or laie the moſt of them open that tillage might be better loked vnto. But this I hope ſhall not need in time, for the owners of a great ſort of them begin now to ſmell out, that ſuch parcels might be employed to their more gaine, and therefore ſome of them do grow to be diſparked.

Next of all we haue the franke chaſe, which taketh ſomething both of parke and forreſt, and is giuen either by the kings grant or preſcription. Certes it differeth not much from a parke; nay, it is in maner the ſelfe ſame thing that a parke is, ſauing that a parke is inuironed with pale, wall, or ſuch like: the chaſe alwaie open and nothing at all incloſed, as we ſee in Enuéld & Maluerne chaſes. And as it is the cauſe of the ſeiſure of the franchiſe of a parke not to kéepe the ſame incloſed, ſo it is the like in a chaſe if at anie time it be imparked. It is treſpaſſe, and againſt the law alſo, for anie man to haue or make a chaſe, parke, or frée warren without good warrantie of the king by his charter or perfect title of preſcription: for it is not lawfull for anie ſubiect either to carnilate, that is, build ſtone houſes, imbattell, haue the querke of the ſea, or kéepe the aſſiſe of bread, ale, or wine, or ſet vp furels, tumbrell, thew, or pillorie, or incloſe anie ground to the aforeſaid purpoſes within his owne ſoile, without his warrant and grant. The beaſts of the chaſe were commonlie the bucke, the roe, the fox, and the marterne. But thoſe of venerie in old time were the hart, the hare, the boze and the woolfe; but as this held not in the time of Canutus, ſo in ſtéd of the woolfe the beare is now crept in, which is a beaſt cõmonlie hunted in the eaſt countries, and fed vpon as excellent veniſon, although with vs I know not anie that kéed thereon or care for it at all. Certes it ſhould ſéeme, that forreſts and franke chaſes haue alwaies béene had, and religiouſlie preſerued in this Iland for the ſolace of the prince, and recreation of his nobilitie: howbeit I read not that euer they were incloſed more than at this preſent, or otherwiſe ſenſed than by vſuall notes of limitation, whereby their bounds were remembred from time to time, for the better preſeruation of ſuch venerie and vert of all ſorts as were nouriſhed in the ſame. Neither are anie of the ancient laws preſcribed for their maintenance, before the daies of Canutus, now to be had; ſith time hath ſo dealt with them that they are periſhed and loſt. Canutus therefore ſeeing the dailie ſpoile that was made almoſt in all places of his game, did at the laſt make ſundrie ſanctions and decrées, whereby from thenceforth the red and fallow déere were better loked to throughout his whole dominions. We haue in theſe daies diuerſe forreſts in England and Wales, of which, ſome belong to the king, and ſome to his ſubiects, as Waltham forreſt, Windleſor, Pickering, Feckenam, Delamore, Gillingham, Kingſwod, Wencedale, Clun, Rath, Brédon, Weire, Charlie, Leiceſter, Lée, Rokingham, Selwood, New forreſt, Wichwood, Hatfeld, Sauernake, Weſtbirie, Blacamore Pcke, Deane, Penriſe, & manie other now cleane out of my remembrance: and which although they are far greater in circuit than manie parkes and warrens, yet are they in this our time leſſe deuourers of the people than theſe latter, ſith beſide much tillage, & manie townes are found in each of them, wheras in parks and warrens we haue nothing elſe than either the kéepers & wareners lodge, or at leaſt the manor place of the chéefe lord & owner of the ſoile. I find alſo by good record, that all Eſſex hath in time paſt wholie béene forreſt ground, except one cantred or hundred; but how long it is ſince it loſt the ſaid denomination in good ſooth I doo not read. This neuertheleſſe remaineth yet in memorie, that the towne of Walden in Eſſex ſtanding in the limits of the aforeſaid countie doth take hir name therof. For in the Celtike tong, wherewith the Saxon or Scithian ſpéech doth not a little participate, huge woods and forreſts were called Walds, and likewiſe their Druides were named Walie or Waldie, becauſe they frequented the woods, and there made ſacrifice among the okes and thickets. So that if my conieture in this behalfe be anie thing at all, the aforeſaid towne taketh denomination of of Wald and end, as if I ſhould ſay, The end of the woddie ſoile; for being once out of that parith, the champaine is at hand. Or it may be that it is ſo called of Wald and dene: for I haue read it written in old euidences Waldæne, with a diphthong. And to ſaie truth, Dene is the old Saxon word for a vale or lowe bottome, as Dune or Don is for an hill or hillie ſoile. Certes if it be ſo, then Walden taketh hir name of the woddie vale, in which it ſometime ſtood. But the firſt deriuation liketh me better, and the higheſt part of the towne is called alſo Chipping Walden, of the Saxon word Gipping, which ſignifieth Leaning or hanging, and may verie well be applied thereunto, ſith the whole towne hangeth as it were vpon the ſides of two hils, wherof the leſſer runneth quite through the middeſt of the ſame. I might here for further confirmation of theſe things bring in mention of the Wald of Kent: but this may ſuffice for the vſe of the word Wald, which now differeth much from Wold. For as that ſignifieth a woddie ſoile, ſo this betokeneth a ſoile without wood, or plaine champaine countrie, without anie ſtore of trées, as may be ſéene in Cotſwold, Porkewold, &c. Beſide this I could ſaie more of our forreſts, and the aforeſaid incloſures alſo, & therein to proue by the booke of forreſt law, that the whole countie of Lancaſter hath likewiſe béene forreſt heretofore. Alſo how William the Baſtard made a law, that whoſoeuer did take anie wild beaſt within the kings forreſt ſhould loſe an eare; as Henrie the firſt did puniſh them either by life or lim: which ordinance was confirmed by Henrie the ſecond and his péeres at Woodſtocke, whereupon great trouble inſued vnder king Iohn and Henrie the third, as appeareth by the chronicles: but it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid ſo much as is ſet downe alreadie.

Howbeit, that I may reſtore one antiquitie to light, which hath hitherto lien as it were raked vp in the embers of oblition, I will giue out thoſe laws that Canutus made for his forreſt: whereby manie things ſhall be diſcloſed concerning the ſame (whereof peraduenture ſome lawiers haue no knowlege) and diuerſe other notes gathered touching the ancient eſtate of the realme not to be found in other. But before I deale with the great charter (which as you may perceiue, is in manie places vnperfect by reaſon of corruption, and want alſo of congruitie, crept in by length of time, not by me to be reſtored) I will note another brœfe law, which he made in the firſt yeare of his reigne at Wincheſter, afterward inſerted into theſe his later conſtitutions, canon 32, & beginneth thus in his owne Saxon tong; Ic will that elc one, &c: I will and grant that ech one ſhall be worthie of ſuch venerie as he by hunting can take either in the plaines or in the woods, within his owne fée or dominion; but ech man ſhall abſtaine from my venerie in euerie place, where I will that my beaſts ſhall haue firme peace and quietneſſe, vpon paine to forfet ſo much as a man may forfet. Hitherto the ſtatute made by the aforeſaid Canutus, which was afterward confirmed by king Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, & ratified by the Baſtard in the fourth yeare of his reigne. Now followeth the great charter it ſelfe in ſuch rude order and Latine

as

Gipping, of going vp to anie place.

Pegened.

Leipegend. Nunc fortè Tringald.

Ealdermen.

Tineman.

Wichm.

Hundred law.

Wærſcot.

Bucheburt.

Diſgang-ſordell.

Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

as I find it word for word, and which I would gladlie haue turned into Engliſh, if it might haue founded to anie benefit of the vnskilfull and vnlearned.

Incipiunt conſtitutiones Canuti regis de foreſta.

HAe ſunt ſanctiones de foreſta, quas ego Canutus rex cum conſilio primariorum hominum meorum condo & facio, vt cunctis regni noſtri Angliæ eccleſijs & pax & iuſtitia fiat, & vt omnis delinquens ſecundum modum delicti, & delinquentis fortunam patiatur.

Pegened. 1 Sint iam deinceps quatuor ex liberalioribus hominibus, qui habent ſaluas ſuas debitas conſuetudines (quos Angli Pegened appellant) in qualibet regni mei prouincia conſtituti, ad iuſtitiam diſtribuendam, vna cum pœna merita & materijs foreſtæ cuncto populo meo, tam Anglis quàm Danis per totum regnum meum Angliæ, quos quatuor primarios foreſtæ appellandos cenſemus.

Leſpegend. Nunc fortè Fringald. 2 Sint ſub quolibet horum, quatuor ex mediocribus hominibus (quos Angli Leſpegend nuncupant, Dani verò yoong men vocant) locati, qui curam & onus tum viridis tum veneris ſuſcipiant.

3 In adminiſtranda autem iuſtitia nullatenus volo vt tales ſe intromittant: mediocréſq; tales poſt ferarum curam ſuſceptam, pro liberalibus ſemper habeantur, quos Dani Ealdermen appellant.

Ealdermen. Tineman. 4 Sub horum iterum quolibet ſint duo minutorum hominum, quos Tineman Angli dicunt, hi nocturnam curam & veneris & viridis tum ſeruilia opera ſubibunt.

5 Si talis minutus ſeruus fuerit, tam citò quàm in foreſta noſtra latebit, liber eſto, omnéſq; hos ex ſumptibus noſtris manutenebimus.

Michni. 6 Habeat etiam quilibet primariorum quolibet anno de noſtra warda, quam Michni Angli appellant, duos equos, vnum cum ſella, alterum ſine ſella, vnum gladium, quinque lanceas, vnum cuſpidem, vnum ſcutum, & ducentos ſolidos argenti.

7 Mediocrium quilibet vnum equum, vnam lanceam, vnum ſcutum, & 60 ſolidos argenti.

8 Minutorum quilibet, vnum lanceam, vnam arcubaliſtam, & 15 ſolidos argenti.

9 Sint omnes tam primary, quàm mediocres, & minuti, immunes, liberi, & quieti ab omnibus prouincialibus ſummonitionibus, & popularibus placitis, quæ Hundred laghe Angli dicunt, & ab omnibus armorum oneribus, quod Warſcot Angli dicunt, & forinceſis querelis.

Hundred law. Warſcot.

10 Sint mediocrium & minutorum cauſæ, & earum correctiones, tam criminalium quàm ciuilium per prouidam ſapientiam & rationem primariorum iudicatæ & deciſæ: primariorum verò enormia ſi quæ fuerint (ne ſcelus aliquod remaneat inultum) noſmet in ira noſtra regali puniemus.

Muchehunt. 11 Habeant hi quatuor vnam regalem poteſtatem (ſalua ſemper nobis noſtra præſentia) quater q; in anno generales foreſtæ demonſtrationes & viridis & veneris forisfactiones, quas Muchehunt dicunt, vbi teneant omnes calumniam de materia aliqua tangente foreſtam, eántque ad triplex iudicium, quod Angli Ofgangfordell dicunt. Ita autem acquiratur illud triplex iudicium. Accipiat ſecum quinque, & ſit ipſe ſextus, & ſic iurando acquirat triplex iudicium, aut triplex iuramentum. Sed purgatio ignis nullatenus admittatur, niſi vbi nuda veritas nequit aliter inueſtigari.

Digang-fordell. Purgatio ignis, triplex ordalia.

12 Liberalis autem homo. 1. Pegen, modo crimen ſuum non ſit inter maiora, habeat fidelem hominem qui poſſit pro eo iurare iuramentum. 1. Forathe: ſi autem non habet, ipſemet iuret, nec pardonetur ei aliquod iuramentum.

Pegen. Foꝛathe.

13 Si aduena vel peregrinus qui de longinquo venerit ſit calumniatus de foreſta, & talis eſt ſua inopia vt non poſſit habere plegium ad primam calumniam, qualem * nullus Anglus iudicare poteſt: tunc ſubeat captionem regis, & ibi expectet quouſque vadat ad iudicium ferri & aquæ: attamen ſi quis extraneo aut peregrino de longè venienti * *ſibi ipſi nocet ſi aliquod iudicium iudicauerint.

14 Quicúnq; coram primarios homines meos foreſtæ in falſo teſtimonio ſteterit & victus fuerit, non ſit dignus impoſterum ſtare aut portare teſtimonium, quia legalitatem ſuam perdidit, & pro culpa ſoluat regi decem ſolidos, quos Dani vocant Halſehang, aliàs Halſehang.

Helſehang.

15 Si quis vim aliquam primarijs foreſtæ meæ intulerit, ſi liberalis ſit amittat libertatem & omnia ſua, ſi villanus abſcindatur dextra.

16 Si alteruter iterum peccauerit, reus ſit mortis.

17 Si quis autem contra primarium pugnauerit, in plito emendet ſecundum pretium ſui ipſius, quod Angli Pere & pite dicunt, & ſoluat primario quadraginta ſolidos.

Pere & Pite.

18 Si pacem quis fregerit ante mediocres foreſtæ, quod dicunt Gethbrech, emendet regi decem ſolidis.

Gethbzech.

19 Si quis mediocrium aliquem cum ira percuſſerit, emendetur prout interfectio feræ regalis mihi emendari ſolet.

20 Si quis delinquens in foreſta noſtra capietur, pœnas luet ſecundum modum & genus delicti.

21 Pœna & forisfactio non vna eadémq; erit liberalis (quem Dani Ealderman vocant) & illiberalis: domini & ſerui: noti & ignoti: nec vna eadémq; erit cauſarum tum ciuilium tum criminalium, ferarum foreſtæ, & ferarum regalium: viridis & veneris tractatio: nam crimen veneris ab antiquo inter maiora & non immeritò numerabatur: viridis verò (fractione chaceæ noſtræ regalis excepta) ita puſillum & exiguum eſt, quòd vix ea reſpicit noſtra conſtitutio: qui in hoc tamen deliquerit, ſit criminis foreſtæ reus.

Ealderman.

22 Si liber aliquis feram foreſtæ ad curſum impulerit, ſiue caſu, ſiue præhabita voluntate, ita vt curſu celeri cogatur fera anhelare, decem ſolidis regi emendet, ſi illiberalis dupliciter emendet, ſi ſeruus careat corio.

23 Si verò harum aliquot interfecerit, ſoluat dupliciter & perſoluat, ſitque pretij ſui reus contra regem.

24 Sed ſi regalem feram, quam Angli Staggon appellant, alteruter coegerit anhelare, alter per vnum annum, alter per duos careat libertate naturali: ſi verò ſeruus, pro vtlegato habeatur, quem Angli Frendleſman vocant.

Staggon oz Stagge. Frendleſman.

25 Si verò occiderit, amittat liber ſcutum libertatis, ſi ſit illiberalis careat libertate, ſi ſeruus vita.

26 Epiſcopi, abbates, & barones mei non calumniabuntur pro venatione, ſi non regales feras occiderint: & ſi regales, reſtabunt rei regi pro libito ſuo, ſine certa emendatione.

27 Sunt aliæ (præter feras foreſtæ) beſtiæ, quæ

dum inter ſepta & ſepes foreſtæ continentur, emendationi ſubiacent: quales ſunt capreoli, lepores, & cuniculi. Sunt & alia quàm plurima animalia, quæ quãquam infra ſepta foreſtæ viuunt, &

Bubali olim in Anglia.

oneri & curæ mediocrium ſubiacent foreſtæ, tamen nequaquã cenſeri poſſunt, qualia ſunt bubali, vaccæ, & ſimilia. Vulpes & lupi, nec foreſtæ nec veneris habentur, & proinde eorum interfectio nulli emendationi ſubiacet. Si tamen infra limites occiduntur, fractio ſit regalis chaceæ, & mitiùs emendetur. Aper verò quanquam foreſtæ ſit, nullatenus tamen animal veneris haberi eſt aſſuetus.

28 Boſco nec ſubboſco noſtro ſine licentia primariorum foreſtæ nemo manum apponat, quòd ſi quis fecerit reus ſit fractionis regalis chaceæ.

Ilices aliquando in Britãnia niſi intelligatur de quercu.

29 Si quis verò ilicem aut arborẽ aliquam, quæ victum feris ſuppeditat ſciderit, præter fractionem regalis chaceæ, emendet regi viginti ſolidis.

30 Volo vt omnis liber homo pro libito ſuo habeat venerem ſiue viridem in planis ſuis ſuper terras ſuas, ſine chacea tamen: & deuitent omnes meam, vbicúnq; eam habere voluero.

31 Nullus mediocris habebit nec cuſtodiet canes, quos Angli Greihounds *appellant. Liberali verò, dum genuiſciſſio eorum facta fuerit coram primario foreſtæ licebit, aut ſine genuiſciſſione dum remoti ſunt à limitibus foreſtæ per decem miliaria: quando verò propius venerint, emendet quodlibet miliare vno ſolido. Si verò infra ſepta foreſtæ reperiatur, dominus canis foris faciet & decem ſolidos regi.*

Greihounds.

32 Velteres verò quos Langeran *appellant, quia manifeſtè conſtat in ijs nihil eſſe periculi, cuilibet licebit ſine genuiſciſſione eos cuſtodire. Idem de canibus quos* Ramhundt *vocant.*

Velter Langeran.

Ramhundt.

33 Quòd ſi caſu inauſpicato huiuſmodi canes rabidi fiant & vbiq; vagãtur, negligentia dominorum, redduntur illiciti, & emendetur regi pro illicitis, &c. Quòd ſi intra ſepta foreſtæ reperiantur, talis exquiratur herus, & emendet ſecundum pretium hominis mediocris, quod ſecundum legem Werinorum. 1. Churingorum, eſt ducentorum ſolidorum.

Pretium hominis mediocris.

34 Si canis rabidus momorderit feram, tunc emendet ſecundum pretiũ hominis liberalis, quod eſt duodecies ſolidis centum. Si verò fera regalis morſa fuerit, reus ſit maximi criminis.

Pretium liberi hominis.

And theſe are the conſtitutions of Canutus concerning the foreſt, verie barbarouſlie tranſlated by thoſe that toke the ſame in hand. Howbeit as I find it ſo I ſet it downe, without anie alteration of my copie in anie iot or tittle.

Of gardens and orchards.

Chap. 19.

After ſuch time as Calis was wone from the French, and that our countriemen had learned to trade into diuerſe countries (wherby they grew rich) they began to wax idle alſo, and therupon not onlie left off their former painfulneſſe and frugalitie, but in like ſort gaue themſelues to liue in exceſſe and vanitie, whereby manie goodlie commodities failed, and in ſhort time were not to be had amongſt vs. Such ſtrangers alſo as dwelled here with vs, perceiuing our sloggiſhneſſe, and eſpieng that this idleneſſe of ours might redound to their great profit, for thwith imploted their endeuours to bring in the ſuplie of ſuch things as we lacked, continuallie from forren countries; which yet more augmented our idlenes. For hauing all things at reaſonable prices as we ſuppoſed, by ſuch means from them, we thought it meere madneſſe to ſpend either time or coſt about the ſame here at home. And thus we became enimies to our owne welfare, as men that in thoſe daies repoſed our felicitie in following the wars, wherewith we were often exerciſed both at home and other places. Beſides this, the naturall deſire that mankind hath to eſſeme of things farre ſought, bicauſe they be rare and coſtlie, and the irkeſome contempt of things neere hand, for that they are common and plentifull, hath borne no ſmall ſwaie alſo in this behalfe amongſt vs. For hereby we haue neglected our owne good gifts of God, growing here at home as vile and of no valure, and had euerie trifle and toie in admiration that is brought hither from far countries, aſcribing I wot not what great forces and ſolemne eſtimation vnto them, vntill they alſo haue waren old, after which they haue beene ſo little regarded, if not more deſpiſed amongſt vs than our owne. Examples hereof I could ſet downe manie, & in manie things, but ſith my purpoſe is to deale at this time with gardens and orchards, it ſhall ſuffice that I touch them onelie, and ſhew our inconſtancie in the ſame, ſo farre as ſhall ſeeme & be conuenient for my turne. I comprehend therefore vnder the word garden, all ſuch grounds as are wrought with the ſpade by mans hand, for ſo the caſe requireth. Of wine I haue written alreadie elſe-where ſufficientlie, which commoditie (as I haue learned further ſince the penning of that booke) hath beene verie plentifull in this Iland, not onlie in the time of the Romans, but alſo ſince the conqueſt, as I haue ſeene by record: yet at this preſent haue we none at all or elſe verie little to ſpeake of growing in this Iland: which I impute not vnto the ſoile, but the negligence of my countrimen. Such herbes, fruits, and roots alſo as grow yearelie out of the ground, of ſeed, haue beene verie plentifull in this land, in the time of the firſt Edward, and after his daies: but in proceſſe of time they grew alſo to be neglected, ſo that from Henrie the fourth till the latter end of Henrie the ſeuenth, & beginning of Henrie the eight, there were litle or no vſe of them in England, but they remained either vnknowne, or ſuppoſed as food more meet for hogs & ſauage beaſts to feed vpon than mankind. Whereas in my time their vſe is not onelie reſumed among the poore commons, I meane of melons, pompions, gourds, cucumbers, radiſhes, ſkirets, parſneps, carrets, cabbages, nauewes, turneps, and all kinds of ſalad herbes, but alſo fed vpon as deintie diſhes at the tables of delicate merchants, gentlemen, and the nobilitie, who make their prouiſion yearelie for new ſeeds out of ſtrange countries, from whence they haue them aboundantlie. Neither do they now ſtaie with ſuch of theſe fruits as are wholeſome in their kinds, but aduenture further vpon ſuch as are verie dangerous and hurtfull, as the verangenes, muſhroms, &c: as if nature had ordeined all for the bellie, or that all things were to be eaten, for whoſe miſchiefous operation the Lord in ſome meaſure hath giuen and prouided a remedie.

Hops in time paſt were plentifull in this land, afterwards alſo their maintenance did ceaſe, and now being reuiued, where are anie better to be found? where anie greater commoditie to be raiſed by them? onelie poles are accounted to be their greateſt charge. But ſith men haue learned of late to ſow aſhen keies in aſhyards by themſelues, that inconuenience

nience in ſhort time will be redreſſed. Madder hath growne abundantlie in this Iland, but of long time neglected, and now a little reuiued, and offereth it ſelfe to proue no ſmall benefit vnto our countrie, as manie other things elſe, which are now fetched from vs; as we before time when we gaue our ſelues to idleneſſe, were glad to haue them other. If you loke into our gardens annexed to our houſes, how wonderfullie is their beautie increaſed, not onelie with floures, which Colmella calleth *Terrena ſydera*, ſaieng;

Pingit & in varios terreſtria ſydera flores,

and varietie of curious and coſtlie workmanſhip, but alſo with rare and medicinable hearbes ſought vp in the land within theſe fortie yeares: ſo that in compariſon of this preſent, the ancient gardens were but dunghils and laiſkowes to ſuch as did poſſeſſe them. How art alſo helpeth nature in the dailie colouring, dubling and inlarging the proportion of our floures, it is incredible to report: for ſo curious and cunning are our gardeners now in theſe daies, that they preſume to do in maner what they liſt with nature, and moderate hir courſe in things as if they were hir ſuperiours. It is a world alſo to ſee, how manie ſtrange hearbs, plants, and annuall fruits, are dailie brought vnto vs from the Indies, Americans, Tarpobane, Canarie Iles, and all parts of the world: the which albeit that in reſpect of the conſtitutions of our bodies they do not grow for vs, becauſe that God hath beſtowed ſufficient commodities vpon euerie countrie for hir owne neceſſitie; yet for delectation ſake vnto the eie, and their odoriferous ſauours vnto the noſe, they are to be cheriſhed, and God to be glorified alſo in them, becauſe they are his good gifts, and created to do man helpe and ſeruice. There is not almoſt one noble man, gentleman, or merchant, that hath not great ſtore of theſe floures, which now alſo do begin to war ſo well acquainted with our ſoiles, that we may almoſt accompt of them as parcell of our owne commodities. They haue no leſſe regard in like ſort to cheriſh medicinable hearbs fetched out of other regions nèrer hand: inſomuch that I haue ſeene in ſome one garden to the number of three hundred or foure hundred of them, if not more; of the halfe of whoſe names within fortie yéeres paſſed we had no maner knowledge. But herein I find ſome cauſe of iuſt complaint, for that we extoll their vſes ſo farre that we fall into contempt of our owne, which are in truth more beneficiall and apt for vs than ſuch as grow elſewhere, ſith (as I ſaid before) euerie region hath abundantlie within hir owne limits whatſoeuer is needfull and moſt conuenient for them that dwell therein. How do men extoll the vſe of Tabacco in my time, whereas in truth (whether the cauſe be in the repugnancie of our conſtitution vnto the operation thereof, or that the ground doth alter hir force, I cannot tell) it is not found of ſo great efficacie as they write. And beſide this, our common germander or thiſtle benet is found & knowne to bée ſo wholeſome and of ſo great power in medicine, as anie other hearbe, if they be vſed accordinglie. I could exemplifie after the like maner in ſundrie other, as the *Salſa parilla, Mechoacan, &c.* but I forbeare ſo to do, becauſe I couet to be briefe. And trulie the eſtimation and credit that we yéeld and giue vnto compound medicines made with forren drugs, is one great cauſe wherefore the full knowledge and vſe of our owne ſimples hath bene ſo long raked vp in the imbers. And as this may be verified, ſo to be one ſound concluſion, for the greater number of ſimples that go vnto anie compound medicine, the greater confuſion is found therein, becauſe the qualities and operations of verie few of the particulars are throughlie knowne. And euen ſo our continuall deſire of ſtrange drugs, whereby the phyſician and apothecarie onlie hath the benefit, is no ſmall cauſe that the vſe of our ſimples here at home doth go to looſe, and that we tread thoſe herbes vnder our feet, whoſe forces if we knew, & could applie them to our neceſſities, we would honor & haue in reuerence as to their eaſe behoueth. Alas what haue we to do with ſuch Arabian & Grecian ſtuffe as is dailie brought from thoſe parties, which lie in another clime? And therefore the bodies of ſuch as dwell there, are of another conſtitution, than ours are here at home. Certes they grow not for vs, but for the Arabians and Grecians. And albeit that they maie by ſkill be applied vnto our benefit, yet to be more ſkilfull in them than in our owne, is follie; and to vſe forren wares when our owne maie ſerue the turne is more follie; but to deſpiſe our owne and magnifie about meaſure the vſe of them that are ſought and brought from farre, is moſt follie of all: for it ſauoureth of ignorance, or at the leaſt wiſe of negligence, and therefore worthie of reproch.

Among the Indians, who haue the moſt preſent cures for euerie diſeaſe, of their owne nation, there is ſmall regard of compound medicins, & leſſe of forren drugs, becauſe they neither know them nor can vſe them, but worke wonders euen with their owne ſimples. With them alſo the difference of the clime doth ſhew hir full effect. For whereas they will heale one another in ſhort time with application of one ſimple, &c: if a Spaniard or Engliſhman ſtand in need of their helpe, they are driuen to haue a longer ſpace in their cures, and now and then alſo to vſe ſome addition of two or three ſimples at the moſt, whoſe forces vnto them are throughlie knowne, becauſe their exerciſe is onelie in their owne, as men that neuer ſought or heard what vertue was in thoſe that came from other countries. And euen ſo did Marcus Cato the learned Roman indeuor to deale in his cures of ſundrie diſeaſes, wherein he not onelie vſed ſuch ſimples as were to be had in his owne countrie, but alſo examined and learned the forces of each of them, wherewith he dealt ſo diligentlie, that in all his life time, he could atteine to the exact knowledge but of a few, and thereto wrote of thoſe moſt learnedlie, as would eaſilie be ſeene, if thoſe his bookes were extant. For the ſpace alſo of 600 yéeres, the colewort onelie was a medicine in Rome for all diſeaſes, ſo that his vertues were thoroughlie knowne in thoſe parts.

In Plinies time the like affection to forren drugs did rage among the Romans, whereby their owne did grow in contempt. Crieng out therefore of this extreame follie, lib. 22. cap. 24, he ſpeaketh after this maner: *Non placent remedia tam longè naſcentia, non enim nobis gignuntur, immò ne illis quidem, alioquin non venderent; ſi placet etiam ſuperſtitionis gratiâ emantur, quoniam ſupplicamus, &c. Salutem quidem ſine his poſſe conflare, vel ob id probabimus, vt tanto magis ſui tandem pudeat.* For my part I doubt not, if the vſe of outlandiſh drugs had not blinded our phyſicians of England in times paſſed, but that the vertues of our ſimples here at home would haue béene far better knowne, and ſo well vnto vs, as thoſe of India are to the practiſioners of thoſe parties, and therevnto be found more profitable for vs than the forren either are or maie be. This alſo will I ad, that euen thoſe which are moſt common by reaſon of their plentie, and moſt vile becauſe of their abundance, are not without ſome vniuerſall and eſpeciall efficacie, if it were knowne, for our benefit: ſith God in nature hath ſo diſpoſed his creatures, that the moſt needfull are the moſt plentifull, and ſeruing for ſuch generall diſeaſes as our conſtitution moſt commonlie is affected

withall. Great thanks therefore be giuen vnto the phyſicians of our age and countrie, who not onelie indeuour to ſearch out the vſe of ſuch ſimples as our ſoile doth yéeld and bring forth, but alſo to procure ſuch as grow elſewhere, vpõ purpoſe ſo to acquaint them with our clime, that they in time through ſome alteration receiued from the nature of the earth, maie likewiſe turne to our benefit and commoditie, and be vſed as our owne.

The chiefe workeman, or as I maie call him the founder of this deuiſe, is Carolus Cluſius, the noble herbariſt, whoſe induſtrie hath wonderfullie ſtirred them vp vnto this good act. For albeit that Matthiolus, Rembert, Lobell, and other haue trauelled verie farre in this behalfe, yet none hath come néere to Cluſius, much leſſe gone further in the finding and true deſcriptions of ſuch herbes as of late are brought to light. I doubt not but if this man were in England but one ſeuen yéeres, he would reueale a number of herbes growing with vs, whereof neither our phyſicians nor apothecaries as yet haue anie knowledge. And euen like thankes be giuen vnto our nobilitie, gentlemen, and others, for their continuall nutriture and cheriſhing of ſuch home borne and forren ſimples in their gardens, for hereby they ſhall not onlie be had at hand and preſerued, but alſo their formes made more familiar to be diſcerned, and their forces better knowne than hither to they haue béene.

And euen as it fareth with our gardens, ſo doth it with our orchards, which were neuer furniſhed with ſo good fruit, nor with ſuch varietie as at this preſent. For beſide that we haue moſt delicate apples, plummes, peares, walnuts, filberds, &c. and thoſe of ſundrie ſorts, planted within fortie yéeres paſſed, in compariſon of which moſt of the old trées are nothing worth: ſo haue we no leſſe ſtore of ſtrange fruit, as abricotes, almonds, peaches, figges, cornetrées in noble mens orchards. I haue ſéene capers, orenges, and lemmons, and heard of wild oliues growing here, beſide other ſtrange trees, brought from far, whoſe names I know not. So that England for theſe commodities was neuer better furniſhed, neither anie nation vnder their clime more plentifullie indued with theſe and other bleſſings from the moſt high God, who grant vs grace withall to vſe the ſame to his honour and glorie! and not as inſtruments and prouocations vnto further exceſſe and vanitie, wherewith his diſpleaſure may be kindled, leaſt theſe his benefits do turne vnto thornes and briers vnto vs for our annoiance and puniſhment, which he hath beſtowed vpon vs for our conſolation and comfort.

We haue in like ſort ſuch workemen as are not onelie excellent in graffing the naturall fruits, but alſo in their artificiall mixtures, whereby one trée bringeth forth ſundrie fruits, and one and the ſame fruit of diuers colours and taſts, dallieng as it were with nature and hir courſe, as if hir whole trade were perfectlie knowne vnto them: of hard fruits they will make tender, of ſowre ſweet, of ſweet yet more delicate, béereuing alſo ſome of their kernels, other of their cores, and finallie induing them with the ſauour of muſke, ambre, or ſweet ſpices at their pleaſures. Diuerſe alſo haue written at large of theſe ſeuerall practiſes, and ſome of them how to conuert the kernels of peaches into almonds, of ſmall fruit to make farre greater, and to remoue or add ſuperfluous or neceſſarie moiſture to the trées, with other things belonging to their preſeruation, and with no leſſe diligence than our phyſicians do commonlie ſhew vpon our owne diſeaſed bodies, which to me doth ſéeme right ſtrange. And euen ſo do our gardeners with their herbes, whereby they are ſtrengthened againſt noiſome blaſts, and preſerued from putrifaction and hinderance, whereby ſome ſuch as were annuall, are now made perpetuall, being yéerelie taken vp, and either reſerued in the houſe, or hauing the roſſe pulled from their roots, laid againe into the earth, where they remaine in ſafetie. What choiſe they make alſo in their waters, and therewith ſome of them do now and then kéepe them moiſt, it is a world to ſée; inſomuch that the apothecaries ſhops maie ſéeme to be néedfull alſo to our gardens and orchards, and that in ſundrie wiſe: naie the kitchin it ſelfe is ſo farre from being able to be miſſed among them, that euen the verie diſhwater is not without ſome vſe amongeſt our fineſt plants. Whereby and ſundrie other circumſtances not here to bée remembred, I am perſuaded, that albeit the gardens of the Heſperides were in times paſt ſo greatlie accounted of becauſe of their delicacie: yet if it were poſſible to haue ſuch an equall iudge, as by certeine knowledge of both were able to pronounce vpon them, I doubt not but he would giue the price vnto the gardens of our daies, and generallie ouer all Europe, in compariſon of thoſe times, wherein the old exceeded. Plinie and other ſpeake of a roſe that had three ſcore leaues growing vpon one button: but if I ſhould tell of one which bare a triple number vnto that proportion, I know I ſhall not be beléeued, and no great matter though I were not, howbeit, ſuch a one was to be ſéene in Antwarpe 1585, as I haue heard, and I know who might haue had a ſlip or ſtalion thereof, if he would haue ventured ten pounds vpon the growth of the ſame, which ſhould haue bene but a tickle hazard, and therefore better vndone, as I did alwaies imagine. For mine owne part, good reader, let me boaſt a litle of my garden, which is but ſmall, and the whole *Area* thereof little aboue 300 foot of ground, and yet, ſuch hath béene my good lucke in purchaſe of the varietie of ſimples, that notwithſtanding my ſmall abilitie, there are verie néere three hundred of one ſort and other conteined therein, no one of them being common or vſuallie to bee had. If therefore my little plot, void of all coſt in kéeping be ſo well furniſhed, what ſhall we thinke of thoſe of Hampton court, Noneſuch, Tibaults, Cobham garden, and ſundrie other apperteining to diuerſe citizens of London, whom I could particularlie name, if I ſhould not ſéeme to offend them by ſuch my demeanour and dealing?

Of waters generallie.

Chap. 21.

There is no one commoditie in England, whereof I can make leſſe report than of our waters. For albeit our ſoile abound with water in all places, and that in the moſt ample maner: yet can I not find by ſome experience that almoſt anie one of our riuers hath ſuch odd and rare qualities as diuers of the maine are ſaid to be indued withall. Vitruuius writeth of a well in Paphlagonia, whoſe water ſéemeth as it were mired with wine, & addeth thereto that diuerſe become drunke by ſuperfluous taking of the ſame. The like force is found *In amne Liceſio*, a riuer of Thracia, vpon whoſe bankes a man ſhall hardlie miſſe to find ſome traueller or other ſléeping for drunkenneſſe, by drinking of that liquor. Néere alſo vnto Epheſus are certeine welles, which taſte like ſharpe vineger, and therefore

therefore are much eſteemed of by ſuch as are ſicke and euill at eaſe in thoſe parts. At Hieropolis is a ſpring of ſuch force (as Strabo ſaith) that the water thereof mired with certaine herbes of choiſe, doth colour woll with ſuch a gloſſe, that the die thereof contendeth with ſkarlet, murreie, and purple, and oft ouercommeth the ſame. The Cydims in Tarſus of Cilicia, is of ſuch vertue, that who ſo batheth himſelfe therein, ſhall find great eaſe of the gout that runneth ouer all his ioints. In one of the fortunate Iles (ſaith Pomponius the Coſmographer) are two ſprings, one of the which bringeth immoderate laughter to him that drinketh thereof, the other ſadneſſe and reſtraint of that effect, whereby the laſt is taken to be a ſouereigne medicine againſt the other, to the great admiration of ſuch as haue beholden it. At Suſis in Perſia there is a ſpring, which maketh him that drinketh downe anie of the water, to caſt all his teeth: but if he onlie waſh his mouth withall, it maketh them faſt, & his mouth to be verie healthfull. So there is a riuer among the Gadarens, whereof if a beaſt drinke, he forthwith caſteth hoofe, haire, and hornes, if he haue anie. Alſo a lake in Aſſyria, neere vnto the which there is a kind of glewie matter to be found, which holdeth ſuch birds as by hap do light thereon ſo faſt as birdlime, by meanes whereof verie manie do perith and are taken that light vpon the ſame: howbeit if anie portion hereof happen to be ſet on fire by caſualtie or otherwiſe, it will neuer be quenched but by caſting on of duſt, as Caierauus doth report. Another at Halicarnaſſus called Salmacis, which is noted to make ſuch men effeminate as drinke of the water of the ſame. Certes it maie be (ſaith Strabo) that the water and aire of a region maie qualifie the courage of ſome men, but none can make them effeminate, nor anie other thing becauſe of ſuch corruption in them, ſooner than ſuperfluous wealth, and inconſtancie of liuing and behauiour, which is a bane vnto all natures, lib. 4. All which, with manie other not now comming to memorie, as the Letheus, Styx, Phlegeton, Cocitus, &c: haue ſtrange & incredible reports made of them by the new and ancient writers, the like whereof are not to be found in England, which I impute wholie to the bleſſing of God, who hath ordeined nothing amongſt vs in this our temperate region, but that which is good, wholeſome, and moſt commodious for our nation. We haue therefore no hurtfull waters amongſt vs, but all wholeſome and profitable for the beneſit of the people. Neuertheles as none of them is to be found without hir fiſh: ſo we know by experience, that diuerſe turne alh, ſome other elme, and oken ſtakes or poles that lie or are thrown into them into hard ſtone, in long continuance of time, which is the ſtrangeſt thing that I can learne at this preſent whereupon to reſt for a certentie. Yet I read of diuerſe welles, whereunto our old writers aſcribe either wonderfull vertues, or rare courſes, as of one vpon the ſhore, beyond the which the ſea floweth euerie daie twiſe a large mile and more; and yet is the ſurge of that water alwaies ſeuen foot from the ſalt ſea: whereby it ſhould ſeeme that the head of the ſpring is vnmeaſurable. But alas I do not eaſilie believe it, more than that which is written of the Lilingwan lake in Wales, which is neere to the Seuerne, and receiueth the flowing ſea into his chanell as it were a gulfe, and yet is neuer full: but when the ſea goeth awaie by reaſon of the ebbe, it caſteth vp the water with ſuch violence, that hir banks are ouerflowne and drowned, which is an abſurd report. They adde alſo, that if all the people of the countrie ſtood neere to the ſame, with their faces toward the lake, in ſuch maner that the daſhing of the water might touch and wet their clothes, they ſhould haue no power to go from thence, but maugre their reſiſtance be drawne into that gulfe and periſh; whereas if they turned their backs vnto the ſame, they ſhould ſuffer no ſuch inconuenience though they ſtood neuer ſo neere. Manie other ſuch like toies I could ſet downe of other welles and waters of our countrie. But whie ſhould I write that for other men to read, whereto I giue no credit my ſelfe, more than to the report which Iohannes du Choul doth make in his deſcription of Pilats lake, *In monte Pilati in Gallia*, or Boccatius of the Scaphigield in the Apenine hils, or Fœlix Malliolus of Pilats lake *In monte fracto* (where Iacobus de Voragino biſhop of Genc, & Ioachimus Vadianus in Pompon. Melam do alſo make mention) ſith I take them but for fables, & far vnworthie that anie good man ſhould ſtaine his paper with ſuch friuolous matters as are reported of them, being deuiſed at the firſt by Satanas the father of lies, for the holding of the ignorant & credulous in their ſuperſtitions and errors. Such alſo is the tale that goeth of Wenefrids well, & nothing inferior to that of Mercurie neere to port Caperia in Rome, wherein ſuch as went by would dip branches of baie, and ſprinkle the ſame vpon themſelues: and ſo manie as ſtood about them, calling vpon Mercurie, and craning pardon for their ſinnes, as if that ceremonie had bene of force vnto forgiueneſſe and remiſſion of their treſpaſſes. And ſo it appeareth partlie by Cicero, who (being a man neither thinking well of their owne gods nor liking of the augures) doth write in his firſt *De legibus* (except my memorie faile me) *aſperſione aquæ labem tolli corpoream, & caſtimoniam corporis præſtari*, which maketh me to thinke further, that they thought it equall with our late holie-water, wherewith it maie be compared. I might further alſo (if I would) make relation of diuerſe welles, which haue wrought manie miracles in time of ſuperſtition, as S. Butolphs well in Hadſtocke, S. Germans well at Falkeburne, Holie well at S. Albones and London, and ſundrie other in other places: but as their vertues are now found out to be but baits to draw men and women vnto them, either for gaine vnto the places where they were, or ſatisfaction of the lewd diſpoſition of ſuch as hunted after other gaine, ſo it ſhall ſuffice to haue touched them far off. Onlie this will I add, that we haue no hurtfull waters, no not vnto our ſheepe, though it pleaſe Cardan to auouch otherwiſe; for our waters are not the cauſes, but the ſignes of their infections when they drinke, as I elſewhere haue noted in the chapter of cattell, as alſo that we haue a ſpring neere Saffron Walden, and not farre from the houſe of the lord Audleie, which is of ſuch force, that it looſeth the bodie of him that drinketh therof in verie gentle maner, and beſide that is verie delectable & pleaſant to be taken, as I haue found by experience. I heare alſo of two welles neere London, of which the one is verie excellent water, the other will beare no ſope, and yet ſo ſituat that the one is hard by the other. And thus much of waters.

Of woods and mariſhes.

Chap. 22.

IT ſhould ſeeme by ancient records, and the teſtimonie of ſundrie authors, that the whole countries of Lhoegres and Cambria, now England and Wales, haue ſometimes béene verie well replenished with great woods & groues, although at this time the ſaid commoditie be not a little decaied in both, and in ſuch wiſe that a man

Great abundance of wood ſometime in England.

ſh ill oft ride ten or twentie miles in eth of them, and find verie little or rather none at all, except it be nére vnto townes, gentlemens houſes, & villages, where the inhabitants haue planted a few elmes, okes, haſels, or aſhes about their dwellings for their defenſe from the rough winds, and kéeping of the ſtormie weather from annoiance of the ſame. This ſcarſitie at the firſt grew (as it is thought) either by the induſtrie of man, for maintenance of tillage (as we vnderſtand the like to be done of late by the Spaniards in the weſt Indies, where they fired whole woods of verie great compaſſe therby to come by ground whereon to ſow their graines) or elſe thorough the couetouſneſſe of ſuch, as in preferring of paſture for their ſhéepe and greater cattell, do make ſmall account of firebote and timber: or finallie by the crueltie of the enimies, whereof we haue ſundrie examples declared in our hiſtories. Howbeit where the rocks and quarrie grounds are, I take the ſwart of the earth to be ſo thin, that no tree of anie greatneſſe, other than ſhrubs and buſhes, is able to grow or proſper long therein for want of ſufficient moiſture wherewith to feed them with freſh humour, or at the leaſtwiſe of mould, to ſhrowd, ſtaie vpright, and cheriſh the ſame in the bluſtering winters weather, till they may grow vnto anie greatneſſe, and ſpread or yéeld their rotes downe right into the ſoile about them: and this either is or may be one other cauſe, wherefore ſome places are naturallie void of wood. But to proceed. Although I muſt néeds confeſſe that there is god ſtore of great wood or timber here and there, euen now in ſome places of England, yet in our daies it is far vnlike to that plentie, which our anceſtors haue ſéene heretofore, when ſtatelie building was leſſe in vſe. For albeit that there were then greater number of meſuages and manſions almoſt in euerie place; yet were their frames ſo ſlight and ſlender, that one meane dwelling houſe in our time is able to counteruaile verie manie of them, if you conſider the preſent charge with the plentie of timber that we beſtow vpon them. In times paſt men were contented to dwell in houſes, builded of ſallow, willow, plumtree, hardbeame, and elme, ſo that the vſe of oke was in maner dedicated wholie vnto churches, religious houſes, princes palaces, noblemens lodgings, & naugation: but now all theſe are reiected, and nothing but oke anie whit regarded. And yet ſée the change, for when our houſes were builded of willow, then had we oken men; but now that our houſes are come to be made of oke, our men are not onlie become willow, but a great manie thorough Perſian delicacie crept in among vs altogither of ſtraw, which is a ſore alteration. In thoſe the courage of the owner was a ſufficient defenſe to kéepe the houſe in ſafetie, but now the aſſurance of the timber, double doores, lockes and bolts muſt defend the man from robbing. Now haue we manie chimnies and yet our tenderlings complaine of rheumes, catarhs and poſes. Then had we none but reredoſſes, and our heads did neuer ake. For as the ſmoke in thoſe daies was ſuppoſed to be a ſufficient hardning for the timber of the houſe; ſo it was reputed a far better medicine to kéepe the goodman and his familie from the quacke or poſe, wherewith as then verie few were oft acquainted.

Deſire of much wealth and eaſe abateth manhood, & ouerthrowéth a manlie courage.

Of the curiouſneſſe of theſe piles I ſpeake not, ſith our workemen are growne generallie to ſuch an excellencie of deuiſe in the frames now made, that they far paſſe the fineſt of the old. And ſuch is their huſbandrie in dealing with their timber, that the ſame ſtuffe which in time paſt was reiected as crooked, vnprofitable, and to no vſe but the fire, doth now come in the fronts and beſt part of the worke. Whereby the common ſaieng is likewiſe in theſe daies verified in our manſion houſes, which earſt was ſaid onelie of the timber for ſhips, that no oke can grow ſo crooked but it falleth out to ſome vſe, & that neceſſarie in the naue. It is a world to ſée moreouer how diuerſe men being bent to building, and hauing a delectable veine in ſpending of their goods by that trade, do dailie imagine new deuiſes of their owne to guide their workemen withall, and thoſe more curious and excellent alwaies than the former. In the proceeding alſo of their workes, how they ſet vp, how they pull downe, how they inlarge, how they reſtreine, how they ad to, how they take from, whereby their heads are neuer idle, their purſes neuer ſhut, nor their bookes of account neuer made perfect.

Deſtruunt, ædificant, mutant quadrata rotundis

ſaith the poet. So that if a man ſhould well conſider of all the od crotchets in ſuch a builders braine, he would thinke his head to haue euen inough of thoſe affaires onelie, & therefore iudge that he ſhould not well be able to deale in anie other. But ſuch commonlie are our workemaſters, that they haue beſide this veine afore mentioned, either great charge of merchandizes, little leſſe buſineſſe in the commonwealth, or finallie no ſmall dealings otherwiſe incident vnto them, whereby gaine ariſeth, and ſome trouble oft among withall. Which cauſeth me to wonder not a little how they can plaie the parts ſo well of ſo manie ſundrie men, whereas diuerſe other of greater forecaſt in aparance can ſeldome ſhift well or thriue in anie one of them. But to our purpoſe.

We haue manie woods, foreſts, and parks, which cheriſh trées abundantlie, although in the woodland countries there is almoſt no hedge that hath not ſome ſtore of the greateſt ſort, beſide infinit numbers of hedgerowes, groues, and ſpringes, that are mainteined of purpoſe for the building and proviſion of ſuch owners as do poſſeſſe the ſame. Howbeit as euerie ſoile doth not beare all kinds of wood, ſo there is not anie wood, parke, hedgerow, groue, or foreſt, that is not mixed with diuerſe, as oke, aſh, haſell, hawthorne, birch, béech, hardbeame, hull, ſorſe, quicken aſpe, poplers, wild cherie, and ſuch like, whereof oke hath alwaies the preheminence, as moſt méet for building and the naue, whervnto it is reſerued. This tree bringeth forth alſo a profitable kind of maſt, whereby ſuch as dwell nére vnto the aforeſaid places do cheriſh and bring vp innumerable heards of ſwine. In time of plentie of this maſt, our red and fallow déere will not let to participat thereof with our hogs, more than our nete: yea our common pultrie alſo if they may come vnto them. But as this abundance doth prooue verie pernicious vnto the firſt, ſo theſe egs which theſe latter do bring forth (beſide blackeneſſe in color and bitterneſſe of taſt) haue not ſeldome bene found to breed diuerſe diſeaſes vnto ſuch perſons as haue eaten of the ſame. I might ad in like ſort the profit inſuing by the barke of this wood, whereof our tanners haue great vſe in dreſſing of leather, and which they buie yearelie in Maie by the ſadame, as I haue oft ſéene: but it ſhall not néed at this time to enter into anie ſuch diſcourſe, onlie this I will, that our ſole and vpper leathering may haue their due time, and not be haſted on by extraordinarie ſlights, as with aſh, barke, &c. Whereby as I grant that it ſémeth outwardlie to be verie thicke & well done: ſo if you reſpect the ſadnes therof, it doth proue in the end to be verie hollow & not able to hold out water. Nevertheleſſe we haue good lawes for redreſſe of this enormitie, but it cómeth to paſſe in theſe as in the execution of moſt penall ſtatutes. For the gaines to be gotten by the ſame being giuen to one or two hungrie and vnthriftie perſons, they make a ſhew of great reformation at the firſt, & for a little while, till they find that following of ſute

The like haue I ſéene when hens do feed vpon the tender blades of garlike.

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in law againſt the offendors is ſomwhat too chargeable and tedious. This therefore perceiued, they giue ouer the law, and fall to the admiſſion of gifts and rewards to winke at things paſt, and when they haue once gone ouer their ground with this kind of tillage, then do they tender licences, and offer large diſpenſations vnto him that ſhall aſke the ſame, thereby to do what him liſteth in his trade for an yearelie penſion, whereby the bribour now groweth to ſome certeine reuenues, & the tanner to ſo great libertie that his lether is much worſe than before. But is not this a mockerie of our lawes, & manifeſt illuſion of the good ſubiect whom they thus pill & poll? Of all oke growing in England the parke oke is the ſofteſt, and far more ſpalt and brickle than the hedge oke. And of all in Eſſer, that growing in Bardfield parke is the fineſt for ioiners craft: for oftentimes haue I ſeene of their workes made of that oke ſo fine and faire, as moſt of the wainescot that is brought hither out of Danske, for our wainescot is not made in England. Yet diuerſe haue aſſaied to deale without okes to that end, but not with ſo good ſucceſſe as they haue hoped, becauſe the ab or iuice will not ſo ſone be remoued and cleane drawne out, which ſome attribute to want of time in the ſalt water. Neuertheleſſe in building, ſo well the hedge as the parke oke go all one waie, and neuer ſo much hath beene ſpent in a hundred yeares before, as is in ten yeare of our time; for euerie man almoſt is a builder, and he that hath bought any ſmall parcell of ground, be it neuer ſo little, will not be quiet till he haue pulled downe the old houſe (if anie were there ſtanding) and ſet vp a new after his owne deuiſe. But whereunto will this curioſitie come?

Of elme we haue great ſtore in euerie high waie and elſewhere, yet haue I not ſeene thereof anie together in woods or forreſts, but where they haue béene firſt planted and then ſuffered to ſpread at their owne willes. Yet haue I knowen great woods of béech and haſell in manie places, eſpeciallie in Barkeſhire, Orfordſhire, and Buckinghamſhire, where they are greatlie cheriſhed, & conuerted to ſundrie vſes by ſuch as dwell about them. Of all the elms that euer I ſaw, thoſe in the ſouth ſide of Douer court, in Eſſer néere Harwich are the moſt notable, for they grow (I meane) in crooked maner, that they are almoſt apt for nothing elſe but nauie timber, great ordinance, and béetels: and ſuch thereto is their naturall qualitie, that being vſed in the ſaid behalfe, they continue longer, and more long than anie the like trées in whatſoeuer parcell elſe of this land, without cuphar, ſhaking, or cleauing, as I find.

Aſh commeth vp euerie where of it ſelfe, and with euerie kind of wood. And as we haue verie great plentie and no leſſe vſe of theſe in our huſbandrie, ſo are we not without the plane, the vgh, the ſorſe, the cheſtnut, the line, the blacke cherrie, and ſuch like. And although that we inioy them not in ſo great plentie now in moſt places, as in times paſt, or the other afore remembred: yet haue we ſufficient of them all for our neceſſarie turnes and vſes, eſpeciallie of vgh; as may be ſeene betwixt Rotheram and Sheffield, and ſome ſtéeds of Kent alſo, as I haue béene informed.

The firre, frankincenſe, and pine, we do not altogither want, eſpeciallie the firre, whereof we haue ſome ſtore in Chatleie more in Darbiſhire, Shropſhire, Anderneſſe, and a moſſe néere Manchester, not far from Leiceſters houſe: although that in time paſt not onelie all Lancaſterſhire, but a great part of the coaſt betweene Cheſter and the Solme were well ſtored. As for the frankincenſe and pine, they haue béene planted onelie in colleges and cloiſters, by the clergie and religious heretofore. Wherefore (in mine opinion) we may rather ſaie that we want them altogither: for except they grew naturallie, and not by force, I ſée no cauſe whie they ſhould be accounted for parcell of our commodities. We haue alſo the aſpe, whereof our fletchers make their arrowes. The ſeuerall kinds of poplars of our turners haue great vſe for bolles, treies, troughs, diſhes, &c. Alſo the alder, whoſe barke is not vnprofitable to die blacke withall, and therfore much vſed by our countrie wiues in colouring their knit hoſen. I might here take occaſion to ſpeake of the great ſales yéerelie made of wood, whereby an infinit quantitie hath bin deſtroied within theſe few yéers: but I giue ouer to trauell in this behalfe. Howbeit thus much I dare affirme, that if woods go ſo faſt to decaie in the next hundred yeare of Grace, as they haue done and are like to do in this, ſometimes for increaſe of ſhéepwalks, and ſome maintenance of prodigalitie and pompe (for I haue knowne a well burniſhed gentleman * that hath borne threeſcore at once in one paire of galigaſcons to ſhew his ſtrength and brauerie) it is to be feared that the fennie bote, browne, turffe, gall, heath, firze, brakes, whinnes, ling, dies, haſſacks, flags, ſtraw, ſedge, réed,ruſh, and alſo ſea-cole will be good merchandize euen in the citie of London, whereunto ſome of them euen now haue gotten readie paſſage, and taken vp their innes in the greateſt merchants parlours. A man would thinke that our laws were able inough to make ſufficient prouiſion for the redreſſe of this error & enormitie likelie to inſue. But ſuch is the nature of our countriemen, that as manie laws are made, ſo they will kéepe none; or if they be vrged to make anſwer, they will rather ſéeke ſome crooked conſtruction of them to the increaſe of their priuat gaine, than yéeld themſelues to be guided by the ſame for a common wealth and profit to their countrie. So that in the end whatſoeuer the law ſaith we will haue our willes, whereby the wholeſome ordinances of the prince are contemned, the trauell of the nobilitie & councellors as it were derided, the common wealth impouriſhed, & a few onelie inriched by this peruerſe dealing. Thus manie thouſand perſons do ſuffer hinderance by this their lewd behauior. Hereby the wholeſome laws of the prince are oft defrauded, and the good meaning magiſtrate in conſultation about the common wealth vtterlie neglected. I would wiſh that I might liue no longer than to ſée foure things in this land reformed, that is: the want of diſcipline in the church: the couetous dealing of moſt of our merchants in the preferment of the commodities of other countries, and hinderance of their owne: the holding of faires and markets vpon the ſundaie to be aboliſhed and referred to the wedneſdaies: and that euerie man, in whatſoeuer part of the champaine ſoile enioieth fortie acres of land, and vpwards, after that rate, either by free deed, copie hold, or fee farme, might plant one acre of wood, or ſowe the ſame with oke maſt, haſell, béech, and ſufficient prouiſion be made that it may be cheriſhed and kept. But I feare me that I ſhould then liue too long, and ſo long, that I ſhould either be wearie of the world, or the world of me; and yet they are not ſuch things but they may eaſilie be brought to paſſe.

Certes euerie ſmall occaſion in my time is enough to cut downe a great wood, and euerie trifle ſufficeth to laie infinit acres of corne ground vnto paſture. As for the taking downe of houſes, a ſmall fine will beare out a great manie. Would to God we might once take example of the Romans, who in reſtreint of ſuperfluous graſing, made an exact limitation, how manie head of cattell ech eſtate might kéepe, and what numbers of acres ſhould ſuffice for that and other purpoſes. Neither was wood euer

better

* This gentleman caught ſuch an heate with this fore loade that he was faine to go to Rome for phyſicke, yet it could not ſaue his life, but he muſt néeds die homewards.

better cherished or mansion houses maintained, than by their lawes and statutes. Such also was their care in the maintenance of nauigation, that it was a great part of the charge of their consuls, yearelie to view and looke vnto the hilles whereon great timber did grow, least their vnnecessarie faults for the satisfaction of the priuat owner, and his couetous mind might prooue a prejudice vnto the common wealth, in the hinderance of sufficient stuffe for the furniture of their navie. Certes the like hereof is yet obserued in Venice. Read also I praie you what Suetonius writeth of the consulship of Bibulus and Cesar. As for the wood that Ancus Martius dedicated toward the maintenance of the common navie, I passe it ouer, as having elsewhere remembred it vnto another end. But what do I meane to speake of these, sith my purpose is onlie to talke of our owne woods? Well, take this then for a finall conclusion in woods, that beside some countries are alreadie driuen to sell their wood by the pound, which is an hearie report: within these fortie yeares we shall haue little great timber growing aboue fortie yeares old; for it is commonlie seene that those yong staddles which we leaue standing at one twentie yeares fall, are vsuallie at the next sale cut downe without any danger of the statute, and serue for fire bote, if it please the owner to burne them.

Marises and fennes.

Marises and fennie bogges we haue many in England, though not now so many as some of the old Roman writers do specifie, but more in Wales, if you haue respect vnto the seuerall quantities of the countries. Howbeit as they are verie profitable in the summer halfe of the yeare, so are a number of them which lie lowe and neare to great riuers, to small commoditie in the winter part, as common experience doth teach. Yet this I find of manie moores, that in times past they haue beene harder ground, and sundrie of them well replenished with great woods, that now are void of bushes. And for example hereof, we may see the triall (beside the roots that are dailie found in the deeps of Monmouth, where turfe is digged, also in Wales, Abergauennie, and Merioneth) in sundrie parts of Lancashire, where great store of firre hath growen in times past, as I said, and the people go vnto this daie into their fens and marises with long spits, which they dash here and there vp to the verie cronge into the ground. In which practise, (a thing commonlie done in winter) if they happen to smite vpon anie firre trées which lie there at their whole lengths, or other blocks, they note the place, and about harueſt time, when the ground is at the driest, they come againe and get them vp, and afterward carieng them home, aplie them to their vses. The like do they in Shropshire with the like, which hath beene felled in old time, within 7 miles of Salop. Some of them foolishlie suppose the same to haue lien there since Noies flood: and other more fond than the rest, imagine them to grow euen in the places where they find them, without all consideration that in times past, the most part, if not all Lhoegres and Cambria was generallie replenished with wood, which being felled or ouerthrowne vpon sundrie occasions, was left lieng in some places still on the ground, and in processe of time became so to be quite ouergrowne with earth and moulds, which moulds wanting their due fatnesse, are now turned into moore plots. Wherby it commeth to passe also, that great plentie of water commeth betweene the new lose swart and the old hard earth, that being drawen awaie by ditching and dreanes (a thing some done if our countrie-men were painfull in that behalfe) might some leaue a drie soile to the great lucre and aduantage of the owner. We find in our histories, that Lincolne was somtime builded by Lud brother to Cassibelan, who called it Cair Ludcoit, of the great store of woods that inuironed the same: but now the commoditie is vtterlie decaied there, so that if Lud were aliue againe, he would not call it his citie in the wood, but rather his towne in the plaines: for the wood (as I heare) is wasted altogither about the same. The hilles called the Peke were in like sort named Pennith and Dycoit, that is, the wooddie hilles and forests. But how much wood is now to be seene in those places, let him that hath beene there testifie, if he list; for I heare of no such store there as hath beene in time past by those that trauell that waie. And thus much of woods and marises, and so far as I can deale with the same.

Of baths and hot welles.

Chap. 23.

ALmightie GOD hath in most plentifull maner bestowed infinit, and those verie notable benefits vpon this Ile of Britaine, whereby it is not a little inriched: so in hot and naturall baths (whereof we haue diuerse in sundrie places) it manifestlie appeareth that he hath not forgotten England. There are sundrie baths therefore to be found in this realme, of which the first is called saint Vincents, the second Hallie well; both being places (in my opinion) more obscure than the other two, and yet not seldome sought vnto by such as stand in need. For albeit the fame of their forces be not so generallie spread, yet in some cases they are thought to be nothing inferior to the other, as diuerse haue often affirmed by their owne experience and triall. The third place wherein hot baths are to be found is neare vnto Buxton, a towne in Darbishire, situat in the high Peke, not passing sixteene miles from Manchester, or Marke chesterford, and twentie from Darbie, where, about eight or nine seuerall welles are to be seene; of which three are counted to be most excellent: but of all, the greatest is the hotest, void of corruption, and compared (as Iones saith) with those of Summersetshire, so cold indeed, as a quart of boiling water would be made if fiue quartes of running water were added thereunto; whereas on the other side, those of Bath likened vnto these, haue such heat appropriated vnto them, as a gallon of hot water hath when a quart of cold is mixed with the same. Herevpon the effect of this bath worketh more temperatlie and pleasantlie (as he writeth) than the other. And albeit that it maketh not so great speed in cure of such as resort vnto it for helpe: yet it dealeth more effectuallie and commodiouslie than those in Summersetshire, and infer withall lesse grieuous accidents in the restreining of naturall issues, strengthening the affeebled members, assisting the liuelie forces, dispersing annoious opilations, and qualifieng of sundrie griefes, as his experience hath oft confirmed. The like vertues haue the other two, but not in such measure: and therefore their operation is not so speedilie perceiued. The fourth place where baths are, is kings Newnam, and within certeine miles of Couentrie, the water wherof (as it is thought) proceedeth from some rocke of allume, and this I vnderstand by diuerse glouers which haue beene there, and also by mine owne experience, that it hath a taste much like to allume liquor, and yet nothing vnpleasant nor vnsauorie in the drinking. There are three welles in all, but the chiefest and best of them riseth out of an hill, and runneth toward the south, from thence infinit plentie of water without anie

any notable diminution of the ſpring is dailie caried into ſundrie parties of the realme, & dronke by ſuch as haue néd to occupie the ſame. Of the other two, one is reſerued for ſuch as be comelie perſonages and void of lothſome diſeaſes: the other is left common for tag and rag; but clenſed dailie as the other is, whereby it becommeth the wholeſomer. Manie diſeaſes alſo are cured in the ſame, as the palſie, dimneſſe of ſight, dulneſſe of hearing, but eſpeciallie the collike and the ſtone, old ſores and gréene wounds; ſo that I ſuppoſe there was neuer anie compound medicine of greater and more ſpédie force in theſe behalfes, than the vſe of this ſimple liquor is to ſuch as do frequent it. The ſaid water hath a naturall propertie alſo following it which is rare, for if a leafe, or ſticke of aſh, oke, &c: do fall into the ſame, within a ſhort ſpace, ſuch ſtore of fine ſand (comming no doubt out of the earth with the water) will congeale and gather about it, that the forme being reſerued, and the inner part not lightlie altered, it will ſeeme to become an hard ſtone, and much like vnto that which is ingendred in the kidneis of a man, as I haue ſéene by experience. At the firſt entrance it is verie cold, but after a ſeaſon it warmeth the goer in, cauſing him into an indifferent heat. And this is furthermore remembred of it, that no man hath yet ſuſteined anie manner of impeachment through the coldneſſe of the ſame. The vertue thereof was found 1579 about Whitſuntide, by a man who had wounded himſelfe, & comming by the ſame water, thought onelie to waſh the blood from his hand therewith, and ſo to go home and ſéeke for helpe by ſurgerie: finallie finding the paine well aſſwaged, & the wound faire clenſed, he departed, and miſliking his vſuall medicins, he eſſoones came againe, and ſo often indéed vnto the ſaid water till his hand was healed outright without anie other practiſe. By this meanes alſo he became a counſellor to other being hurt or in paine, that they ſhould trie the vertue of this ſpring, who finding eaſe alſo, gaue out ſuch commendation of the ſaid water, that now at this preſent their fame is fullie equall, and the reſort vnto them nothing inferior to that of the old baths. Beſide this, the cures of ſuch diſeaſes as their forces do extend vnto, is much more ſpædie than we may haue at the other; and this is one commoditie alſo not ſmallie to be conſidered of. The fift place of baths or medicinable welles is at an hamlet called Newton, a little from ſaint Neots, or (as we pronounce it) ſaint Pæds, which is ten or twelue miles from Cambridge, where two ſprings are knowne to be, of which the one is verie ſweet and freſh, the other brackiſh & ſalt; this is good for ſcabs and leaperie (as it is ſaid) the other for dimneſſe of ſight. Verie manie alſo do make their repaire vnto them for ſundrie diſeaſes, ſome returning whole, and ſome nothing at all amended, becauſe their cure is without the reach and working of thoſe waters. Neuer went people ſo faſt from the church, either vnto a faire or market, as they go to theſe wels, and thoſe nære Rugbie, both places being diſcouered in this 1579 of Grace. I heare of another well to be found alſo about Ratcliffe nére London, euen at the ſame ſeaſon. But ſith rumors are now ſpred almoſt of euerie ſpring, & vaine tales flie about in maner of euerie water, I ſurceaſe to ſpeake at all of anie other, till further experience do trie whether they be medicinable or not: and yet I doubt not but moſt of theſe aſredis mentioned haue heretofore bin knowne & remembred alſo, though confuſedlie by the writers of old time; & yet in proceſſe of time either neglected or forgotten, by meanes of ſundrie troubles and turmoiles made in this realme by Danes, and other outward enimies, whereby their manifold benefit hath wonderfullie béene miſſed.

The laſt place of our baths, is a citie in Sommerſetſhire, which taketh his name of the hot waters there to be ſéene and vſed. At the firſt it was called Caer Bledud, and not Caer Bledune, as ſome would haue it, for that is the old name of the ancient caſtell at Palmeſburie, which the Saxons named Pngleburne. Ptolomie afterward called it Thermæ, other Aquæ ſolis, or Scamannia, or Acmanceſter, but now it hight generallie Bath in Engliſh, and vnder that name it is likelie to continue. The citie of it ſelfe is a verie ancient thing, no doubt, as may yet appeare by diuerſe notable antiquities ingraued in ſtone, to be ſéene in the wals thereof; and firſt of all betweene the ſouth gate and the weſt, and betwixt the weſt gate and the north.

The firſt is the antike head of a man, made all flat, with great locks of haire, much like to the coine that I haue ſéene of Antius the Romane. The ſecond betweene the ſouth and the north gate is an image, as I take it, of Hercules, for he held in each hand a ſerpent, and ſo doth this. Thirdlie there ſtandeth a man on foot with a ſword in his one hand, and a buckler ſtretched out in the other. There is alſo a branch that lieth folded and wreathed into circles, like to the wreath of Alcimedon. There are moreouer two naked images, whereof the one imbraceth the other, beſide ſundrie antike heads, with ruffeled haire, a greiehound running, and at his taile certeine Romane letters, but ſo defaced that no man liuing can read them at this preſent. There is moreouer the image of Lacaon, inuironed with two ſerpents, and an other inſcription, and all theſe betwéene the ſouth and the weſt gates, as I haue ſaid before.

Now, betweene the weſt and north gate are two inſcriptions, of which ſome words are euident to be read, the reſidue are cleane defaced. There is alſo the image of a naked man, and a ſtone in like ſort, which hath *Cupidines & labruſcas intercurrentes*, and a table hauing at each hand an image vined and finelie flouriſhed both aboue and beneath. Finallie (ſauing that I ſaw afterward the image of a naked man graſping a ſerpent in each hand) there was an inſcription of a tome or buriall, wherein theſe words did plainelie appeare, *Vixit annos xxx*: but ſo defuſedlie written, that letters ſtood for whole words, and two or three letters combined into one. Certes I will not ſaie whether theſe were ſet into the places where they now ſtand by the gentiles, or brought thither from other ruines of the towne it ſelfe, and placed afterward in thoſe wals, in their neceſſarie reparations. But howſoeuer the matter ſtandeth, this is to be gathered by our hiſtories, that Bladud firſt builded that citie there, and peraduenture might alſo kindle the ſulphurous veines, of purpoſe to burne continuallie there in the honour of Minerua: by which occaſion the ſprings thereabout did in proceſſe of time become hot & not vnprofitable, for ſundrie kinds of diſeaſes, Indeed the later pagans dreamed, that Minerua was the chéefe goddeſſe and gouerneſſe of theſe waters, becauſe of the néreneſſe of hir temple vnto the ſame. Solinus addeth furthermore, how that in hir Chap. 25. ſaid temple, the fire which was continuallie kept, did neuer conſume into dead ſparkles; but ſo ſone as the embers thereof were cold, they congealed into clots of hard ſtone: all which I take to be nothing elſe than the effect of the aforeſaid fire, of the ſulphurous veine kindled in the earth, from whence the waters do come. That theſe baths or waters are deriued from ſuch, the marchaſites, which the Grecians call *Pyritis, per antonomaſiam* (for being ſmit with the iron, it yéeldeth more ſparkes than anie flint or calcedonie, and therefore ſeemeth to deſerue the name aboue the reſt) and beſides theſe other ſtones mixed with ſome coper, and dailie found vpon the mountains

The Pyritis is found almoſt in euerie veine of metall in great plentie, diuerſities and colour, and ſometimes mixed with that mettall of whoſe excrements it conſiſteth.

teins thereabouts will beare ſufficient witneſſe, though I would write the contrarie. Doctor Turner alſo the father of Engliſh phyſicke, and an excellent diuine, ſuppoſeth that theſe ſprings dow draw their forces from ſulphur: or if there be anie other thing mingled withall, he gelleth that it ſhould be ſalt peter, bicauſe he found an obſcure likelihod of the ſame, euen in the croſſe bath. But that they participate with anie allume at all, he could neuer till his dieng daie be induced to beléeue. I might here (if I thought it neceſſarie) intreat of the notable ſituation of the citie, which ſtandeth in a pleaſant bottome, inuironed on euerie ſide with great hils, out of the which come ſo manie ſprings of pure water by ſundrie waies vnto the citie, and in ſuch abundance, as that euerie houſe is ſerued with the ſame by pipes of lead, the ſaid mettall being the more plentious and leſſe of value vnto them, bicauſe it is not had far off from thoſe quarters. It ſhould not be amiſſe alſo to ſpeake of the foure gates, number of pariſh churches, bridges, religious houſes diſſolued, and their founders, if place did ſerue therefore: but for ſo much as my purpoſe is not to deale in this behalfe, I will omit the mention of theſe things, and go in hand with the baths themſelues, wherof in the title of this chapiter I proteſted to intreat.

Croſſe bath. There are two ſprings of water (as Leland ſaith) in the weſt ſouth weſt part of the towne, whereof the biggeſt is called the croſſe bath, of a certeine croſſe that was erected ſometime in the middeſt thereof. This bath is much frequented by ſuch as are diſeaſed with leaprie, pockes, ſcabs, and great aches: yet of it ſelfe it is verie temperate and pleaſant, hauing eleuen or twelue arches of ſtone in the ſides thereof, for men to ſtand vnder, when raine doth ought annoie them.

Common bath. The common bath, or as ſome call it, the hot bath, is two hundred foot, or thereabout from the croſſe bath, leſſe in compaſſe within the wall than the other, and with onelie ſeauen arches, wrought out of the maine incloſure. It is worthilie called the hot bath, for at the firſt comming into it, men thinke that it would ſcald their fleſh, and loſe it from the bone: but after a ſeaſon, and that the bodies of the commers thereto be warmed throughlie in the ſame, it is more tollerable and eaſie to be borne. Both theſe baths be in the middle of a little ſtréet, and ioine to S. Thomas hoſpitall, ſo that it may be thought that Reginald biſhop of Bath made his houſe néere vnto theſe common baths, onelie to ſuccour ſuch poore people as ſhould reſort vnto them.

King bath. The kings bath is verie faire and large, ſtanding almoſt in the middle of the towne, at the weſt end of the cathedrall church. It is compaſſed about with a verie high ſtone wall, and the brims thereof are mured round about, where in be two and thirtie arches for men and women to ſtand in ſeparatlie, who being of the gentrie for the moſt part, dow reſort thither indifferentlie, but not in ſuch laſciuious ſort as vnto other baths and hot houſes of the maine, whereof ſome write more a great deale than modeſtie ſhould reueale, and honeſtie performe. There went a ſluce out of this bath, which ſerued in times paſt the priorie with water, which was deriued out of it vnto two places, and commonlie vſed for baths, but now I dow not thinke that they remaine in vſage.

Hot houſes in ſome countries little better than bordels.

Colour of the water of the baths. As for the colour of the water of all the bathes, it is moſt like to a déepe blew, and réeketh much after the maner of a ſeething pot, commonlie yéelding ſomwhat a ſulpherous taſte, and verie vnpleaſant ſauour. The water alſo that runneth from the two ſmall baths, goeth by a dike into the Auon by weſt, and beneath the bridge: but the ſame that goeth from the kings bath turneth a mill, and after goeth into Auon aboue Bath bridge, where it loſeth both force and taſt, and is like vnto the reſt. In all the three baths a man maie euidentlie ſée how the water bubbleth vp from the ſprings. This is alſo to be noted, that at certeine times all entrances into them is vtterlie prohibited, that is to ſaie, at high noone, and midnight: for at thoſe two ſeaſons, and a while before and after, they boile verie feruentlie, and become ſo hot that no man is able to indure their heat, or anie while ſuſteine their force and vehement working. They purge themſelues furthermore from all ſuch filth as the diſeaſed dow leaue in each of them, wherfore we dow forbeare the raſh entrance into them at that time: and ſo much the rather, for that we would not by contraction of anie new diſeaſes, depart more grieuouſlie affected than we came vnto the citie, which is in déed a thing that each one ſhould regard. For theſe cauſes therefore they are commonlie ſhut vp from halfe an houre after ten of the clocke in the forenoone, to halfe an houre after one in the afternoone, and likewiſe at midnight: at which times the keéper of them reſorteth to his charge, openeth the gates, and leaueth (or ſhould leaue) free paſſage vnto ſuch as come vnto them. Hitherto Leland.

Fall or iſſue of the water.

Not good to enter into baths at all ſeaſons.

What coſt of late hath béen beſtowed vpon theſe baths by diuerſe of the nobilitie, gentrie, communaltie, and cleargie, it lieth not in me to declare: yet as I heare, they are not onelie verie much repared and garniſhed with ſundrie curious péces of workemanſhip, partlie touching their commendation, and partlie for the eaſe and benefit of ſuch as reſort vnto them; but alſo better ordered, clenlier kept, & more friendlie prouiſion made for ſuch pouertie as dailie repaireth thither. But notwithſtanding all this, ſuch is the generall eſtate of things in Bath, that the rich men maie ſpend while they will, and the poore beg whileſt they liſt for their maintenance and diet ſo long as they remaine there: and yet I denie not but that there is verie good order in that citie for all degrées. But where ſhall a man find anie equall regard of poore and rich, though God doth giue theſe his good gifts freélie, & vnto both alike? I would here intreat further of the cuſtoms vſed in theſe baths, what number of phyſicians dailie attend vpon thoſe waters, for no man (eſpeciallie ſuch as be able to interteine them) doth enter into theſe baths before he conſult with the phyſician; alſo, what diet is to be obſerued, what particular diſeaſes are healed there, and to what end the commers thither dow drinke oftimes of that medicinable liquor: but then I ſhould exceéd the limits of a deſcription. Wherefore I paſſe it ouer to others, hoping that ſome man yet long will vouchſafe to performe that at large, which the famous clearke Doctor Turner hath brieflie yet happilie begun, touching the effects & working of the ſame. For hitherto I dow not know of manie that haue trauelled in the natures of thoſe baths of our countrie, with anie great commendation; much leſſe of anie that hath reuealed them at the full for the benefit of our nation, or commoditie of ſtrangers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Of antiquities found.

Chap. 24.

HAuing taken ſome occaſion to ſpeake here and there in this treatiſe of antiquities, it ſhall not be amiſs to deale yet more in this chapter, with ſome of them apart, & by themſelues, whereby the ſecure authoritie of the Romans ouer this Iland

land maie in ſome caſes more manifeſtlie appeare. For ſuch was their poſſeſſion of this Iland on this ſide of the Tine, that they held not one or two, or a few places onelie vnder their ſubiection, but all the whole countrie from eaſt to weſt, from the Tine to the Britiſh ſea, ſo that there was no region void of their gouernance: notwithſtanding that vntill the death of Lucius, and extinction of his iſſue, they did permit the ſucceſſors of Lud and Cimbaline to reigne and rule amongeſt them, though vnder a certeine tribute, as elſe-where I haue declared. The cheefe cauſe that vrgeth me to ſpeake of antiquities, is the paines that I haue taken to gather great numbers of them togither, intending (if euer my Chronologie ſhall happen to come abroad) to ſet downe the liuelie portraitures of euerie emperour ingraued in the ſame: alſo the faces of Pompeie, Craſſus, the ſeuen kings of the Romans, Cicero, and diuerſe other, which I haue prouided readie for the purpoſe, beſide the monuments and liuelie images of ſundrie philoſophers, and kings of this Iland, ſince the time of Edward the Confeſſor. Wherof although preſentlie I want a few, yet I dow not doubt but to obteine them all, if friendſhip at the leaſt wiſe procured for monie ſhall be able to preuaile. But as it hath done hitherto, ſo the charges to be imploied vpon theſe braſen or copper images, will hereafter put by the impreſſion of that treatiſe: whereby it maie come to paſſe, that long trauell ſhall ſone proue to be ſpent in vaine, and much coſt comie to verie ſmall ſucceſſe. Whereof yet I force not greatlie, ſith by this means I haue reaped ſome commoditie vnto my ſelfe, by ſearching of the hiſtories, which often miniſter ſtore of examples readie to be vſed in my function, as occaſion ſhall moue me. But to proceed with my purpoſe.

Before the comming of the Romans, there was a kind of coper monie currant here in Britaine, as Cæſar confeſſeth in the fift booke of his Commentaries, but I find not of what maner it was. Hereto he addeth a report of certeine rings, of a proportionate weight, which they vſed in his time, in ſtead likewiſe of monie. But as hitherto it hath not bene my lucke (I ſaie) to haue the certeine view of anie of theſe, ſo after the comming of the Romans, they inforced vs to abandon our owne, and receiue ſuch imperiall monies or coines, as for the paiment of their legions was dailie brought ouer vnto them. What coines the Romans had, it is eaſie to be knowne, and from time to time much of it is found in manie places of this Iland, as well of gold and ſiluer, as of copper, braſſe, and other mettall, much like ſteele, almoſt of euerie emperour. So that I account it no rare thing to haue of the Roman coine, albeit that it ſtill repreſent an image of our captiuitie, and maie be a good admonition for vs, to take hed how we yeld our ſelues to the regiment of ſtrangers. Of the ſtore of theſe monies, found vpon the Kentiſh coaſt, I haue alreadie made mention in the deſcription of Richborow, and chapter of Iles adiacent vnto the Britiſh Albion, and there ſhewed alſo how ſimple fiſhermen haue had plentie of them, and that the conies in making profers and holes to bred in, haue ſcraped them out of the ground in verie great abundance. In ſpeaking alſo of S. Albans, in the chapter of townes and villages, I haue not omitted to tell what plentie of theſe coines haue bene gathered there: wherfore I ſhall not need here to repeat the ſame againe. Howbeit this is certeine, that the moſt part of all theſe antiquities, to be found within the land, & diſtant from the ſhore, are to be gotten either in the ruines of ancient cities and townes decaied, or in incloſed burrowes, where their legions accuſtomed ſometime to winter, as by experience is dailie confirmed. What ſtore hath bene ſeene of them in the citie of London, which they called Auguſta, of the legion that ſoiourned there, & likewiſe in Yorke named alſo Victrix, of the legion Victoria, or Altera Roma (becauſe of the beautie and fine building of the ſame) I my ſelfe can partlie witneſſe, that haue ſeene, & often had of them, if better teſtimonie were wanting. The like I maie affirme of Colcheſter, where thoſe of Claudius, Adrian, Traian, Veſpaſian, and other, are oftentimes plowed vp, or found by other means: alſo of Cantorburie, Andredeſcheſter (now decaied) Rocheſter, then called Durobreuum, Wincheſter, and diuerſe other beyond the Thames, which for breuitie ſake I dow paſſe ouer in ſilence. Onlie the cheefe of all and where moſt are found in deed, is nere vnto Carleon and Cairgwent in Southwales, about Kencheſter, three miles aboue Hereford, Aldborow, Ancaſter, Bramdon, Dodington, where a ſpurre and peece of a chaine of gold were found in king Henrie the eight his daies, beſides much of the ſaid Roman coine, Bincheſter, Camalet, Lacocke vpon Auon, and Lincolne, Dorcheſter, Warwike, and Cheſter, where they are often had in verie great abundance. It ſeemeth that Ancaſter hath bene a great thing, for manie ſquare & colored pauements, vaults, and arches are yet found, and often laid open by ſuch as dig and plow in the fields about the ſame. Amongſt theſe, one Ureſbie or Roſebie, a plowman, did ere vp not long ſince a ſtone like a trough, couered with another ſtone, wherein was great foiſon of the aforeſaid coines. The like alſo was ſeene not yet fortie yeares agone about Grantham. But in king Henrie the eight his daies, an huſbandman had far better lucke at Harleſton, two miles from the aforeſaid place, where he found not onelie great plentie of this coine, but alſo an huge braſſe pot, and therein a large helmet of pure gold, richlie fretted with pearle, and ſet with all kind of coſtlie ſtones: he toke vp alſo chaines much like vnto beads of ſiluer, all which, as being (if a man might gheſſe anie certeintie by their beautie) not likelie to be long hidden, he preſented to quæne Katharine then lieng at Peterborow, and therewithall a few ancient rolles of parchment written long agone, though ſo defaced with mouldineſſe, and rotten for age, that no man could well hold them in his hand without falling into peeces, much leſſe read them by reaſon of their blindneſſe.

In the beginning of the ſame kings daies alſo at Killeie a man found as he eared, an arming girdle, harneſſed with pure gold, and a great maſſie pomell with a croſſe hilt for a ſword of the ſame mettall, beſide ſtuds and harneſſe for ſpurs, and the huge long ſpurs of like ſtuffe, whereof one doctor Ruthall got a part into his hands. The borroughs or buries, wherof I ſpake before, were certeine plots of ground, wherin the Romane ſouldiers did vſe to lie when they kept in the open fields as choſen places, from whence they might haue eaſie acceſſe vnto their aduerſaries, if anie outrage were wrought or rebellion moued againſt them. And as theſe were the vſuall aboads for thoſe able legions that ſerued dailie in the wars, ſo had they other certeine habitations for the old and forworne ſouldiers, whereby diuerſe cities grew in time to be repleniſhed with Romane colonies, as Cairleon, Colcheſter, Cheſter, and ſuch other, of which, Colcheſter bare the name of Colonia long time, and wherein A. Plautius builded a temple vnto the goddeſſe of Victorie (after the departure of Claudius) which Tacitus calleth *Aram ſempiternæ dominationis*, a perpetuall monument of that our Britiſh ſeruitude. But to returne vnto our borowes, they were generallie walled about with ſtone wals, and ſo large in compaſſe that ſome did conteine thirtie, fourtie, three ſcore, or eightie acres of ground within

within their limits: they had alſo diuerſe gates or ports vnto each of them, and of theſe not a few remaine to be ſeene in our time, as one for example not far from great Cheſterford in Eſſex, neere to the limits of Cambridgſhire, which I haue often viewed, and wherein the compaſſe of the verie wall with the places where the gates ſtood is eaſie to be diſcerned: the like alſo is to be ſeene at a place within two miles ſouth of Burton, called the Borow hils. In theſe therefore and ſuch like, and likewiſe at Cuolſburg, now S. Neots, or S. Needs, and ſundrie other places, eſpeciallie vpon the ſhore and coaſts of Kent, as Douer, Rie, Romneie, Lid, &c: is much of their coine alſo to be found, and ſome peeces or other are dailie taken vp, which they call Borow pence, Dwarfs monie, Hegs pence, Feirie groats, Iewes monie, & by other ſuſh names not worthie to be remembred. At the comming of the Saxons, the Britons vſed theſe holds as refuges for their cattell in the daie and night, when their enimies were abroad; the like alſo did the Saxons againſt the Danes, by which occaſions (and now and then by carieng of their ſtones to helpe forward other buildings neere at hand) manie of them were thrown downe and defaced, which otherwiſe might haue continued for a longer time, and ſo your honour would ſaie, if you ſhould happen to peruſe the thickneſſe and maner of building of thoſe ſaid wals and borowes. It is not long ſince a ſiluer ſaucer of verie ancient making was found neere to Saffron Walden, in the open field among the Sterbirie hils, and eared vp by a plough, but of ſuch maſſie greatneſſe, that it weighed better than twentie ounces, as I haue heard reported. But if I ſhould ſtand in theſe things vntill I had ſaid all that might be ſpoken of them, both by experience and teſtimonie of Leland in his Commentaries of Britaine, and the report of diuerſe yet liuing, I might make a greater chapter than would be either conuenient or profitable to the reader: wherefore ſo much onelie ſhall ſerue the turne for this time as I haue ſaid alreadie of antiquities found within our Iland, eſpeciallie of coine, whereof I purpoſed chiefelie to intreat.

Sterbirie a place where an armie hath lien.

Of the coines of England.

Chap. 25.

THe Saxon coine before the conqueſt is in maner vtterlie vnknowne to me: howbeit if my coniecture be anie thing, I ſuppoſe that one ſhilling of ſiluer in thoſe daies did counterpeiſe our common ounce, though afterward it came to paſſe that it aroſe to twentie pence, and ſo continued vntill the time of king Henrie the eight, who firſt brought it to three ſhillings and foure pence, & afterward our ſiluer coine vnto braſſe & copper monies, by reaſon of thoſe inceſtimable charges, which diuerſe waies oppreſſed him. And as I gather ſuch obſcure notice of the ſhilling which is called in Latine *ſolides*, ſo I read more manifeſtlie of another which is the 48 part of a pound, and this alſo currant among the Saxons of our Ile, ſo well in gold as in ſiluer, at ſuch time as 240 of their pennies made vp a full pound, fiue pence went to the ſhilling, and foure ſhillings to the ounce. But to proceed with my purpoſe. After the death of K. Henrie, Edward his ſonne began to reſtore the aforeſaid coine againe vnto fine ſiluer: ſo quéene Marie his ſucceſſour did continue his good purpoſe, notwithſtanding that in hir time the Spaniſh monie was verie cõmon in England, by reaſon of hir mariage with Philip king of Spaine.

Copper monie.

After hir deceaſe the ladie Elizabeth hir ſiſter, and now our moſt gratious quéene, ſouereigne and princeſſe, did finiſh the matter wholie, vtterlie aboliſhing the vſe of copper and braſen coine, and conuerting the ſame into guns and great ordinance, ſhe reſtored ſundrie coines of fine ſiluer, as peeces of halfepenie farding, of a penie, of three halfe pence, peeces of two pence, of three pence, of foure pence (called the groat) of ſix pence vſuallie named the teſtone, and ſhilling of twelue pence, whereon ſhe hath imprinted hir owne image, and emphaticall ſuperſcription. Our gold is either old or new. The old is that which hath remained ſince the time of king Edward the third, or béene coined by ſuch other princes as haue reigned ſince his deceaſſe, without anie abaſing or diminution of the fineſſe of that mettall. Therof alſo we haue yet remaining, the rials, the George noble, the Henrie rials, the ſalut, the angell, and their ſmaller peeces, as halfes or quarters, though theſe in my time are not ſo common to be ſeene. I haue alſo beheld the ſouereigne of twentie ſhillings, and the peece of thirtie ſhillings, I haue heard likewiſe of peeces of fortie ſhillings, three pounds, fiue pounds, and ten pounds. But ſith there were few of them coined, and thoſe onelie at the commandement of kings, peareſie to beſtow where their maieſties thought good in lieu of new yeares gifts and rewards: it is not requiſit that I ſhould remember them here amongſt our currant monies.

Siluer reformed.

Old gold.

The new gold is taken for ſuch as began to be coined in the latter daies of king Henrie the eight, at which time the fineſſe of the mettall began to be verie much alaied, & is not likelie to be reſtored for ought that I can ſee: and yet is it ſuch as hath béene coined ſince by his ſucceſſors princes of this realme, in value and goodneſſe equall and not inferiour to the coine and currant gold of other nations, where each one doth couet chiefelie to gather vp our old finer gold: ſo that the angels, rials, and nobles, are more plentifullie ſeene in France, Italie, and Flanders, than they be by a great deale within the realme of England, if you regard the paiments which they dailie make in thoſe kinds of our coine. Our peeces now currant are of ten ſhillings, fiue ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſix pence onelie: and thoſe of ſundrie ſtamps and names, as halfe ſouereigns (equall in weight with our currant ſhilling, whereby that gold is valued at ten times ſo much ſiluer) quarters of ſouereigns (otherwiſe called crownes) and halfe crownes: likewiſe angels, halfe angels, and quarters of angels, or if there be anie other, in good ſooth I know them not, as one ſcarſelie acquainted with anie ſiluer at all, much leſſe then (God it wot) with anie ſtore of gold.

New gold.

The firſt currant ſhilling or ſiluer peeces of twelue pence ſtamped within memorie, were coined by K. Henrie the eight in the twentith yeare of his reigne, & thoſe of fiue ſhillings, and of two ſhillings and ſix pence, & the halfe ſhilling by king Edward the firſt: but the od peeces aboue remembred vnder the groat by our high and mightie princeſſe quéene Elizabeth, the name of the groat, penie, two pence, halfe penie, and farding, in old time the greateſt ſiluer monies if you reſpect their denominations onelie, being more ancient than that I can well diſcuſſe of the time of their beginnings. Yet thus much I read, that king Edward the firſt in the eight yeare of his reigne, did firſt coine the penie and ſmalleſt peeces of ſiluer roundwiſe, which before were ſquare, and wont to beare a double croſſe with a creſt, in ſuch ſort that the penie might eaſilie be broken, either into halfes or quarters: by which firſt onelie the people came

came by ſmall monies, as halfe pence and fardings, that otherwiſe were not ſtamped nor coined of ſet purpoſe.

Of forren coines we haue all the ducats, the ſingle, double, and the double double, the cruſadoes, with the long croſſe and the ſhort: the portigue, a peece verie ſolemnelie kept of diuerſe, & yet oft times abaſed with waſhing, or abſolutelie counterfeited: and finallie the French and Flemiſh crownes, onlie currant among vs, ſo long as they hold weight. But of ſiluer coines, as the ſoules turnois, whereof ten make a ſhilling, as the franke doth two ſhillings, and three franks the French crowne, &c: we haue none at all: yet are the daiders, and ſuch often times brought ouer, but neuertheleſſe exchanged as bullion, according to their fineneſſe and weight, and afterward conuerted into coine, by ſuch as haue authoritie.

In old time we had ſundrie mints in England, and thoſe commonlie kept in abbaies and religious houſes before the conqueſt, where true dealing was commonlie ſuppoſed moſt of all to dwell: as at Ramſeie, S. Edmundſburie, Canturburie, Glaſſenburie, Peterborow, and ſuch like, ſundrie exemplificats of the grants whereof are yet to be ſeene in writing, eſpeciallie that of Peterborow vnder the confirmation of pope Eugenius: whereunto it appeareth further by a charter of king Edgar (which I haue) that they either held it or had another in Stanford. But after the Normans had once gotten the kingdome into their fingers, they truſted themſelues beſt with the ouerſight of their mints, and therefore erected diuerſe of their owne, although they afterward permitted ſome for ſmall peeces of ſiluer vnto ſundrie of the houſes aforeſaid. In my time diuerſe mints are ſuppreſſed, as Southwarke, Briſtow, &c: and all coinage is brought into one place, that is to ſaie, the Tower of London, where it is continuallie holden and peruſed, but not without great gaine to ſuch as deale withall. There is alſo coinage of tin holden yearelie at two ſeuerall times, that is to ſaie, Midſummer and Michaelmas in the weſt countrie; which at the firſt hearing I ſuppoſed to haue beene of monie of the ſaid mettall, and granted by priuilege from ſome prince vnto the towns of Haileſtone, Trurie, and Loſtwithiell. Howbeit, vpon further examination of the matter, I find it to be nothing ſo, but an office onlie erected for the prince, wherin he is alloweth the ordinarie cuſtomes of that mettall: and ſuch blocks of tin as haue paſſed the hands of his officers, are marked with an eſpeciall ſtampe, whereby it is knowne that the cuſtome due for the ſame hath ordinarilie beene anſwered. It ſhould ſeeme (and in my opinion is verie likelie to be true) that while the Romans reigned here, Kingſtone vpon Thames (ſometime a right noble citie and place where the Saxon kings were vſuallie crowned) was the chiefe place of their coinage for this prouince. For in caring of the ground about that towne in times paſt, and now of late (beſides the curious foundation of manie goodlie buildings that haue beene riped vp by plowes, and diuerſe coines of braſſe, ſiluer, and gold, with Romane letters in painted pots found there) in the daies of cardinall Wolſeie, one ſuch huge pot was diſcouered full as it were of new ſiluer latelie coined; another with plates of ſiluer readie to be coined; and the third with chaines of ſiluer and ſuch broken ſtuffe redie (as it ſhould appeere) to be melted into coinage, whereof let this ſuffice to countenance out my coniecture. Of coins currant before the comming of the Romans I haue elſewhere declared, that there were none at all in Britaine: but as the Ilanders of Scylira, the old Romans, Armenians, Scythians, Seritans, Sarmatians, Indians, and Eſſences did barter ware for ware, ſo the Britons vſed braſſe or rings of iron, brought vnto a certeine proportion, in ſtead of monie, as the Lacedemonians & Biſantines alſo did, & the Achiui (as Homer writeth) who had (ſaith he) rough peeces of braſſe and iron in ſtéd of coine, wherewith they purchaſed their wines.

The contents of the third booke.

1 Of cattell kept for profit.
2 Of wild and tame foules.
3 Of fiſh vſuallie taken vp on our coaſts.
4 Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.
5 Of hawkes and rauenous foules.
6 Of venemous beaſts.
7 Of our Engliſh dogs and their qualities.
8 Of our ſaffron, and the dreſſing thereof.
9 Of quarries of ſtone for building.
10 Of ſundrie minerals.
11 Of mettals to be had in our land.
12 Of pretious ſtones.
13 Of ſalt made in England.
14 Of our accompt of time and hir parts.
15 Of principall faires and markets.
16 Of our innes and thorowfaires.

Of cattell kept for profit.

Chap. 1.

There is no kind of tame cattell vſually to be ſeene in theſe parts of the world, whereof we haue not ſome, and that great ſtore in England; as horſſes, oxen, ſheepe, goats, ſwine, and far ſurmounting the like in other countries, as may be proued with eaſe. For where are oxen commonlie more large of bone, horſſes more decent and pleaſant in paſe, kine more commodious for the pale, ſheepe more profitable for woll, ſwine more wholeſome of fleſh, and goates more gainefull to their keepers, than here with vs in England? But to ſpeke of them peculiarlie, I ſuppoſe that our kine are ſo abundant in yéeld of milke, whereof we make our butter & cheeſe, as the like anie where elſe, and ſo apt for the plough in diuerſe places as either our horſſes or oxen. And albeit they now and then twin, yet herein they ſeeme to come ſhort of that commoditie which is looked for

in other countries, to wit, in that they bring forth moſt commonlie but one calfe at once. The gaines alſo gotten by a cow (all charges borne) hath bene valued at twentie ſhillings yearelie: but now as land is inhanced, this proportion of gaine is much abated, and likelie to decaie more and more, if ground ariſe to be yet dearer, which God forbid, if it be his will and pleaſure. I heard of late of a cow in Warwikſhire, belonging to Thomas Bruer of Studleie, which in ſix yeares had ſixteene calfes, that is, foure at once in three caluings and twiſe twins, which vnto manie may ſeeme a thing incredible. In like maner our oxen are ſuch as the like are not to be found in anie countrie of Europe, both for greatneſſe of bodie and ſweetneſſe of fleſh: or elſe would not the Romane writers haue preferred them before thoſe of Liguria. In moſt places our graſiers are now growen to be ſo cunning, that if they bo but ſee an ox or bullocke, and come to the feeling of him, they will giue a gheſſe at his weight, and how manie ſcore or ſtone of fleſh and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may liue by the ſale, and what he may haue for the ſkin and tallow; which is a point of ſkill not commonlie practiſed heretofore. Some ſuch graſiers alſo are reported to ride with veluet coats, and chaines of gold about them: and in their abſence their wiues will not let to ſupplie thoſe turnes with no leſſe ſkill than their huſbands: which is an hard worke for the poore butcher, ſith he through this means can ſeldome be rich or wealthie by his trade. In like ſort the fleſh of our oxen and kine is ſold both by hand and by weight as the buier will: but in yong ware rather by weight, eſpeciallie for the ſteere and heighfer, ſith the finer beefe is the lighteſt, whereas the fleſh of buls and old kine, &c: is of ſadder ſubſtance and therefore much heauier as it lieth in the ſcale. Their hornes alſo are knowne to be more faire and large in England than in anie other places, except thoſe which are to be ſeene among the Pæones, which quantitie albeit that it be giuen to our breed generallie by nature, yet it is now and then helped alſo by art. For when they be verie yong, manie graſiers will oftentimes annoint their budding hornes, or tender tips with honie, which mollifieth the naturall hardneſſe of that ſubſtance, and thereby maketh them to grow vnto a notable greatneſſe. Certes, it is not ſtrange in England, to ſee oxen whoſe hornes haue the length of a yard or three foot betweene the tips, and they themſelues thereto ſo tall, as the heigth of a man of meane and indifferent ſtature is ſcarſe equall vnto them. Neuertheleſſe it is much to be lamented that our generall breed of cattell is not better loked vnto: for the greateſt occupiers weane leaſt ſtore, becauſe they can buie them (as they ſaie) far better cheape than to raiſe and bring them vp. In my time a cow hath riſen from foure nobles to foure marks by this meanes, which notwithſtanding were no great price if they did yearelie bring forth more than one calfe a peece, as I heare they do in other countries.

Oxen.

Athenæus lib. 10. cap. 8.

Our horſſes moreouer are high, and although not commonlie of ſuch huge greatneſſe as in other places of the maine: yet if you reſpect the eaſineſſe of their pace, it is hard to ſaie where their like are to be had. Our land doth yeeld no aſſes, and therefore we want the generation alſo of mules and ſomers; and therefore the moſt part of our cariage is made by theſe, which remaining ſtoned, are either reſerued for the cart, or appointed to beare ſuch burdens as are conuenient for them. Our cart or plough horſſes (for we vſe them indifferentlie) are commonlie ſo ſtrong that fiue or ſix of them (at the moſt) will draw three thouſand weight of the greateſt tale with eaſe for a long iournie, although it be not a load of common vſage, which conſiſteth onelie of two thouſand, or ſixtie foot of timber, fortie buſhels of white ſalt, or ſix and thirtie of bale, or fiue quarters of wheat, experience dailie teacheth, and I haue elſewhere remembred. Such as are kept alſo for burden, will carie foure hundred weight commonlie, without anie hurt or hinderance. This furthermore is to be noted, that our princes and the nobilitie haue their cariage commonlie made by carts, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that when the queenes mateſtie doth remoue from anie one place to another, there are vſuallie 400 carewares, which amount to the ſumme of 2400 horſſes, appointed out of the countries adioining, whereby hir cariage is conueied ſafelie vnto the appointed place. Hereby alſo the ancient vſe of ſomers and ſumpter horſſes is in maner vtterlie relinquiſhed, which cauſeth the traines of our princes in their progreſſes to ſhew far leſſe than thoſe of the kings of other nations.

Horſſes.

Such as ſerue for the ſaddle are commonlie gelded, and now growne to be verie deere among vs, eſpeciallie if they be well coloured, iuſtlie limmed, and haue thereto an eaſie ambling pace. For our countriemen, ſeeking their eaſe in euerie corner where it is to be had, delight verie much in theſe qualities, but chieflie in their excellent paces, which beſides that it is in maner peculiar vnto horſſes of our ſoile, and not hurtfull to the rider or owner ſitting on their backes: it is moreouer verie pleaſant and delectable in his eares, in that the noiſe of their well proportioned pace doth yeeld comfortable ſound as he trauelleth by the waie. Yet is there no greater deceipt vſed anie where than among our horſſekeepers, horſſecorſers, and horſſelers: for ſuch is the ſubtill knauerie of a great ſort of them (without exception of anie of them be it ſpoken which deale for priuat gaine) that an honeſt meaning man ſhall haue verie good lucke among them, if he be not deceiued by ſome falſe tricke or other. There are certeine notable markets, wherein great plentie of horſſes and colts is bought and ſold, and wherevnto ſuch as haue need reſort yearelie to buie and make their neceſſarie proviſion of them, as Ripon, Newport pond, Wolfpit, Harborow, and diuerſe other. But as moſt drouers are verie diligent to bring great ſtore of theſe vnto thoſe places; ſo manie of them are too too lewd in abuſing ſuch as buie them. For they haue a cuſtome to make them looke faire to the eie, when they come within two daies iournie of the market, to driue them till they ſweat, & for the ſpace of eight or twelue houres, which being done they turne them all ouer the backs into ſome water, where they ſtand for a ſeaſon, and then go forward with them to the place appointed, where they make ſale of their infected ware, and ſuch as by this meanes do fall into manie diſeaſes and maladies. Of ſuch outlandiſh horſſes as are dailie brought ouer vnto vs I ſpeake not, as the genet of Spaine, the courſer of Naples, the hobbie of Ireland, the Flemiſh roile, and Scotiſh nag, becauſe that further ſpeech of them commeth not within the compaſſe of this treatiſe, and for whoſe breed and maintenance (eſpeciallie of the greateſt ſort) king Henrie the eight erected a noble ſtudderie and for a time had verie good ſucceſſe with them, till the officers waxing wearie, procured a mixed brood of baſtard races, whereby his good purpoſe came to little effect. Sir Nicholas Arnold of late hath bred the beſt horſſes in England, and written of the maner of their production: would to God his compaſſe of ground were like to that of Pella in Syria, wherein the king of that nation had vſuallie a ſtudderie of 30000 mares and 300 ſtallions, as Strabo doth remember *Lib.* 16. But to leaue this, let vs ſee what may be ſaid of ſheepe.

Geldings.

Sheepe with out hornes

Our ſheepe are verie excellent, ſith for ſweetneſſe of

Sheepe.

of fleſh they paſſe all other. And ſo much are our wooles to be preferred before thoſe of Aſſyria and other places, that if Iaſon had knowne the value of them that are bred, and to be had in Britaine, he would neuer haue gone to Colchis, to loke for anie there. For as Dionyſius Alexandrinus ſaith in his *De ſitu orbis*, it may by ſpinning be made comparable to the ſpiders web. What ſoles then are our countrimen, in that they ſeeke to bereue themſelues of this commoditie, by practiſing dailie how to tranſſer the ſame to other nations, in carieng ouer their rams & ewes to breed & increaſe among them? The firſt example hereof was giuen vnder Edward the fourth, who not vnderſtanding the botome of the ſute of ſundrie traitorous merchants, that ſought a preſent gaine with the perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced them to carie ouer certeine numbers of them into Spaine, who hauing licence but for a few ſhipped veris manie: a thing commonlie practiſed in other commodities alſo, whereby the prince and hir land are not ſeldome times defrauded. But ſuch is our nature, and ſo blind are we in deed, that we ſee no inconuenience before we feele it: and for a preſent gaine we regard not what damage may inſue to our poſteritie. Hereto ſome other man would ad alſo the deſire that we haue to benefit other countries, and to impech our owne. And it is ſo ſure as God liueth, that euerie trifle which commeth from beyond the ſea, though it be not worth three pence, is more eſteemed than a continuall commoditie at home with vs, which far exceedeth that value. In time paſt the vſe of this commoditie conſiſted (for the moſt part) in cloth and woollfeds: but now by meanes of ſtrangers ſuccoured here from domeſticall perſecution, the ſame hath beene imploied vnto ſundrie other vſes, as mockados, bates, vellures, grograines, &c: whereby the makers haue reaped no ſmall commoditie. It is furthermore to be noted, for the low countries of Belgie know it, and dailie experience (notwithſtanding the charpeneſſe of our lawes to the contrarie) doth yet confirme it: that although our rams & weathers do go thither from vs neuer ſo well headed according to their kind: yet after they haue remained there a while, they caſt there their heads, and from thenceforth they remaine polled without any hornes at all. Certes this kind of cattell is more cheriſhed in England, than ſtandeth well with the commoditie of the commons, or proſperitie of diuerſe townes, whereof ſome are wholie conuerted to their feeding: yet ſuch a profitable ſweetneſſe is their fleece, ſuch neceſſitie in their fleſh, and ſo great a benefit in the manuring of barren ſoile with their dung and pille, that their ſuperfluous numbers are the better borne withall. And there is neuer an husbandman (for now I ſpeake not of our great ſheepemaſters of whom ſome one man hath 20000) but hath more or leſſe of this cattell feeding on his fallowes and ſhort grounds, which yeld the finer fleece, as Virgil (following Varro) well eſpied Georg. 3. where he ſaith:

Si tibi lanicium cura, primum aſpera ſilua,
Lappæque tribulique abſint, fuge pabula læta.

Sheepe without hornes.

Neuertheleſſe the ſheepe of our countrie are often troubled with the rot (as are our ſwine with the meaſels though neuer ſo generallie) and manie men are now and then great loſers by the ſame: but after the calamitie is ouer, if they can recouer and keepe their new ſtocks ſound for ſeauen yeares together, the former loſſe will eaſilie be recompenſed with double commoditie. Cardan writeth that our waters are hurtfull to our ſheepe, howbeit this is but his coniecture: for we know that our ſheepe are infected by going to the water, and take the ſame as a ſure and certeine token that a rot hath gotten hold of them, their liuers and lights being alredie diſtempered through exceſſiue heat, which inforceth them the rather to ſeeke vnto the water. Certes there is no parcell of the maine, wherin a man ſhall generallie find more fine and wholeſome water than in England; and therfore it is impoſſible that our ſheepe ſhould decaie by taſting of the ſame. Wherfore the hinderance by rot is rather to be aſcribed to the vnſeaſonablenes & moiſture of the weather in ſummer, alſo their licking in of mildewes, goſſamire, rowtie fogs, & ranke graſſe, full of ſuperfluous iuice: but ſpecialliе (I ſaie) to ouer moiſt wether, whereby the continuall raine pearſing into their hollow felles, ſoketh forthwith into their fleſh, which bringeth them to their baines. Being alſo infected their firſt ſhew of ſickenelle is their deſire to drinke, ſo that our waters are not vnto them *Cauſa ægritudinis*, but *Signum morbi*, what ſo euer Cardan doo mainteine to the contrarie. There are (& peraduenture no ſmall babes) which are growne to be ſo good husbands, that they can make account of euerie ten kine to be clerelie worth twentie pounds in comon and indifferent yeares, if the milke of fiue ſheepe be dailie added to the ſame. But as I wote not how true this ſurmiſe is, becauſe it is no part of my trade, ſo I am ſure hereof, that ſome houſewiues can and doo ad dailie a leſſe proportion of ewes milke vnto the cheeſe of ſo manie kine, whereby their cheeſe doth the longer abide moiſt, and eateth more brickle and mellow than otherwiſe it would.

Goats we haue plentie, and of ſundrie colours in the weſt parts of England; eſpeciallie in and towards Wales, and amongſt the rockie hilles, by whome the owners doo reape no ſmall aduantage: ſome alſo are cheriſhed elſewhere in diuerſe ſteeds for the benefit of ſuch as are diſeaſed with ſundrie maladies, vnto whom (as I heare) their milke, cheeſe, and bodies of their yong kids are iudged verie profitable, and therefore inquired for of manie farre and neere. Certes I find among the writers, that the milke of a goat is next in eſtimation to that of the woman; for that it helpeth the ſtomach, remooueth oppilations and ſtoppings of the liuer, and looſeth the belllie. Some place alſo next vnto it the milke of the ew: and thirdlie that of the cow. But hereof I can ſhew no reaſon; onelie this I know, that ewes milke is fulſome, ſweet, and ſuch in taſt, as except ſuch as are vſed vnto it no man will gladlie yeld to liue and feed withall. Goats.

As for ſwine, there is no place that hath greater ſtore, nor more wholeſome in eating, than are theſe here in England, which neuerthleſſe doo neuer anie good till they come to the table. Of theſe ſome we eat greene for porke, and other dried vp into bakon to haue it of more continuance. Lard we make ſome though verie little, becauſe it is chargeable: neither haue we ſuch vſe thereof as is to be ſeene in France and other countries, ſith we doo either bake our meat with ſweet ſuet of beefe or mutton, and baſt all our meat with ſweet or ſalt butter, or ſuffer the fatteſt to baſt it ſelfe by leiſure. In champaine countries they are kept by herds, and an hogherd appointed to attend and wait vpon them, who commonlie gathereth them togither by his noiſe and crie, and leadeth them forth to feed abroad in the fields. In ſome places alſo women doo ſcowre and wet their cloths with their dung, as other doo with hemlocks and netles: but ſuch is the ſauor of the cloths touched withall, that I cannot abide to weare them on my bodie, more than ſuch as are ſcowred with the reſkuſe ſope, than the which (in mine opinion) there is none more vnkindlie ſauor. Swine.

Of our tame boores we make brawne, which is a kind of meat not vſuallie knowne to ſtrangers (as I take it) otherwiſe would not the ſwart Rutters and French cookes, at the loſſe of Calis (where they Boores.

found great ſtore of this proviſion almoſt in euerie houſe) haue attempted with ridiculous ſucceſſe to roſt, bake, broile, & frie the ſame for their maſters, till they were better informed. I haue heard moreouer, how a noble man of England, not long ſince, did ſend ouer an hogſhead of brawne readie ſowſed to a catholike gentleman of France, who ſuppoſing it to be fiſh, reſerued it till Lent, at which time he did eat thereof with verie great frugalitie. Thereto he ſo well liked of the proviſion it ſelfe, that he wrote ouer verie earneſtlie & with offer of great recompenſe for more of the ſame fiſh againſt the yeare inſuing: whereas if he had knowne it to haue beene fleſh, he would not haue touched it (I dare ſaie) for a thouſand crownes without the popes diſpenſation. A friend of mine alſo dwelling ſometime in Spaine, hauing certeine Iewes at his table, did ſet brawne before them, whereof they did eat verie earneſtlie, ſuppoſing it to be a kind of fiſh not common in thoſe parties: but when the goodman of the houſe brought in the head in paſtime among them, to ſhew what they had eaten, they roſe from the table, hied them home in haſt, ech of them procuring himſelfe to vomit, ſome by oile, and ſome by other meanes, till (as they ſuppoſed) they had cleanſed their ſtomachs of that prohibited food. With vs it is accounted a great peece of ſeruice at the table, from Nouember vntill Februarie be ended; but cheeflie in the Chriſtmaſſe time. With the ſame alſo we begin our dinners ech daie after other: and becauſe it is ſomewhat hard of digeſtion, a draught of malueſeie, baſtard, or muſcadell, is vſuallie drunke after it, where either of them are conuentientlie to be had: otherwiſe the meaner ſort content themſelues with their owne drinke, which at that ſeaſon is generallie verie ſtrong, and ſtronger indeed than in all the yeare beſide. It is made commonlie of the fore part of a tame bore, ſet vp for the purpoſe by the ſpace of a whole yere or two, eſpeciallie in gentlemens houſes (for the huſbandmen and farmers neuer franke them for their owne vſe aboue three or foure moneths, or halfe a yeere at the moſt) in which time he is dieted with otes and peaſon, and lodged on the bare planks of an vneaſie coat, till his fat be hardened ſufficientlie for their purpoſe: afterward he is killed, ſcalded, and cut out, and then of his former parts is our brawne made, the reſt is nothing ſo fat, and therefore it beareth the name of ſowſe onelie, and is commonlie reſerued for the ſeruing man and hind, except it pleaſe the owner to haue anie part therof baked, which are then handled of cuſtome after this manner. The hinder parts being cut off, they are firſt drawne with lard, and then ſodden; being ſodden they are ſowſed in claret wine and vineger a certeine ſpace, and afterward baked in paſties, and eaten of manie in ſtead of the wild bore, and trulie it is verie good meat: the peſſles may be hanged vp a while to drie before they be drawne with lard if you will, and thereby proue the better. But hereof inough, and therefore to come againe vnto our brawne. The necke peeces being cut off round, are called collars of brawne, the ſhoulders are named ſhids, onelie the ribs reteine the former denomination, ſo that theſe aforeſaid peeces deſerue the name of brawne: the bowels of the beaſt are commmonlie caſt awaie becauſe of their rankneſſe, and ſo were likewiſe his ſtones; till a foliſh fantaſie got hold of late amongſt ſome delicate dames, who haue now found the meanes to dreſſe them alſo with great coſt for a deintie diſh, and bring them to the bord as a ſeruice among other of like ſort, though not without note of their deſire to the prouocation of fleſhlie luſt, which by this their fond curioſitie is not a little reuealed. When the bore is thus cut out, ech peece is wrapped vp, either with bulrulhes, ozier

Brawne of the bore.

Baked hog.

peeles, tape, inkle, or ſuch like, and then ſodden in a lead or caldron togither, till they be ſo tender that a man may thruſt a bruſed ruſh or ſoft ſtraw cleane through the fat: which being done, they take it vp, and laie it abroad to cole: afterward putting it into cloſe veſſels, they powre either good ſmall ale or beere mingled with verinice and ſalt thereto till it be couered, and ſo let it lie (now and then altering and changing the ſowſing drinke leaſt it ſhould wax ſowre) till occaſion ſerue to ſpend it out of the waie. Some vſe to make brawne of great barrow hogs, and ſeeth them, and ſowſe the whole, as they do that of the bore; and in my iudgement it is the better of both, and more eaſie of digeſtion. But of brawne thus much; and ſo much may ſeeme ſufficient.

Of wild and tame foules.

Chap. 2.

READer requireth that I ſpeake ſomewhat of the foules alſo of England, which I may eaſilie diuide into the wild & tame: but alas ſuch is my ſmall ſkill in foules, that to ſay the truth, I can neither recite their numbers, nor well diſtinguiſh one kind of them from another. Yet this I haue by generall knowledge, that there is no nation vnder the ſunne, which hath alreadie in the time of the yere more plentie of wild foule than we, for ſo manie kinds as our Iland doth bring forth, and much more would haue, if thoſe of the higher ſoile might be ſpared but one yeare or two, from the greedie engins of couetous foulers, which ſet onlie for the pot & purſe. Certes this enormitie bred great trouble in K. Johns daies, inſomuch that going in progreſſe about the tenth of his reigne, he found little or no game wherewith to ſolace himſelf, or exerciſe his falcons. Wherfore being at Briſtow in the Chriſtmas inſuing, he reſtreined all maner of hawking or taking of wild foule throughout England for a ſeaſon, whereby the land within few yeares was throughlie replenished againe. But what ſtand I vpon this impertinent diſcourſe? Of ſuch therefore as are bred in our land, we haue the crane, the bittor, the wild & tame ſwan, the bullard, the herron, curlew, ſnite, wildgoſe, wind or doterell, brant, larke, plouer of both ſorts, lapwing, teele, wigeon, mallard, ſheldrake, ſhoueler, pewet, ſeamew, barnacle, quaile (who onelie with man are ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe) the notte, the oliet or olife, the dunbird, woodcocke, partrich and feaſant, beſides diuerſe other, whoſe names to me are vtterlie vnknowne, and much more the taſte of their fleſh, wherewith I was neuer acquainted. But as theſe ſerue not at all ſeaſons, ſo in their ſeuerall turnes there is no plentie of them wanting, whereby the tables of the nobilitie and gentrie ſhould ſeeme at anie time furniſht. But of all theſe the production of none is more maruellous in my mind, than that of the barnacle, whoſe place of generation we haue ſought oft times ſo farre as the Orchades, whereas peraduenture we might haue found the ſame nearer home, and not onelie vpon the coaſts of Ireland, but euen in our owne riuers. If I ſhould ſay how either theſe or ſome ſuch other foule not much vnlike vnto them haue bred of late times (for their place of generation is not perpetuall, but as opportunitie ſerueth, and the circumſtances do miniſter occaſion) in the Thames mouth, I do not thinke that manie will beleeue me: yet ſuch a thing hath there beene ſeene, where a kind of foule had his beginning vpon a ſhort tender ſhrub ſtanding neere vnto the ſhore, from whence when

their

their time came, they fell downe, either into the ſalt water and liued, or vpon the drie land and periſhed, as Pena the French herbarian hath alſo noted in the verie end of his herball. What I for mine owne part haue ſeene here by experience, I haue alreadie ſo touched in the chapter of Ilands, that it ſhould be but time ſpent in vaine to repeat it here againe. Looke therefore in the deſcription of Man or Manaw for more of theſe barnacles, as alſo in the eleuenth chapter of the deſcription of Scotland, & I do not doubt but you ſhall in ſome reſpect be ſatiſfied in the generation of theſe foules. As for egrets, palpers, and ſuch like, they are dailie brought vnto vs from beyond the ſea, as if all the foule of our countris could not ſuffice to ſatiſfie our delicate appetites.

Our tame foule are ſuch (for the moſt part) as are common both to vs and to other countries, as cocks, hens, geeſe, ducks, peacocks of Inde, pigeons, now an hurtfull foule by reaſon of their multitudes, and number of houſes dailie erected for their increaſe (which the bowres of the countrie call in ſcorne almes houſes, and dens of thœues, and ſuch like) wherof there is great plentie in euerie farmers yard. They are kept there alſo to be ſold either for readie monie in the open markets, or elſe to be ſpent at home in good companie amongſt their neighbors without reprehenſion or fines. Neither are we ſo miſerable in England (a thing onelie granted vnto vs by the eſpeciall grace of God, and libertie of our princes) as to dine or ſup with a quarter of a hen, or to make ſo great a repaſt with a cocks combe, as they do in ſome other countries: but if occaſion ſerue, the whole carcaſſes of manie capons, hens, pigeons, and ſuch like do oft go to wracke, beſide beefe, mutton, veale, and lambe: all which at euerie feaſt are taken for neceſſarie diſhes amongeſt the communaltie of England.

The gelding of cocks, whereby capons are made, is an ancient practiſe brought in of old time by the Romans when they dwelt here in this land: but the gelding of turkies or Indith peacocks is a newer deuiſe: and certeinlie not vſed amiſſe, ſith the rankeneſſe of that bird is verie much abated thereby, and the ſtrong taſte of the fleſh in ſundrie wiſe amended. If I ſhould ſay that ganders grow alſo to be gelded, I ſuppoſe that ſome will laugh me to ſcorne, neither haue I taſted at anie time of ſuch a foule ſo ſerued, yet haue I heard it more than once to be vſed in the countrie, where their geeſe are driuen to the field like heards of cattell by a goſeheard, a toie alſo no leſſe to be maruelled at than the other. For as it is rare to heare of a gelded gander, ſo is it ſtrange to me to ſee or heare of geeſe to be led to the field like ſheepe: yet ſo it is, & their goſeheard carieth a rattle of paper or parchment with him, when he goeth about in the morning to gather his goſlings togither, the noiſe whereof commeth no ſooner to their eares, than they fall to gagling, and haſten to go with him. If it happen that the gates be not yet open, or that none of the houſe be ſtirring, it is ridiculous to ſee how they will pope vnder the doores, and neuer leaue creaking and gagling till they be let out vnto him to ouertake their fellowes. With vs where I dwell they are not kept in this ſort, nor in manie other places, neither are they kept ſo much for their bodies as their feathers. Some hold furthermore an opinion, that in ouer ranke ſoiles their dung doth ſo qualifie the batableneſſe of the ſoile, that their cattell is thereby kept from the garget, and ſundrie other diſeaſes, although ſome of them come to their ends now and then, by licking vp of their feathers. I might here make mention of other foules produced by the induſtrie of man, as betweene the feſant cocke and dunghill hen, or betweene the feſant and the ringdoue, the peacocke and the turkie hen, the partrich and the pigeon: but ſith I haue no more knowledge of theſe, than what I haue gotten by mine care, I will not meddle with them. Yet Cardan ſpeaking of the ſecond ſort, doth affirme it to be a foule of excellent beautie. I would likewiſe intreat of other foules which we repute vncleane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rokes, kites, taies, ringtailes, ſtarlings, woodſpikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c: but ſith they abound in all countries, though peraduenture moſt of all in England (by reaſon of our negligence) I ſhall not need to ſpend anie time in the rehearſall of them. Neither are our crowes and choughs cheriſhed of purpoſe to catch vp the wormes that breed in our ſoiles (as Polydor ſuppoſeth) ſith there are no vplandiſh townes but haue (or ſhould haue) nets of their owne in ſtore to catch them withall. Sundrie acts of parlement are likewiſe made for their vtter deſtruction, as alſo the ſpoile of other rauenous fouls hurtfull to pultrie, conies, lambs, and kids, whoſe valuation of reward to him that killeth them is after the head: a deuiſe brought from the Goths, who had the like ordinance for the deſtruction of their white crowes, and tale made by the becke, which killed both lambs and pigs. The like order is taken with vs for our vermines, as with them alſo for the rotage out of their wild beaſts, ſauing that they ſpared their greateſt beares, eſpeciallie the white, whoſe ſkins are by cuſtome & priuilege reſerued to couer thoſe planchers whereupon their prieſts do ſtand at maſſe, leaſt he ſhould take ſome vnkind cold in ſuch a long peece of worke: and happie is the man that may prouide them for him, for he ſhall haue pardon inough for that ſo religious an act, to laſt if he will till domes day do approch; and manie thouſands after. Nothing therefore can be more vnlikelie to be true, than that theſe noiſome creatures are nouriſhed amongſt vs to deuoure our wormes, which do not abound much more in England than elſewhere in other countries of the maine. It may be that ſome looke for a diſcourſe alſo of our other foules in this place at my hand, as nightingales, thruſhes, blackebirds, mauiſes, ruddocks, redſtarts or dunocks, larkes, tiuits, kingsfiſhers, buntings, turtles white or graie, linets, bullfinches, goldfinches, walhtailes, cheriecrackers, yellowhamers, felfares, &c: but I ſhould then ſpend more time vpon them than is conuenient. Neither will I ſpeake of our coſtlie and curious antaries dailie made for the better hearing of their melodie, and obſeruation of their natures: but I ceaſe alſo to go anie further in theſe things, hauing (as I thinke) ſaid inough alreadie of theſe that I haue named.

Of fiſh vſuallie taken vpon *our coaſts.*

Cap. 3.

I Haue in my deſcription of waters, as occaſion hath ſerued, intreated of the names of ſome of the ſeuerall fiſhes which are commonlie to be found in our riuers. Neuertheleſſe as euerie water hath a ſundrie mixture, and therefore is not ſtored with euerie kind: ſo there is almoſt no houſe, euen of the meaneſt bowres, which haue not one or mo ponds or holes made for reſeruation of water vnſtored with ſome of them, as with tench, carpe, breame, roch, dace, eeles, or ſuch like as will liue and breed togither. Certes it is not poſſible for me to deliuer the names of all ſuch kinds of fiſhes as

as our riuers are found to beare: yet leaſt I ſhould ſeeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering ſo manie of them as haue béene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to ſet them downe as they do come to mind. Beſides the ſalmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middeſt of September to the middeſt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greateſt riuers, as their yong fiſh are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midſummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, cheuin, pike, gud-geon, ſmelt, perch, menan, thrimpes, creuiſes, lampreies, and ſuch like, whoſe preſeruation is prouided for by verie ſharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but alſo in plaſhes or lakes and ponds, which otherwiſe would bring ſmall profit to the owners, and do much harme by continuall maintenance of idle perſons, who would ſpend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all theſe there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the ſame water, than the pike and éele, which commonlie deuoure ſuch fiſh or frie and ſpawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheleſſe, the pike is friend vnto the tench, as to his leach & ſurgeon. For when the fiſhmonger hath opened his ſide and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that preſent, he laieth the ſame againe into the proper place, and ſowing vp the wound, he reſtoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer ceaſe to ſucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue reſtored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the ſtall, when his turne ſhall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and ſome other of our riuer fiſhes are ſold by inches of cleane fiſh, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needleſſe: alſo how the pike as he ageth, receiueth diuerſe names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and laſt of all to a luce; alſo that a ſalmon is the firſt yeare a grauellin, and commonlie ſo big as an herring, the ſecond a ſalmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a ſalmon: but this is in like ſort vnneceſſarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers ſides if you cut a turffe, and laie it with the graſſe downewards, vpon the earth, in ſuch ſort as the water may touch it as it paſſeth by, you ſhall haue a brood of éeles, it would ſeeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no leſſe aſſurance of ſome, than that an horſe haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in ſhort time ſtirre and become a liuing creature. But ſith the certeintie of theſe things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it paſſe at this time. Neuertheleſſe this is generallie obſerued in the maintenance of frie ſo well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of ſpawne we vſe to throw in faggots made of willow and ſallow, and now and then of buſhes for want of the other, whereby ſuch ſpawne as falleth into the ſame is preſerued and kept from the pike, perch, éele and other fiſh, of which the carpe alſo will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the ſtore and increaſe of proper kind. Some vſe in euerie fift or ſeauenth yeare to take their great ponds drie for all the ſummer time, to the end they may gather graſſe, and a thin ſwart for the fiſh to feed vpon; and afterwards ſtore them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue ſpawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or ſix behind, euen in the greateſt ponds, by meanes whereof the reſt do proſper the better: and this obſeruation is moſt vſed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fiſh) it proſpereth euerie where, I meane ſo well in ponds as riuers, and alſo in motes and pittes, as I do know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our freſh fiſh, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto ſuch of the ſalt water as are taken vpon out coaſts. As our foules therefore haue their ſeaſons, ſo likewiſe haue all our ſorts of ſea fiſh: whereby it commeth to paſſe that none, or at the leaſtwiſe verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheleſſe, the ſeas that inuiron our coaſts, are of all other moſt plentifull: for as by reaſon of their depth they are a great ſuccour, ſo our low ſhores miniſter great plentie of food vnto the fiſh that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fiſh, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muſkles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In Auguſt and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths inſuing with the ſame, as alſo thornbacke and reigh of all ſorts; all which are the moſt vſuall, and wherewith our common ſort are beſt of all refreſhed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the ſeaſons, nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe: and therefore if I ſhould take vpon me to deſcribe or ſpeake of either of them abſolutelie, I ſhould enterpriſe more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſorts of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſéene, to the end I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without the reherſall of ſomething, although the whole ſumme of that which I haue to ſaie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full diſcourſe hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fiſhes therefore as I find fiue ſorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and ſhelled: ſo the flat are diuided into the ſmooth, ſcaled and tailed. Of the firſt are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or ſea flounder, dorreie, dab, &c. Of the ſecond the ſoles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kingſons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt part either dried and carried into other countries, or ſodden, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whileſt the leſſer be fried or buttered; ſome after they be taken as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fiſh to ſight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dreſſed: the whiting (an old waiter or ſeruitor in the court) the rochet, ſea breame, pirle, hake, ſea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, ſprat, and ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coaſts. Under this kind alſo are all the great fiſh conteined, as the ſeale, the dolphin, the porpoiſe, the thirlepole, whale, and whatſoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are congers, éeles, gareſiſh, and ſuch other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I ſéene anie more of this ſort than the Polypus called in Engliſh the lobſtar, craiſiſh or creuis, and the crab. As for the little craiſhes they are not taken in the ſea, but plentifullie in our freſh riuers in banks, and vnder ſtones, where they keepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by likeneſſe of colour with the ſtones among which they lie, deceiue euen the ſkilfull takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maiſon ruſtique,

Flat fiſh.

Round fiſh.

Long fiſh.

Legged fiſh.

Wales.

Tribute of wales ſkins

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſters be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe valure in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is chiefelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Tweed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greenous woolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their huſbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of woolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred woolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie woolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Woolfes.

Tribute of woolfes ſkinns.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſebacke or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage cretures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of thoſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, ſure anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Fores. Badgers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the minuer, the weaſell, ſtote, fulmart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their neſts, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Beuers.

Verto-

as our riuers are found to beare: yet leaſt I ſhould ſeeme iniurious to the reader, in not deliuering ſo manie of them as haue beene brought to my knowledge, I will not let to ſet them downe as they doo come to mind. Beſides the ſalmons therefore, which are not to be taken from the middeſt of September to the middeſt of Nouember, and are verie plentifull in our greateſt riuers, as their yong fore are not to be touched from mid Aprill vnto Midſummer, we haue the trout, barbell, graile, powt, chenin, pike, goddeon, ſmelt, perch, menan, ſhrimpes, creuiſes, lamprees, and ſuch like, whoſe preſeruation is prouided for by verie ſharpe lawes, not onelie in our riuers, but alſo in plaſhes or lakes and ponds, which otherwiſe would bring ſmall profit to the owners, and doo much harme by continuall maintenance of idle perſons, who would ſpend their whole times vpon their bankes, not coueting to labour with their hands, nor follow anie good trade. Of all theſe there are none more preiudiciall to their neighbours that dwell in the ſame water, than the pike and eele, which commonlie deuoure ſuch fiſh or frie and ſpawne as they may get and come by. Neuertheleſſe, the pike is freend vnto the tench, as to his leach & ſurgeon. For when the fiſhmonger hath opened his ſide and laid out his riuet and fat vnto the buier, for the better vtterance of his ware, and can not make him away at that preſent, he laieth the ſame againe into the proper place, and ſowing vp the wound, he reſtoreth him to the pond where tenches are, who neuer ceaſe to ſucke and licke his greeued place, till they haue reſtored him to health, and made him readie to come againe to the ſtall, when his turne ſhall come about. I might here make report how the pike, carpe, and ſome other of our riuer fiſhes are ſold by inches of cleane fiſh, from the eies or gilles to the crotch of the tailes, but it is needleſſe: alſo how the pike as he ageth, receiueth diuerſe names, as from a frie to a gilthed, from a gilthed to a pod, from a pod to a iacke, from a iacke to a pickerell, from a pickerell to a pike, and laſt of all to a luce; alſo that a ſalmon is the firſt yeare a grauellin, and commonlie ſo big as an herring, the ſecond a ſalmon peale, the third a pug, and the fourth a ſalmon: but this is in like ſort vnneceſſarie.

I might finallie tell you, how that in fennie riuers ſides if you cut a turfe, and laie it with the graſſe downewards, vpon the earth, in ſuch ſort as the water may touch it as it paſſeth by, you ſhall haue a brood of eeles, it would ſeeme a wonder; and yet it is beleeued with no leſſe aſſurance of ſome, than that an horſe haire laid in a pale full of the like water will in ſhort time ſtirre and become a liuing creature. But ſith the certeintie of theſe things is rather proued by few than the certeintie of them knowne vnto manie, I let it paſſe at this time. Neuertheleſſe this is generallie obſerued in the maintenance of frie ſo well in riuers as in ponds, that in the time of ſpawne we vſe to throw in faggots made of willow and ſallow, and now and then of buſhes for want of the other, whereby ſuch ſpawne as falleth into the ſame is preſerued and kept from the pike, perch, eele and other fiſh, of which the carpe alſo will feed vpon his owne, and thereby hinder the fore and increaſe of proper kind. Some vſe in euerie fift or ſeauenth yeare to laie their great ponds drie for all the ſummer time, to the end they may gather graſſe, and a thin ſwart for the fiſh to feed vpon; and afterwards fore them with breeders, after the water be let of new againe into them: finallie, when they haue ſpawned, they draw out the breeders, leauing not aboue foure or ſix behind, euen in the greateſt ponds, by meanes whereof the reſt doo proſper the better: and this obſeruation is moſt vſed in carpe and breame; as for perch (a delicate fiſh) it proſpereth euerie where, I meane ſo well in ponds as riuers, and alſo in motes and pittes, as I doo know by experience, though their bottoms be but claie. More would I write of our freſh fiſh, if anie more were needfull; wherefore I will now turne ouer vnto ſuch of the ſalt water as are taken vpon our coaſts. As our foules therefore haue their ſeaſons, ſo likewiſe haue all our ſorts of ſea fiſh: whereby it commeth to paſſe that none, or at the leaſtwiſe verie few of them are to be had at all times. Neuertheleſſe, the ſeas that inuiron our coaſts, are of all other moſt plentifull: for as by reaſon of their depth they are a great ſuccour, ſo our low ſhores miniſter great plentie of food vnto the fiſh that come thereto, no place being void or barren, either through want of food for them, or the falles of filthie riuers, which naturallie annoie them. In December therefore and Januarie we commonlie abound in herring and red fiſh, as rochet, and gurnard. In Februarie and March we feed on plaice, trowts, turbut, muſkles, &c. In Aprill and Maie, with makrell, and cockles. In June and Julie, with conger. In Auguſt and September, with haddocke and herring: and the two moneths inſuing with the ſame, as alſo thornbacke and reigh of all ſorts; all which are the moſt vſuall, and wherewith our common ſort are beſt of all refreſhed.

For mine owne part I am greatlie acquainted neither with the ſeaſons, nor yet with the fiſh it ſelfe: and therefore if I ſhould take vpon me to deſcribe or ſpeake of either of them abſolutelie, I ſhould enterpriſe more than I am able to performe, and go in hand with a greater matter than I can well bring about. It ſhall ſuffice therefore to declare what ſorts of fiſhes I haue moſt often ſeene, to the end I may not altogither paſſe ouer this chapter without the reherſall of ſomething, although the whole ſumme of that which I haue to ſaie be nothing indeed, if the performance of a full diſcourſe hereof be anie thing hardlie required.

Of fiſhes therefore as I find fiue ſorts, the flat, the round, the long, the legged and ſhelled: ſo the flat are diuided into the ſmooth, ſcaled and tailed. Of the firſt are the plaice, the but, the turbut, birt, floke or ſea flounder, dorreie, dab, &c. Of the ſecond the ſoles, &c. Of the third, our chaits, maidens, kingſons, flath and thornbacke, whereof the greater be for the moſt part either dried and carried into other countries, or ſodden, ſowſed, & eaten here at home, whileſt the leſſer be fried or buttered; ſone after they be taken as prouiſion not to be kept long for feare of putrifaction. Under the round kinds are commonlie comprehended lumps, an vglie fiſh to ſight, and yet verie delicat in eating, if it be kindlie dreſſed: the whiting (an old waiter or ſeruitor in the court) the rochet, ſea breame, pirle, hake, ſea trowt, gurnard, haddocke, cod, herring, pilchard, ſprat, and ſuch like. And theſe are they whereof I haue beſt knowledge, and be commonlie to be had in their times vpon our coaſts. Under this kind alſo are all the great fiſh conteined, as the ſeale, the dolphin, the porpoiſe, the thirlepole, whale, and whatſoeuer is round of bodie be it neuer ſo great and huge. Of the long ſort are congers, eeles, gareſiſh, and ſuch other of that forme. Finallie, of the legged kind we haue not manie, neither haue I ſeene anie more of this ſort than the Polypus called in Engliſh the lobſter, crafiſh or creuis, and the crab. As for the little crafiſhes they are not taken in the ſea, but plentifullie in our freſh riuers in banks, and vnder ſtones, where they keepe themſelues in moſt ſecret maner, and oft by likeneſſe of colour with the ſtones among which they lie, deceiue euen the ſkilfull takers of them, except they vſe great diligence. Carolus Stephanus in his maiſon ruſtique,

Flat fiſh.

Round fiſh.

Wales.

Long fiſh.

Legged fiſh.

Tribute of wales ſkins.

ruſtique, doubted whether theſe lobſters be fiſh or not; and in the end concludeth them to grow of the purgation of the water as doth the frog, and theſe alſo not to be eaten, for that they be ſtrong and verie hard of digeſtion. But hereof let other determine further.

I might here ſpeake of ſundrie other fiſhes now and then taken alſo vpon our coaſts: but ſith my mind is onelie to touch either all ſuch as are vſuallie gotten, or ſo manie of them onelie as I can well rehearſe vpon certeine knowledge, I thinke it good at this time to forbeare the further intreatie of them. As touching the ſhellie ſort, we haue plentie of oiſters, whoſe valure in old time for their ſweetneſſe was not vnknowne in Rome (although Mutianus as Plinie noteth lib. 32, cap. 6. preferre the Cyzicene before them) and theſe we haue in like maner of diuerſe quantities, and no leſſe varietie alſo of our muſkles and cockles. We haue in like ſort no ſmall ſtore of great whelkes, ſcalops and perewinkles, and each of them brought farre into the land from the ſea coaſt in their ſeuerall ſeaſons. And albeit our oiſters are generallie forborne in the foure hot moneths of the yeare, that is to ſaie, Maie, June, Julie, and Auguſt, which are void of the letter R: yet in ſome places they be continuallie eaten, where they be kept in pits as I haue knowne by experience. And thus much of our ſea fiſh, as a man in maner vtterlie vnacquainted with their diuerſitie of kinds: yet ſo much haue I yeelded to doo, hoping hereafter to ſaie ſomewhat more, and more orderlie of them, if it ſhall pleaſe God that I may liue and haue leaſure once againe to peruſe this treatiſe, and ſo make vp a perfect peece of worke, of that which as you now ſee is verie ſlenderlie attempted and begun.

Of ſauage beaſts and vermines.

Chap. 4.

IT is none of the leaſt bleſſings wherewith God hath indued this Iland, that it is void of noiſome beaſts, as lions, beares, tigers, pardes, wolfes, & ſuch like, by means whereof our countrimen may trauell in ſafetie, & our herds and flocks remaine for the moſt part abroad in the field without anie herdman or keeper.

This is cheefelie ſpoken of the ſouth and ſouthweſt parts of the Iland. For whereas we that dwell on this ſide of the Tweed, may ſafelie boaſt of our ſecuritie in this behalfe: yet cannot the Scots doo the like in euerie point within their kingdome, ſith they haue greeuous woolfes and cruell fores, beſide ſome other of like diſpoſition continuallie conuerſant among them, to the generall hinderance of their huſbandmen, and no ſmall damage vnto the inhabiters of thoſe quarters. The happie and fortunate want of theſe beaſts in England is vniuerſallie aſcribed to the politike gouernement of king Edgar, who to the intent the whole countrie might once be cleanſed and clearelie rid of them, charged the conquered Welſhmen (who were then peſtered with theſe rauenous creatures aboue meaſure) to paie him a yearelie tribute of woolfes ſkinnes, to be gathered within the land. He appointed them thereto a certeine number of three hundred, with free libertie for their prince to hunt & purſue them ouer all quarters of the realme; as our chronicles doo report. Some there be which write how Ludwall prince of Wales paid yearelie to king Edgar this tribute of three hundred woolfes, whoſe carcaſes being brought into Lhoegres, were buried at Wolfpit in Cambridgeſhire, and that by means thereof within the compaſſe and terme of foure yeares, none of thoſe noiſome creatures were left to be heard of within Wales and England. Since this time alſo we read not that anie woolfe hath beene ſeene here that hath beene bred within the bounds and limits of our countrie: howbeit there haue beene diuerſe brought ouer from beyond the ſeas for greedineſſe of gaine, and to make monie onlie by the gaſing and gaping of our people vpon them, who couet oft to ſee them being ſtrange beaſts in their eies, and ſildome knowne (as I haue ſaid) in England.

Wolfes.

Tribute of woolfes ſkins.

Lions we haue had verie manie in the north parts of Scotland, and thoſe with maines of no leſſe force than they of Mauritania were ſometimes reported to be; but how and when they were deſtroied as yet I doo not read. They had in like ſort no leſſe plentie of wild and cruell buls, which the princes and their nobilitie in the frugall time of the land did hunt, and follow for the triall of their manhood, and by purſute either on horſſeback or foot in armor; notwithſtanding that manie times they were dangerouſlie aſſailed by them. But both theſe ſauage creatures are now not heard of, or at the leaſt wiſe the later ſcarſelie known in the ſouth parts. Howbeit this I gather by their being here, that our Iland was not cut from the maine by the great deluge or flood of Noah: but long after, otherwiſe the generation of theſe & other like creatures could not haue extended into our Ilands. For, that anie man would of ſet purpoſe repleniſh the countrie with them for his pleaſure and paſtime in hunting, I can in no wiſe beleeue.

Of fores we haue ſome but no great ſtore, and alſo badgers in our ſandie & light grounds, where woods, firzes, brome, and plentie of ſhrubs are to ſhrowd them in, when they be from their borrowes, and thereto warrens of conies at hand to feed vpon at will. Otherwiſe in claie, which we call the cledgie mould, we ſildom heare of anie, becauſe the moiſture and toughneſſe of the ſoile is ſuch, as will not ſuffer them to draw and make their borrowes deepe. Certes if I may freelie ſaie what I thinke, I ſuppoſe that theſe two kinds (I meane fores and badgers) are rather preſerued by gentlemen to hunt and haue paſtime withall at their owne pleaſures, than otherwiſe ſuffered to liue, as not able to be deſtroied becauſe of their great numbers. For ſuch is the ſcantitie of them here in England, in compariſon of the plentie that is to be ſeene in other countries, and ſo earneſtlie are the inhabitants bent to root them out, that except it had beene to beare thus with the recreations of their ſuperiors in this behalfe, it could not otherwiſe haue beene choſen, but that they ſhould haue beene vtterlie deſtroied by manie yeares agone.

Fores. Badgers.

I might here intreat largelie of other vermine, as the polcat, the minuer, the weaſell, ſtote, fulmart, ſquirrill, fitchew, and ſuch like, which Cardan includeth vnder the word *Muſtela*: alſo of the otter, and likewiſe of the beuer, whoſe hinder feet and taile onlie are ſuppoſed to be fiſh. Certes the taile of this beaſt is like vnto a thin whetſtone, as the bodie vnto a monſterous rat: the beaſt alſo it ſelfe is of ſuch force in the teeth, that it will gnaw an hole through a thicke planke, or there thorough a dubble billet in a night; it loueth alſo the ſtilleſt riuers: & it is giuen to them by nature, to go by flockes vnto the woods at hand, where they gather ſticks wherewith to build their nells, wherein their bodies lie drie aboue the water, although they ſo prouide moſt commonlie, that their tailes may hang within the ſame. It is alſo reported that their ſaid tailes are a delicate diſh, and their ſtones of ſuch medicinable force, that (as

Beuers.

Verto-

Vertomannus ſaith) foure men ſmelling vnto them each after other did bleed at the noſe through their attractiue force, proceeding from a vehement fauour wherewith they are induced: there is greateſt plentie of them in Perſia, cheefelie about Balaſcham, from whence they and their dried cods are brought into all quarters of the world, though not without ſome forgerie by ſuch as prouide them. And of all theſe here remembred, as the firſt ſorts are plentifull in euerie wood and hedgerow: ſo theſe latter, eſpeciallie the otter (for to ſaie the truth we haue not manie beuers, but onelie in the Teſſie in Wales) is not wanting or to ſeeke in manie, but moſt ſtreams and riuers of this Ile: but it ſhall ſuffice in this ſort to haue named them as I doo finallie the marterne, a beaſt of the chaſe, although for number I worthilie doubt whether that of our beuers or marterns may be thought to be the leſſe.

Marterns.

Other pernicious beaſts we haue not, except you repute the great plentie of red & fallow deere, whoſe colours are oft garled white and blacke, all white or all blacke, and store of conies amongſt the hurtfull ſort. Which although that of themſelues they are not offenſiue at all, yet their great numbers are thought to be verie preiudiciall, and therfore iuſtlie reproued of manie, as are in like ſort our huge flocks of ſheepe, whereon the greateſt part of our ſoile is emploied almoſt in euerie place, and yet our mutton, woll, and felles neuer the better cheape. The yong males which our fallow deere doo bring forth, are commonlie named according to their ſeuerall ages: for the firſt yeere it is a fawne, the ſecond a pucket, the third a ſorell, the fourth a ſoare, the fift a bucke of the firſt head; not bearing the name of a bucke till he be fiue yeers old: and from henceforth his age is commonlie knowne by his head or horns. Howbeit this notice of his yeers is not ſo certeine, but that the beſt woodman may now and then be deceiued in that account: for in ſome grounds a bucke of the firſt head will be ſo well headed as another in a high rowtie ſoile will be in the fourth. It is alſo much to be maruelled at, that whereas they doo yeerelie mew and caſt their horns: yet in fighting they neuer breake off where they doo greſe or mew. Furthermore, in examining the condition of our red deere, I find that the yong male is called in the firſt yeere a calfe, in the ſecond a broket, the third a ſpaie, the fourth a ſtagon or ſtag, the fift a great ſtag, the firſt an hart, and ſo forth vnto his death. And with him in degree of venerie are accounted the hare, boore, and woolfe. The fallow deere as bucks and does, are nouriſhed in parkes, and conies in warrens and burrowes. As for hares, they run at their owne aduenture, except ſome gentleman or other (for his pleaſure) doo make an incloſure for them. Of theſe alſo the ſtag is accounted for the moſt noble game, the fallow deere is the next, then the roe, whereof we haue indifferent ſtore; and laſt of all the hare, not the leaſt in eſtimation, becauſe the hunting of that ſelie beaſt is mother to all the terms, blaſts, and artificiall deuiſes that hunters doo vſe. All which (notwithſtanding our cuſtome) are paſtimes more meet for ladies and gentlewomen to exerciſe (whatſoeuer Franciſcus Patritius ſaith to the contrarie in his inſtitution of a prince) than for men of courage to follow, whoſe hunting ſhould practiſe their armes in taſting of their manhood, and dealing with ſuch beaſts as eſſoones will turne againe, and offer them the hardeſt rather than their horſſes feet, which manie times may carrie them with diſhonour from the field. Surelie this noble kind of hunting onelie did great princes frequent in times paſt, as it may yet appeere by the hiſtories of their times, eſpeciallie of Alexander, who at vacant times hunted the tiger, the pard, the boore, and the beare, but moſt willinglie lions, becauſe of the honorable eſtimation of that beaſt; inſomuch that at one time he cauſed an odd or choſen lion (for force and beautie) to be let forth vnto him hand to hand, with whome he had much buſineſſe, albeit that in the end he ouerthrew and killed the beaſt. Hereunto beſide that which we read of the vſuall hunting of the princes and kings of Scotland, of the wild bull, woolfe, &c: the example of king Henrie the firſt of England, who diſdaining (as he termed them) to follow or purſue cowards, cheriſhed of ſet purpoſe ſundrie kinds of wild beaſts, as bears, libards, ounces, lions at Woodſtocke, & one or two other places in England, which he walled about with hard ſtone, An. 1120, and where he would often fight with ſome one of them hand to hand, when they did turne againe and make anie raiſe vpon him: but cheeflie he loued to hunt the lion and the boore, which are both verie dangerous exerciſes, eſpeciallie that with the lion, except ſome policie be found wherwith to trouble his eieſight in anie manner of wiſe. For though the boore be fierce, and hath learned by nature to harden his fleſh and ſkin againſt the trees, to ſharpen his teeth, and defile himſelfe with earth, thereby to prohibit the entrance of the weapons: yet is the ſport ſomewhat more eaſie, eſpeciallie where two ſtand ſo neere togither, that the one (if need be) may helpe and be ſuccour to the other. Neither would he ceaſe for all this to follow his paſtime, either on horſſebacke or on foot, as occaſion ſerued, much like the yonger Cyrus. I haue read of wild boores and bulles to haue beene about Blackleie neere Manchester, whither the ſaid prince would now and then reſort alſo for his ſolace in that behalfe, as alſo to come by thoſe excellent falcons then bred thereabouts; but now they are gone, eſpeciallie the bulles, as I haue ſaid alreadie.

King Henrie the firſt in his beginning thought it a meere ſcotterie to purſue anie fallow deere with hounds or greihounds, but ſuppoſed himſelfe alwaies to haue done a ſufficient act when he had tired them by his owne trauell on foot, and ſo killed them with his hands in the vpſhot of that exerciſe and end of his recreation. Certes herein he reſembled Polymneſtor Miletius, of whome it is written, how he ran ſo ſwiftlie, that he would and did verie often ouertake hares for his pleaſure, which I can hardlie beleeue: and therefore much leſſe that one Lidas did run ſo lightlie and ſwiftlie after like game, that as he paſſed ouer the ſand, he left not ſo much as the prints of his feet behind him. And thus did verie manie in like ſort with the hart (as I doo read) but this I thinke was verie long agone, when men were farre higher and ſwifter than they are now: and yet I denie not, but rather grant willinglie that the hunting of the red deere is a right princelie paſtime. In diuerſe forren countries they cauſe their red and fallow deere to draw the plough, as we doo our oxen and horſſes. In ſome places alſo they milke their hinds as we doo here our kine and goats. And the experience of this latter is noted by Giraldus Cambrenſis to haue beene ſeene and vſed in Wales, where he did eat cheeſe made of hinds milke, at ſuch time as Baldwine archbiſhop of Canturburie preached the croiſad there, when they were both lodged in a gentlemans houſe, whoſe wife of purpoſe kept a deirie of the ſame. As for the plowing with oxen (which I ſuppoſe to be vnlikelie) becauſe they are (in mine opinion) vntameable and alike a thing commonlie vſed in the eaſt countries; here is no place to ſpeake of it, ſince we want theſe kind of beaſts, neither is it my purpoſe to intreat at large of other things than are to be ſeene in England. Wherfore I will omit to ſaie anie more of wild and ſauage beaſts at this time, thinking my ſelfe to haue ſpoken alreadie ſufficientlie

Stags.

Hinds haue beene milkt.

ſufficientlie of this matter, if not too much in the iudgement of the curious.

Of hawkes and rauenous foules.

Chap. 5.

I Can not make (as yet) anie iuſt report how manie ſorts of hawkes are bred within this realme. Howbeit which of thoſe that are vſuallie had among vs are diſcloſed with in this land, I thinke it more eaſie and leſſe difficult to ſet downe. Firſt of all therefore that we haue the egle, common experience doth euidentlie confirme, and diuerſe of our rockes whereon they breed, if ſpeach did ſerue, could well declare the ſame. But the moſt excellent aierie of all is not much from Cheſter, at a caſtell called Dinas Bren, ſometime builded by Brennus, as our writers do remember. Certes this caſtell is no great thing, but yet a pile ſometime verie ſtrong and inacceſſible for enimies, though now all ruinous as manie other are. It ſtandeth vpon an hard rocke, in the ſide whereof an eagle breedeth euerie yeare. This alſo is notable in the ouerthrow of hir neſt (a thing oft attempted) that he which goeth thither muſt be ſure of two large baſkets, and ſo prouide to be let downe thereto, that he may ſit in the one and be couered with the other: for otherwiſe the eagle would kill him, and teare the fleſh from his bones with hir ſharpe talons though his apparell were neuer ſo good. The common people call this foule an erne, but as I am ignorant whither the word eagle and erne do ſhew anie difference of ſex, I meane betweene the male and female, ſo we haue great ſtore of them. And nere to the places where they breed, the commons complaine of great harme to be done by them in their fields: for they are able to beare a yong lambe or kid vnto their neaſts, therwith to feed their yong and come againe for more. I was once of the opinion that there was a diuerſitie of kind betweene the eagle and the erne, till I perceiued that our nation vſed the word erne in moſt places for the eagle. We haue alſo the lanner and the lanneret: the terſell and the goſehawke: the muſket and the ſparhawke: the tacke and the hobbie: and finallie ſome (though verie few) marlions. And theſe are all the hawkes that I do heare as yet to be bred within this Iland. Howbeit as theſe are not wanting with vs, ſo are they not verie plentifull: wherefore ſuch as delite in hawking do make their chiefe purueiance & prouiſion for the ſame out of Danſke, Germanie, and the Eaſtcountries, from whence we haue them in great abundance, and at exceſſiue prices, whereas at home and where they be bred they are ſold for almoſt right naught, and vſuallie brought to the markets as chickins, pullets and pigeons are with vs, and there bought vp to be eaten (as we do the aforeſaid foules) almoſt of euerie man. It is ſaid that the ſparhawke preieth not vpon the foule in the morning that ſhe taketh ouer euen, but as loth to haue double benefit by one ſelie foule, doth let it go to make ſome ſhift for it ſelfe. But hereof as I ſtand in ſome doubt, ſo this I find among the writers worthie the noting, that the ſparhawke is enimie to yong children, as is alſo the ape; but of the pecocke ſhe is marueilouſlie afraid & ſo appalled, that all courage & ſtomach for a time is taken from hir vpon the ſight thereof. But to proceed with the reſt. Of other rauenous birds we haue alſo verie great plentie, as the buſſard, the kite, the ringtails, dankite, & ſuch as often annoie our countrie dames by ſpoiling of their yong breeds of chickens, duckes and gollings, wherevnto our verie rauens and crowes haue learned alſo the waie: and ſo much are our rauens giuen to this kind of ſpoile, that ſome idle and curious heads of ſet purpoſe haue manned, reclaimed, and vſed them in ſtead of hawkes, when other could not be had. Some do imagine that the rauen ſhould be the vulture, and I was almoſt perſuaded in times paſt to beleeue the ſame: but finding of late a deſcription of the vulture, which better agreeth with the forme of a ſecond kind of eagle, I freelie ſurceaſe to be longer of that opinion: for as it hath after a ſort the ſhape, colour, and quantitie of an eagle, ſo are the legs and feet more hairie and rough, their ſides vnder their wings better couered with thicke downe (wherewith alſo their gorge or a part of their breſt vnder their throtes is armed, and not with fethers) than are the like parts of the eagle, and vnto which portraiture there is no member of the rauen (who is alſo verie blacke of colour) that can haue anie reſemblance: we haue none of them in England to my knowledge, if we haue, they go generallie vnder the name of eagle or erne. Neither haue we the ypgargus or gripe, wherefore I haue no occaſion to intreat further. I haue ſeene the carren crowes ſo cunning alſo by their owne induſtrie of late, that they haue vſed to ſoare ouer great riuers (as the Thames for example) & ſuddenlie comming downe haue caught a ſmall fiſh in their feet & gone awaie withall without wetting of their wings. And euen at this preſent the aforeſaid riuer is not without ſome of them, a thing (in my opinion) not a little to be wondered at. We haue alſo oſprais which breed with vs in parks and woods, wherby the keepers of the ſame do reape in breeding time no ſmall commoditie: for ſo ſone almoſt as the yong are hatched, they tie them to the but ends or ground ends of ſundrie trees, where the old ones finding them, do neuer ceaſe to bring fiſh vnto them, which the keepers take & eat from them, and commonlie is ſuch as is well fed, or not of the worſt ſort. It hath not beene my hap hitherto to ſee anie of theſe foules, & partlie through mine owne negligence: but I heare that it hath one foot like an hawke to catch hold withall, and another reſembling a gooſe wherewith to ſwim; but whether it be ſo or not ſo, I refer the further ſearch and triall thereof vnto ſome other. This neuertheleſs is certeine that both aliue and dead, yea euen hir verie oile is a deadlie terrour to ſuch fiſh as come within the wind of it. There is no cauſe wherefore I ſhould deſcribe the cormorant amongſt hawkes, of which ſome be blacke and manie pied chiefelie about the Ile of Elie, where they are taken for the night rauen, except I ſhould call him a water hawke. But ſith ſuch dealing is not conuenient, let vs now ſee what may be ſaid of our venemous wormes, and how manie kinds we haue of them within our realme and countrie.

Of venemous beaſts.

Chap. 6.

IF I ſhould go about to make anie long diſcourſe of venemous beaſts or wormes bred in England, I ſhould attempt more than occaſion it ſelfe would readilie offer, ſith we haue verie few worms, but no beaſts at all, that are thought by their naturall qualities to be either venemous or hurtfull. Firſt of all therefore we haue the adder (in our old Saxon tong called an atter) which

ſome men doo not raſhlie take to be the viper. Certes if it be ſo, then is it not the viper author of the death of hir * parents, as ſome hiſtories affirme; and thereto Encelius a late writer in his *De re metallica, lib. 3. cap. 38.* where he maketh mention of a ſhe adder which he ſaw in Sala, whoſe wombe (as he ſaith) was eaten out after a like faſhion, hir yoong ones lieng by hir in the ſunne ſhine, as if they had béene earth woorms. Neuertheleſſe as he nameth them *viperas*, ſo he calleth the male Echis, and the female Echidna, concluding in the end that Echis is the ſame ſerpent which his countrimen to this daie call Ein atter, as I haue alſo noted before out of a Saxon dictionarie. For my part I am perſuaded that the ſlaughter of their parents is either not true at all, or not alwaies (although I doubt not but that nature hath right well prouided to inhibit their ſuperfluous increaſe by ſome meanes or other) and ſo much the rather am I led hereunto, for that I gather by Nicander, that of all venemous woorms the viper onelie bringeth out hir yoong aliue, and therefore is called in Latine *Vipera quaſi viuipara*: but of hir owne death he doth not (to my remembrance) ſaie any thing. It is teſtified alſo by other in other words, & to the like ſenſe, that *Echis id eſt vipera ſola exſerpentibus non ouaſed animalia parit.* And it may well be, for I remember that I haue read in Philoſtratus *De vita Appollonij*, how he ſaw a viper licking hir yoong. I did ſee an adder once my ſelfe that laie (as I thought) ſléeping on a mouldhill, out of whoſe mouth came eleuen yoong adders of twelue or thirtéene inches in length a péece, which plaied to and fro in the graſſe one with another, till ſome of them eſpied me. So ſoone therefore as they ſaw my face, they ran againe into the mouth of their dam, whome I killed, and then found each of them ſhrowded in a diſtinct cell or pannicle in hir bellie, much like vnto a ſoft white iellie, which maketh me to be of the opinion that our adder is the viper indéed. The colour of their ſkin is for the moſt part like ruſtie iron or iron graie: but ſuch as be verie old reſemble a ruddie blew, & as once in the yeare, to wit, in Aprill or about the beginning of Maie they caſt their old ſkins (whereby as it is thought their age renewéth) ſo their ſtinging bringeth death without preſent remedie be at hand, the wounded neuer ceaſing to ſwell, neither the venem to worke till the ſkin of the one breake, and the other aſcend vpward to the hart, where it finiſheth the naturall effect, except the iuice of dragons (in Latine called *Dracunculus minor*) be ſpeedilie miniſtred and dronke in ſtrong ale, or elſe ſome other medicine taken of like force, that may counteruaile and ouercome the venem of the ſame. The length of them is moſt commonlie two foot and ſomwhat more, but ſeldome doth it extend vnto two foot ſir inches, except it be in ſome rare and monſtrous one: whereas our ſnakes are much longer, and ſéene ſometimes to ſurmount a yard, or three foot, although their poiſon be nothing ſo grieuous and deadlie as the others. Our adders lie in winter vnder ſtones, as Ariſtotle alſo ſaith of the viper. Lib. 8. cap. 15. and in holes of the earth, rotten ſtubs of trees, and amongſt the dead leaues: but in the heat of the ſummer they come abroad, and lie either round on heapes, or at length vpon ſome hillocke, or elſewhere in the graſſe. They are found onelie in our woodland countries and higheſt grounds, where ſometimes (though ſeldome) a ſpeckled ſtone called Edites, in dutch Ein atter ſtein, is gotten out of their dried carcaſes, which diuers report to be good againſt their poiſon. As for our ſnakes, which in Latine are properlie named *Angues*, they commonlie are ſéene in moores, fens, lomie vales, and low bottoms.

And as we haue great ſtore of toads where adders commonlie are found, ſo doo frogs abound where ſnakes doo kéepe their reſidence. We haue alſo the ſlowworme, which is blacke and grateſh of colour, and ſomewhat ſhorter than an adder. I was at the killing once of one of them, and thereby perceiued that ſhe was not ſo called of anie want of nimble motion, but rather of the contrarie. Neuertheleſſe we haue a blind woorme to be found vnder logs in woods, and timber that hath lien long in a place, which ſome alſo doo call (and vpon better ground) by the name of ſlow woorms, and they are knowen eaſilie by their more or leſſe varietie of ſtriped colours, drawen long waies from their heads, their whole bodies little exceeding a foot in length, & yet is there venem deadlie. This alſo is not to be omitted, that now and then in our fennie countries, other kinds of ſerpents are found of greater quantitie than either our adder or our ſnake: but as theſe are not ordinarie and oft to be ſéene, ſo I meane not to intreat of them among our common annoiances. Neither haue we the ſcorpion, a plague of God ſent not long ſince into Italie, and whoſe poiſon (as Apollodorus ſaith) is white, neither the tarantula or Neopolitane ſpider, whoſe poiſon bringeth death, except muſike be at hand. Wherefore I ſuppoſe our countrie to be the more happie (I meane in part) for that it is void of theſe two grieuous annoiances, wherewith other nations are plagued.

We haue alſo eéts, both of the land and water, and likewiſe the noiſome ſwifts, whereof to ſais anie more it ſhould be but loſſe of time, ſith they are well knowne; and no region to my knowledge found to be void of manie of them. As for flies (ſith it ſhall not be amiſſe a little to touch them alſo) we haue none that can doo hurt or hinderance naturallie vnto anie: for whether they be cut waſted, or whole bodied, they are void of poiſon and all venemous inclination. The cut or girt waſted (for ſo I Engliſh the word Inſecta) are the hornets, waſpes, bées, and ſuch like, whereof we haue great ſtore, and of which an opinion is conceiued, that the firſt doo breed of the corruption of dead horſſes, the ſecond of peares and apples corrupted, and the laſt of kine and oxen: which may be true, eſpeciallie the firſt and latter in ſome parts of the beaſt, and not their whole ſubſtances, as alſo in the ſecond, ſith we haue neuer waſpes, but when our fruit beginneth to waxripe. In déed Virgil and others ſpeake of a generation of bées, by killing or ſmothering of a bruſed bullocke or calfe, and laieng his bowels or his fleſh wrapped vp in his hide in a cloſe houſe for a certeine ſeaſon; but how true it is hitherto I haue not tried. Yet ſure I am of this, that no one liuing creature corrupteth without the production of another; as we may ſée by our ſelues, whoſe fleſh doth alter into lice; and alſo in ſhéepe for exceſſiue numbers of fleſh flies, if they be ſuffered to lie vnburied or sheaten by the dogs and ſwine, who often and happilie preuent ſuch needleſſe generations.

As concerning bées, I thinke it good to remember, that whereas ſome ancient writers affirme it to be a commoditie wanting in our Iland, it is now found to be nothing ſo. In old time peraduenture we had none in déed, but in my daies there is ſuch plentie of them in maner euerie where, that in ſome vplandiſh townes, there are one hundred, or two hundred hiues of them, although the ſaid hiues are not ſo huge as thoſe of the eaſt countrie, but far leſſe, as not able to containe aboue one buſhell of corne, or fiue pecks at the moſt. Plinie (a man that of ſet purpoſe deliteth to write of wonders) ſpeaking of bonie noteth that in the north regions the hiues in his time were of ſuch quantitie, that ſome one combe contained eight foot in length, & yet (as it ſhould ſéeme) he ſpeketh not of the greateſt. For in Podolia, which is now ſubiect to the king of Poland, their hiues are ſo great,

*Galenus de Theriaca ad Piſonem, Plin. lib. 10. cap. 62.

Adder or viper.

See Ariſtotle, Animalium lib. 5. cap. vltimo, & Theophraſt lib. 7. cap. 13.

Snakes.

Sol. cap. 40. Plin. lib. 37. cap. 11.

Todes, Frogs.

Slowworme.

Bonie.

Eéts.

Swifts.

Flies.

Cutwaſted.

Whole bodied.

Hornets.

Waſpes.

great and combes ſo abundant, that huge bozes ouerturning and falling into them, are drowned in the honie, before they can recouer & find the meanes to come out.

Honie. Our honie alſo is taken and reputed to be the beſt, bicauſe it is harder, better wrought, and cleanlier vpſelled vp, than that which commeth from beyond the ſea, where they ſtampe and ſtreine their combs, bées, and yong blowings altogither into the ſtuffe, as I haue béene informed. In vſe alſo of medicine our phyſicians and apothecaries eſchew the forren, eſpeciallie that of Spaine and Ponthus, by reaſon of a venemous qualitie naturallie planted in the ſame, as ſome write, and chooſe the home made: not onelie by reaſon of our ſoile, which hath no leſſe plentie of wild thime growing therein than in Sicilia, & about Athens, and maketh the beſt ſtuffe; as alſo for that it brédeth (being gotten in harueſt time) leſſe choler, and which is oftentimes (as I haue ſéene by experience) ſo white as ſugar, and corned as if it were ſalt. Our hiues are made commonlie of rie ſtraw, and wadled about with bramble quarters: but ſome make the ſame of wicker, and call them ouer with claie. Wée cherish none in trées, but ſet our hiues ſomewhere on the warmeſt ſide of the houſe, prouiding that they may ſtand drie and without danger both of the mouſe and moth. This furthermore is to be noted, that whereas in veſſels of oile, that which is néereſt the top is counted the fineſt, and of wine that in the middeſt: ſo of honie the beſt which is heavieſt and moiſteſt is alwaies next the bottome, and euermore caſteth and drieth his dregs vpward toward the verie top, contrarie to the nature of other liquid ſubſtances, whoſe grounds and léeze do generallie ſettle downewards. And thus much as by the waie of our bées and Engliſh honie.

As for the whole bodied, as the cantharides, and ſuch venemous creatures of the ſame kind, to be abundantlie found in other countries, we heare not of them: yet haue we béetles, horſeflies, turdbugs or dorres (called in Latine *Scarabei*) the locuſt or the graſhopper (which to me do ſéeme to be one thing, as I will anon declare) and ſuch like, whereof let other intreat that make an exerciſe in catching of flies, but a far greater ſport in offering them to ſpiders. As did Domitian ſometime, and an other prince yet liuing, who delited ſo much to ſée the iollie combats betwixt a ſtout flie and an old ſpider, that diuerſe men haue had great rewards giuen them for their painfull prouiſion of flies made onelie for this purpoſe. Some paraſites alſo in the time of the aforeſaid emperour, (when they were diſpoſed to laugh at his follie, and yet would ſéeme in appearance to gratifie his fantaſticall head with ſome ſhew of dutifull demenour) could deuiſe to ſet their lord on worke, by letting a fleſh flie priuilie into his chamber, which he forthwith would egerlie haue hunted (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) and neuer ceaſed till he had caught hir into his fingers: whereupon aroſe the prouerbe, *Ne muſca quidem*, vttered firſt by Vibius Priſcus, who being aſked whether anie bodie was with Domitian, anſwered, *Ne muſca quidem*, whereby he noted his follie. There are ſome cockeſcombs here and there in England, learning it abroad as men tranſregionate, which make account alſo of this paſtime, as of a notable matter, telling what a fight is ſéene betwene them, if either of them be luſtie and couragious in his kind. One alſo hath made a booke of the ſpider and the flie, wherein he dealeth ſo profoundlie, and beyond all meaſure of ſkill, that neither he himſelfe that made it, neither anie one that readeth it, can reach vnto the meaning therof. But if thoſe iollie fellows in ſtéed of the ſtraw that they thruſt into the flies tale (a great iniurie no doubt to ſuch a noble champion) would beſtow the coſt to ſet a foles cap vpon their owne heads: then might they with more ſecuritie and leſſe reprehenſion behold theſe notable battels.

Now as concerning the locuſt, I am led by diuerſe of my countrie, who (as they ſay) were either in Germanie, Italie, or Pannonia, 1542, when thoſe nations were greatly annoied with that kind of flie, and affirme verie conſtantlie, that they ſaw none other creature than the graſhopper, during the time of that annoiance, which was ſaid to come to them from the Peotides. In moſt of our tranſlations alſo of the bible, the word *Locuſta* is Engliſhed a graſhopper, and thereunto Leuit. 11. it is reputed among the cleane food, otherwiſe Iohn the Baptiſt would neuer haue liued with them in the wilderneſſe. In Barbarie, Numidia, and ſundrie other places of Affrica, as they haue béene, ſo are they eaten to this daie powdred in barels, and therefore the people of thoſe parts are called Acedophagi: neuertheles they ſhorten the life of the eaters by the production at the laſt of an irkeſome and filthie diſeaſe. In India they are three foot long, in Ethiopia much ſhorter, but in England ſeldome aboue an inch. As for the cricket called in Latin *Cicada*, he hath ſome likelihood, but not verie great, with the graſhopper, and therefore he is not to be brought in as an vmpier in this caſe. Finallie Matthiolus, and ſo manie as deſcribe the locuſt, do ſet downe none other forme than that of our graſhopper, which maketh me ſo much the more to reſt vpon my former imagination, which is, that the locuſt and graſhopper are one.

Sée Diodorus Siculus.

Of our Engliſh dogs and *their qualities.*

Chap. 7.

There is no countrie that maie (as I take it) compare with ours, in number, excellencie, and diuerſitie of dogs. And therefore if Polycrates of Samia were now aliue, he would not ſend to Epyro for ſuch merchandize: but to his further coſt prouide them out of Britaine, as an ornament to his countrie, and péece of huſbandrie for his common wealth, which he furniſhed of ſet purpoſe with Moloſſian and Lacaonian dogs, as he did the ſame alſo with ſhéepe out of Attica and Miletum, gotes from Scyro and Parus, ſwine out of Sicilia, and artificers out of other places. Howbeit the learned doctor Caius in his Latine treatiſe vnto Geſner *De canibus Anglicis*, bringeth them all into three ſorts: that is, the gentle kind ſeruing for game: the homelie kind apt for ſundrie vſes: and the curriſh kind méet for many toies. For my part I can ſay no more of them than he hath done alredie. Wherefore I will here ſet downe onelie a ſumme of that which he hath written of their names and natures, with the addition of an example or two now latelie had in experience, whereby the courages of our maſtiffes ſhall yet more largelie appeare. As for thoſe of other countries I haue not to deale with them: neither care I to report out of Plinie, that dogs were ſometime killed in ſacrifice, and ſometime their whelps eaten as a delicate diſh, Lib. 29. cap. 4. Wherefore if anie man be diſpoſed to read of them, let him reſort to Plinie lib. 8. cap. 40. who (among other wonders) telleth of an armie of two hundred dogs, which fetched a king of the Garamantes out of captiuitie, mawgre the reſiſtance of his aduerſaries: alſo to Cardan, lib. 10. *De animalibus*, Ariſtotle, &c: who write maruels of them, but none further from credit than Cardan,

who

who is not afraid to compare ſome of them for greatneſſe with oxen, and ſome alſo for ſmalneſſe vnto the little field mouſe. Neither doo I find anie far writer of great antiquitie, that maketh mention of our dogs, Strabo excepted, who ſaith that the Galles did ſometime buy vp all our maſtiffes, to ſerue in the forewards of their battels, wherein they reſembled the Colophonians, Caſtabalenſes of Calicute and Phenicia, of whom Plinie alſo ſpeaketh, but they had them not from vs.

The firſt ſort therefore he diuideth either into ſuch as rouſe the beaſt, and continue the chaſe, or ſpringeth the bird, and bewraieth hir flight by purſuite. And as theſe are commonlie called ſpaniels, ſo the other are named hounds, whereof he maketh eight ſorts, of which the formoſt excelleth in perfect ſmelling, the ſecond in quicke eſpieng, the third in ſwiftneſſe and quickeneſſe, the fourth in ſmelling and nimbleneſſe, &c: and the laſt in ſubtiltie and deceitfulneſſe. Theſe (ſaith Strabo) are moſt apt for game, and called *Sagaces* by a generall name, not onelie becauſe of their ſkill in hunting, but alſo for that they know their owne and the names of their fellowes moſt exactlie. For if the hunter ſee anie one to follow ſkilfullie, and with likelihood of good ſucceſſe, he biddeth the reſt to harke and follow ſuch a dog, and they eſtſoones obeie ſo ſone as they heare his name. The firſt kind of theſe are alſo commonlie called hariers, whoſe game is the fox, the hare, the woolfe (if we had anie) hart, bucke, badger, otter, polcat, lopſtart, weſell, conie, &c: the ſecond hight a terrer, and it hunteth the badger and graie onelie: the third a bloudhound, whoſe office is to follow the fierce, and now and then to purſue a theefe or beaſt by his drie foot: the fourth hight a gaſehound, who hunteth by the eie: the fift a greihound, cherished for his ſtrength, ſwiftnes, and ſtature, commended by Bratius in his *De venatione*, and not vnremembred by Hercules Stroza in a like treatiſe, but aboue all other thoſe of Britaine, where he ſaith:

——& magna ſpectandi mole Britanni;

alſo by Nemeſianus, libro Cynegeticôn, where he ſaith:

Diuiſa Britannia mittit
Veloces noſtriq; orbis venatibus aptos,

of which ſort alſo ſome be ſmooth, of ſundrie colours, and ſome ſhake haired: the ſirt a liemer, that excelleth in ſmelling and ſwift running: the ſeuenth a tumbler: and the eight a theefe, whoſe offices (I meane of the latter two) incline onelie to deceit, wherein they are oft ſo skilfull, that few men would thinke ſo miſchiefous a wit to remaine in ſuch ſillie creatures. Hauing made this enumeration of dogs, which are apt for the chaſe and hunting, he commeth next to ſuch as ſerue the falcons in their times, whereof he maketh alſo two ſorts. One that findeth his game on the land, an other that putteth vp ſuch foule as keepeth in the water: and of theſe this is commonlie moſt vſuall for the net or traine, the other for the hawke, as he doth ſhew at large. Of the firſt he ſaith, that they haue no peculiar names aſſigned to them ſeuerallie, but each of them is called after the bird which by naturall appointment he is allotted to hunt or ſerue, for which conſideration ſome be named dogs for the feaſant, ſome for the falcon, and ſome for the partrich. Howbeit, the common name for all is ſpaniell (ſaith he) and thereupon alludeth, as if theſe kinds of dogs had bin brought hither out of Spaine. In like ſort we haue of water ſpaniels in their kind. The third ſort of dogs of the gentle kind, is the ſpaniell gentle, or comforter, or (as the common terme is) the fiftinghound, and thoſe are called *Melitei*, of the Iland Malta, from whence they were brought hither. Theſe are little and prettie, proper and fine, and ſought out far and neere to ſatiſfie the nice delicacie of daintie dames, and wanton womens willes; inſtruments of follie to plaie and dallie withall, in trifling away the treaſure of time, to withdraw their minds from more commendable exerciſes, and to content their corrupt concupiſcences with daine diſport, a fillie poore ſhift to ſhun their irkeſome idlenes. Theſe Sybariticall puppies, the ſmaller they be (and thereto if they haue an hole in the foreparts of their heads) the better they are accepted, the more pleaſure alſo they prouoke, as meet plaiefellowes for minſing miſtreſſes to beare in their boſoms, to keepe companie withall in their chambers, to ſuccour with ſleepe in bed, and nouriſh with meat at bord, to lie in their laps, and licke their lips as they lie (like yong Danaes) in their wagons and coches. And good reaſon it ſhould be ſo, for courſeneſſe with fineneſſe hath no fellowſhip, but featneſſe with neatneſſe hath neighbourhead inough. That plauſible prouerbe therefore verified ſometime vpon a tyrant, namelie that he loued his ſow better than his ſonne, may well be applied to ſome of this kind of people, who delight more in their dogs, that are depriued of all poſſibilitie of reaſon, than they doo in children that are capable of wiſedome & iudgement. Yea, they oft feed them of the beſt, where the poore mans child at their doores can hardlie come by the worſt. But the former abuſe peraduenture reigneth where there hath beene long want of iſſue, elſe where barrenneſſe is the beſt bloſſome of beautie: or finallie, where poore mens children for want of their owne iſſue are not readie to be had. It is thought of ſome that it is verie wholeſome for a weake ſtomach to beare ſuch a dog in the boſome, as it is for him that hath the paliſie to feele the dailie ſmell and ſauour of a dor. But how truelie this is affirmed let the learned iudge: onelie it ſhall ſuffice for Doctor Caius to haue ſaid thus much of ſpaniels and dogs of the gentle kind.

Homelie kind of dogs.

Dogs of the homelie kind, are either ſhepheards curs, or maſtiffes. The firſt are ſo common, that it needeth me not to ſpeake of them. Their vſe alſo is ſo well knowne in keeping the heard togither (either when they graſe or go before the ſheepheard) that it ſhould be but in vaine to ſpend anie time about them. Wherefore I will leaue this curre vnto his owne kind, and go in hand with the maſtiffe, tie dog, or banddog, ſo called becauſe manie of them are tied vp in chaines and ſtrong bonds, in the daie time, for doing hurt abroad, which is an huge dog, ſtubborne, ouglie, eager, burthenous of bodie (& therefore but of little ſwiftneſſe) terrible and fearfull to behold, and oftentimes more fierce and fell than anie Archadian or Coſſican cur. Our Engliſhmen to the intent that theſe dogs may be more cruell and fierce, aſſiſt nature with ſome art, vſe and cuſtome. For although this kind of dog be capable of courage, violent, baliant, ſtout and bold: yet will they increaſe theſe their ſtomachs by teaching them to bait the beare, the bull, the lion, and other ſuch like cruell and bloudie beaſts, (either brought ouer or kept vp at home, for the ſame purpoſe) without anie collar to defend their throats, and oftentimes thereto they traine them vp in fighting and wreſtling with a man (hauing for the ſafegard of his life either a pike ſtaffe, club, ſword, priuie coate) wherby they become the more fierce and cruell vnto ſtrangers. The Caſpians made ſo much account ſometime of ſuch great dogs, that euerie able man would nouriſh ſundrie of them in his houſe of ſet purpoſe, to the end they ſhould deuoure their carcaſes after their deaths, thinking the dogs bellies to be the moſt honourable ſepulchers. The common people alſo followed the ſame rate, and therfore there were tie dogs kept vp by publike ordinance, to deuoure them after their deaths: by means whereof theſe beaſts became the more eger, and with great

Tie dogs.

difficultie

difficultie after a while reſtreined from falling vpon the liuing. But whither am I digreſſed? In returning therefore to our owne, I ſaie that of maſtiffes, ſome barke onelie with fierce and open mouth but will not bite, ſome do both barke and bite, but the cruelleſt do either not barke at all, or bite before they barke, and therefore are more to be feared than anie of the other. They take alſo their name of the word maſe and théefe (or maſter théefe if you will) bicauſe they often ſtound and put ſuch perſons to their ſhifts in townes and villages, and are the principall cauſes of their apprehenſion and taking. The force which is in them ſurmounteth all beléefe, and the faſt hold which they take with their téeth exceedeth all credit: for three of them againſt a beare, foure againſt a lion are ſufficient to trie maſtries with them. King Henrie the ſeauenth, as the report goeth, commanded all ſuch curres to be hanged, bicauſe they durſt preſume to fight againſt the lion, who is their king and ſouereigne. The like he did with an excellent falcon, as ſome ſaie, bicauſe he feared not hand to hand to match with an eagle, willing his falconers in his owne preſence to pluck off his head after he was taken downe, ſaieng that it was not meet for anie ſubiect to offer ſuch wrong vnto his lord and ſuperiour, wherein he had a further meaning. But if king Henrie the ſeauenth had liued in our time, what would he haue done to one Engliſh maſtiffe, which alone and without anie helpe at all pulled downe firſt an huge beare, then a pard, and laſt of all a lion, each after other before the French king in one daie, when the lord Buckhurſt was ambaſſador vnto him, and whereof if I ſhould write the circumſtances, that is, how he toke his aduantage being let loſe vnto them, and finallie draue them into ſuch exceeding feare, that they were all glad to run awaie when he was taken from them, I ſhould take much paines, and yet reape but ſmall credit: wherefore it ſhall ſuffice to haue ſaid thus much thereof. Some of our maſtiffes will rage onelie in the night, ſome are to be tied vp both daie and night. Such alſo as are ſuffered to go loſe about the houſe and yard, are ſo gentle in the daie time, that children may ride on their backs, & plaie with them at their pleaſures. Diuerſe of them likewiſe are of ſuch gelouſie ouer their maiſter and whoſoeuer of his houſhold, that if a ſtranger do imbrace or touch anie of them, they will fall fiercelie vpon them, vnto their extreame miſchéefe if their furie be not preuented. Such an one was the dog of Nichomedes king ſometime of Bithinia, who ſéeing Conſigne the quéene to imbrace and kiſſe hir husband as they walked togither in a garden, did teare hir all to péeces, mauger his reſiſtance, and the preſent aid of ſuch as attended on them. Some of them moreouer will ſuffer a ſtranger to come in and walke about the houſe or yard where him liſteth, without giuing ouer to follow him: but if he put forth his hand to touch anie thing, then will they flie vpon him and kill him if they may. I had one my ſelfe once, which would not ſuffer anie man to bring in his weapon further than my gate: neither thoſe that were of my houſe to be touched in his preſence. Or if I had beaten anie of my children, he would gentlie haue aſſaied to catch the rod in his teeth and take it out of my hand, or elſe pluck downe their clothes to ſaue them from the ſtripes: which in my opinion is not vnworthie to be noted. And thus much of our maſtiffes, creatures of no leſſe faith and loue towards their maiſters than horſſes; as may appeare euen by the confidence that Maſiniſſa repoſed in them, in ſo much that miſtruſting his houſhold ſeruants he made him a gard of dogs, which manie a time deliuered him from their treaſons and conſpiracies, euen by their barking and biting, nor of leſſe force than the Molоſſian race, brought from Epiro into ſome countries, which the poets feigne to haue originall from the brazen dog that Vulcan made, and gaue to Iupiter, who alſo deliuered the ſame to Europa, ſhe to Procris, and Procris to Cephalus, as Iulius Pollux noteth, lib. 5. cap. 5: neither vnequall in carefulneſſe to the maſtiffe of Alexander Pheræus, who by his onelie courage and attendance kept his maiſter long time from ſlaughter, till at the laſt he was remoued by policie, and the tyrant killed ſléeping: the ſtorie goeth thus. Thebe the wife of the ſaid Pheræus and hir three brethren conſpired the death of hir husband, who fearing the dog onelie, ſhe found the means to allure him from his chamber doore by faire means, vnto another houſe hard by, whileſt they ſhould execute their purpoſe. Neuertheleſſe, when they came to the bed where he laie ſléeping, they ware faint harted, till ſhe did put them in choiſe, either that they ſhould diſpatch him at once, or elſe that ſhe hir ſelfe would wake hir husband, and giue him warning of his enimies, or at the leaſt wiſe bring in the dog vpon them, which they feared moſt of all: and therefore quicklie diſpatched him.

Some bite and barke not.

Some barke and bite not.

The laſt ſort of dogs conſiſteth of the curriſh kind meet for manie toies: of which the whappet or prickeard curre is one. Some men call them warners, bicauſe they are good for nothing elſe but to barke and giue warning when anie bodie doth ſtirre or lie in wait about the houſe in the night ſeaſon. Certes it is vnpoſſible to deſcribe theſe curs in anie order, bicauſe they haue no anie one kind proper vnto themſelues, but are a confuſed companie mixt of all the reſt. The ſecond ſort of them are called turne ſpits, whoſe office is not vnknowne to anie. And as theſe are onelie reſerued for this purpoſe, ſo in manie places our maſtiffes (beſide the vſe which tinkers haue of them in carieng their heauie budgets) are made to draw water in great wheéles out of déepe wels, going much like vnto thoſe which are framed for our turne ſpits, as is to be ſéene at Roiſton, where this feat is often practiſed. Beſides theſe alſo we haue ſholts or curs dailie brought out of Iſeland, and much made of among vs, bicauſe of their ſawcineſſe and quarrelling. Moreouer they bite verie ſore, and loue candles excédinglie, as do the men and women of their countrie: but I may ſaie no more of them, bicauſe they are not bred with vs. Yet this will I make report of by the waie, for paſtimes ſake, that when a great man of thoſe parts came of late into one of our ſhips which went thither for fiſh, to ſée the forme and faſhion of the ſame, his wife apparelled in fine ſables, abiding on the decke whileſt hir husband was vnder the hatches with the mariners, eſpied a pound or two of candles hanging at the maſt, and being loth to ſtand there idle alone, ſhe fell to and eat them vp euerie one, ſuppoſing hir ſelfe to haue béene at a ſoſtie banket, and ſhewing verie pleaſant geſture when hir husband came vp againe vnto hir.

The laſt kind of toieſh curs are named danſers, and thoſe being of a mongrell ſort alſo, are taught & exerciſed to danſe in meaſure at the muſicall ſound of an inſtrument, as at the iuſt ſtroke of a drum, ſweet accent of the citharne, and pleaſant harmonie of the harpe, ſhewing manie tricks by the geſture of their bodies: as to ſtand bolt vpright, to lie flat vpon the ground, to turne round as a ring, holding their tailes in their teeth, to ſaw and beg for meat, to take a mans cap from his head, and ſundrie ſuch properties, which they learne of their idle rogiſh maſters whoſe inſtruments they are to gather gaine, as old apes clothed in motleie, and coloured ſhort waſted iackets are for the like vagabunds, who ſéeke no bet-

ter liuing, than that which they may get by fond passime and idlenesse. I might here intreat of other dogs, as of those which are bred betweene a bitch and a wolfe, and called *Lycisca*: a thing verie often seene in France saith Franciscus Patricius in his common wealth, as procured of set purpose, and learned as I thinke of the Indians, who tie their sault bitches often in woods, that they might be loined by tigers: also betweene a bitch and a fox, or a beare and a mastiffe. But as we vtterlie want the first sort, except they be brought vnto vs: so it happeneth sometime, that the other two are ingendered and seene at home amongst vs. But all the rest heretofore remembred in this chapter, there is none more ouglie and odious in sight, cruell and fierce in deed, nor vntractable in hand, than that which is begotten betweene the beare and the bandog. For whatsoeuer he catcheth hold of, he taketh it so fast, that a man may sooner teare and rend his bodie in sunder, than get open his mouth to separate his chaps. Certes he regardeth neither wolfe, beare, nor lion, and therfore may well be compared with those two dogs which were sent to Alexander out of India (& procreated as it is thought betweene a mastiffe and male tiger, as be those also of Hircania) or to them that are bred in Archadia, where copulation is oft seene betweene lions and bitches, as the like is in France (as I said) betweene shee wolfes and dogs, whereof let this suffice; sith the further tractation of them doth not concerne my purpose, more than the confutation of Cardans talke, *De subt. lib.* 10. who saith, that after manie generations, dogs do become wolfes, and contrariwise; which if it were true, than could not England be without manie wolfes: but nature hath set a difference betweene them, not onelie in outward forme, but also in inward disposition of their bones, wherefore it is impossible that his assertion can be sound.

Of our saffron, and the dressing thereof.

Chap. 8.

AS the saffron of England, which Platina reckneth among spices, is the most excellent of all other: for it giueth place neither to that of Cilicia, whereof Solinus speaketh, nether to anie that commeth from Cilicia, where it groweth vpon the mount Taurus, Tmolus, Italie, Ætolia, Sicilia, or Licia, in sweetnesse, tincture, and continuance; so of that which is to be had amongst vs, the same that grows about Saffron Walden, sometime called Waldenburg, in the edge of Essex, first of all planted there in the time of Edward the third, and that of Glocester shire and those westerlie parts, which some thinke to be better than that of Walden, surmounteth all the rest, and therefore beareth worthilie the higher price, by six pence or twelue pence most commonlie in the pound. The rot of the herbe that beareth this commoditie is round, much like vnto an indifferent chestnut, & yet it is not cloued as the lillie, nor flaked as the scallion, but hath a sad substance *Inter bulbosa*, as *Orchis*, *hyacinthus orientalis*, and *Statyrion*. The colour of the rind is not much differing from the innermost shell of a chestnut, although it be not altogither so brickle as is the pill of an onion. So long as the leafe flourisheth the rot is litle & small; but when the grasse is withered, the head increaseth and multiplieth, the fillets also or small rots die, so that when the time doth come to take them vp, they haue no rots at all, but so continue vntill September that they do grow againe: and before the chiue be grounded the smallest heads are also most esteemed; but whether they be great or small, if sheepe or neat may come to them on the heape, as they lie in the field, they will deuoure them as if they were hale or fruble, some also will worst for them in verie eger maner. The leafe or rather the blade thereof is long and narrow as grasse, which come vp alwaies in October after the floures be gathered and gone, pointed on a little tuft much like vnto our siues. Sometimes our cattell will feed vpon the same; neuertheless, if it be bitten whilest it is greene, the head dieth, and therefore our crokers are carefull to keepe it from such annoiance vntill it begin to wither, and then also will the cattell scarse taste thereof: for vntill that time the iuice thereof is bitter. In euerie floure we find commonlie three chiues, and three pellowes, and double the number of leaues. Of twisted floures I speake not; yet is it found, that two floures grow togither, which bring forth fiue chiues, so that alwaies there is an od chiue and od yellow, though three or foure floures should come out of one rot. The whole herbe is named in Greeke Crocos, but of some (as Dioscorides saith) Castor, Cynomorphos, or Hercules blood: yet in the Arabian speech, (from whence we borrow the name which we giue thervnto) I find that it is called Zahafaran, as Rembert doth beare witnesse. The cause wherefore it was called Crocus was this (as the poets feigne) specialle those from whome Galen hath borrowed the historie, which he noteth in his ninth booke *De medicamentis secundum loca*, where he writeth after this maner (although I take Crocus to be the first that vsed this commoditie.) A certeine yong gentleman called Crocus went to plaie at coits in the field with Mercurie, and being heedlesse of himselfe, Mercuries coit happened by mishap to hit him on the head, whereby he receiued a wound that yer long killed him altogither, to the great discomfort of his freends. Finallie, in the place where he bled, saffron was after found to grow, whereupon the people seeing the colour of the chiue as it stood (although I doubt not but it grew there long before) adiudged it to come of the blood of Crocus, and therefore they gaue it his name. And thus farre Rembert, who with Galen, &c: differ very much from Ouids Metamorphos. 4. who writeth also thereof. Indeed the chiue, while it remaineth whole & vnbrused, resembleth a darke red, but being broken and conuerted into vse, it yeeldeth a yellow tincture. But what haue we to do with fables?

Occasion of the name.

The heads of saffron are raised in Julie, either with plough, raising, or tined hooke; and being scowred from their rosse or filth, and seuered from such heads as are ingendred of them since the last setting, they are inferred againe in Julie and August by ranks or rowes, and being couered with moulds, they rest in the earth, where they cast forth litle fillets and small rots like vnto a scallion, vntill September, in the beginning of which moneth the ground is pared, and all weeds and grasse that groweth vpon the same remoued, to the intent that nothing may annoie the floure when as his time doth come to rise.

Ran

Paring.

These things being thus ordered in the latter end of the aforesaid moneth of September, the floure beginneth to appeere of a whitish blew, resse or skie colour, and in the end shewing it selfe in the owne kind, it resembleth almost the Leucotion of Theophrast, sauing that it is longer, and hath in the middest thereof three chiues verie red and pleasant to behold. These floures are gathered in the morning before the rising of the sunne, which otherwise would cause them to welke or slitter. And the chiues being picked from the floures, these are throwne into the

Gathering

Sic Recte

dongehill; the other dried vpon little kelles couered with ſtreined canuaſſes vpon a ſoft fire: wherby, and by the weight that is laied vpon them, they are dried and preſſed into cakes, and then bagged vp for the benefit of their owners. In good yeres we gather foure ſcore or an hundred pounds of wet ſaffron of an acre, which being dried doth yeld twentie pounds of drie and more. Whereby, and ſith the price of ſaffron is commonlie about twentie ſhillings in monie, or not ſo little, it is eaſie to ſee what benefit is reaped by an acre of this commoditie, towards the charges of the ſetter, which indeed are great, but yet not ſo great as he ſhall be thereby a loſer, if he be a nie thing diligent. For admit that the triple tillage of an acre doth coſt 13 ſhillings foure pence before the ſaffron be ſet, the clodding ſirtéene pence, the taking of euerie load of ſtones from the ſame foure pence, the raiſing of euerie quarter of heads ſix pence, and ſo much for cleanſing of them, beſides the rent of ten ſhillings for euerie acre, thirtie load of dung which is worth ſix pence the load to be laid on the firſt yére, for the ſetting three and twentie ſhillings and foure pence, for the paring fiue ſhillings, ſix pence for the picking of a pound wet, &c: yea though he hire it readie ſet, and paie ten pounds for the ſame, yet ſhall he ſuſteine no damage, if warme weather and open ſeaſon do happen at the gathering. This alſo is to be noted, that euerie acre aſketh twentie quarters of heads, placed in ranks two inches one from an other in long beds, which conteine eight or ten foot in breadth. And after three yeres that ground will ſerue well, and without compoſt for barleie by the ſpace of eighténe or twentie yéres togither, as experience doth confirme. The heads alſo of euerie acre at the raiſing will ſtore an acre and an halfe of new ground, which is a great aduantage, and it will floure eight or ten daies togither. But the beſt ſaffron is gathered at the firſt; at which time foure pounds of wet ſaffron will go verie neere to make one of drie; but in the middeſt fiue pounds of the one will make but one of the other, becauſe the chiue waxeth ſmaller, as ſir at the laſt will do no more but yéeld one of the dried, by reaſon of the chiue which is now verie leane and hungrie. After twentie yeares alſo the ſame ground may be ſet with ſaffron againe. And in lieu of a concluſion, take this for a perpetuall rule, that heads comming out of a good ground will proſper beſt in a lighter ſoile; and contrariwiſe: which is one note that our crokers do carefullie obſerue.

Raiſing. The heads are raiſed euerie third yeare about vs, to wit, after Midſummer, when the roſſe commeth drie from the heads; and commonlie in the firſt yéere after they be ſet they yéeld verie little increaſe: yet that which then commeth is counted the fineſt and greateſt chiue, & beſt for medicine, and called ſaffron Du hort. The next crop is much greater; but the third exceedeth, and then they raiſe againe about Walden and in Cambridge ſhire. In this period of time alſo the heads are ſaid to child, that is, to yéeld out of ſome parts of them diuerſe other headlets, whereby it hath béene ſéene, that ſome one head hath béene increaſed (though with his owne detriment) to three, or foure, or fiue, or ſix, which augmentation is the onlie cauſe wherby they are ſold ſo good cheape. For to my remembrance I haue not knowne foure buſhels or a come of them to be valued much aboue two ſhillings eight pence, except in ſome od yéeres that they ariſe to eight or ten ſhillings the quarter, and that is when ouer great ſtore of winters water hath rotted the moſt of them as they ſtood within the ground, or heat in ſummer parched and burnt them vp.

In Norfolke and Suffolke they raiſe but once in ſeuen yéeres: but as their ſaffron is not ſo fine as that of Cambridge ſhire and about Walden, ſo it will not take, ting, nor hold colour withall, wherein lieth a great part of the value of this ſtuffe. Some craftie lackes vſe to mix it with ſcraped brazell or with the floure of Sonchus, which commeth ſomewhat nere indeed to the hue of our good ſaffron (if it be late gathered) but it is ſone bewraied both by the depth of the colour and hardneſſe. Such alſo was the plentie of ſaffron about twentie yeares paſſed, that ſome of the townesmen of Walden gaue the one halfe of the floures for picking of the other, and ſent them ten or twelue miles abroad into the countrie, whileſt the reſt, not thankfull for the abundance of Gods bleſſing beſtowed vpon them (as wiſhing rather more ſcarſitie thereof becauſe of the keeping vp of the price) in moſt contemptuous maner murmured againſt him, ſaieng that he did ſhite ſaffron therewith to choake the market. But as they ſhewed themſelues no leſſe than ingrat infidels in this behalfe, ſo the Lord conſidered their vnthankfulneſſe, & gaue them euer ſince ſuch ſcarſitie, as the greateſt murmurers haue now the leaſt ſtore; and moſt of them are either worne out of occupieng, or remaine ſcarſe able to mainteine their grounds without the helpe of other men. Certes it hath generallie occaied about Saffron Walden ſince the ſaid time, vntill now of late within theſe two yeares, that men began againe to plant and renew the ſame, becauſe of the great commoditie. But to proceed. When the heads be raiſed and taken vp, they will remaine ſirtéene or twentie daies out of the earth or more: yea peraduenture a full moneth. Howbeit they are commonlie in the earth againe by ſaint James tide, or verie ſhortlie after. For as if they be taken vp before Midſummer, or beginning of Julie, the heads will ſhrinke like a roſted warden: ſo after Auguſt they will wax drie, become vnfruitfull, and decaie. And I know it by experience, in that I haue carried ſome of them to London with me; and notwithſtanding that they haue remained there vnſet by the ſpace of fortie dais and more: yet ſome of them haue brought forth two or three floures a peece, and ſome floures three or fiue chiues, to the greeat admiration of ſuch as haue gathered the ſame, and not béene acquainted with their nature and countrie where they grew. The crokers or ſaffron men do vſe an obſeruation a litle before the comming vp of the floure, and ſometime in the taking vp at Midſummer tide, by opening of the heads to iudge of plentie and ſcarſitie of this commoditie to come. For if they ſée as it were many ſmall hairie veines of ſaffron to be in the middeſt of the bulbe, they pronounce a fruitfull yeare. And to ſaie truth, at the cleaning of ech head, a man ſhall diſcerne the ſaffron by the colour, and ſée where about the chiue will iſſue out of the root. Warme darke nights, ſweet dews, fat grounds (chéeflie the chalkie) and miſtie mornings are verie good for ſaffron; but froſt and cold do kill and keepe backe the floure, or elſe ſhrinke vp the chiue. And thus much haue I thought good to ſpeake of Engliſh ſaffron, which is hot in the ſecond and drie in the firſt degrée, and moſt plentifull as our crokers hold, in that yéere wherein ewes twin moſt. But as I can make no warrantize hereof, ſo I am otherwiſe ſure, that there is no more deceit vſed in anie trade than in ſaffron. For in the making they will greaſe the papers on the kell with a little candle greaſe, to make the worſt ſaffron haue ſo good a colour as the beſt: afterwards alſo they will ſprinkle butter thereon to make the weight better. But both theſe are bewraied, either by a quantitie thereof holden ouer the fire in a ſiluer ſpone, or by the ſoftneſſe thereof betwéene the fore finger and the thumbe; or thirdlie, by

the colour thereof in age: for if you laie it by farre worſe ſaffron of other countries, the colour will bewraie the forgerie by the ſwartneſſe of the chiue, which otherwiſe would excell it, and therevnto being ſound, remaine criſpe, brickle, and drie: and finallie, if it be holden neere the face, will ſtrike a certeine biting heat vpon the ſkin and eies, whereby it is adiudged good and merchant ware indeed among the ſkilfull crokers.

Now if it pleaſe you to heare of anie of the vertues thereof, I will note theſe inſuing at the requeſt of one, who required me to touch a few of them with whatſoeuer breuitie I liſted. Therefore our ſaffron (beſide the manifold vſe that it hath in the kitchin and paſtrie, alſo in our cakes at bridals, and thankſgiuings of women) is verie profitably mingled with thoſe medicins which we take for the diſeaſes of the breaſt, of the lungs, of the liuer, and of the bladder: it is good alſo for the ſtomach if you take it in meat, for it comforteth the ſame and maketh good digeſtion: being ſodden alſo in wine, it not onelie keepeth a man from drunkenneſſe, but incorageth alſo vnto procreation of iſſue. If you drinke it in ſweet wine, it inlargeth the breath, and is good for thoſe that are troubled with the tiſike and ſhortneſſe of the wind: mingled with the milke of a woman, and laied vpon the eies, it ſtaieth ſuch humors as deſcend into the ſame, and taketh awaie the red wheales and pearles that oft grow about them: it killeth moths if it be lowed in paper bags verie thin, and laid vp in preſſes amongſt tapiſtrie or apparell: alſo it is verie profitablie laid vnto all inflammations, painefull apoſthumes, and the ſhingles; and doth no ſmall eaſe vnto deafnes, if it be mingled with ſuch medicins as are beneficiall vnto the eares: it is of great vſe alſo in ripening of botches and all ſwellings proceeding of raw humors. Or if it ſhall pleaſe you to drinke the root thereof with maluelie, it will marueilouſlie prouoke vrine, diſſolue and expell grauell, and yeeld no ſmall eaſe to them that make their water by dropmeales. Finallie, three drams thereof taken at once, which is about the weight of one ſhilling nine pence halfepenie, is deadlie poiſon; as Dioſcorides doth affirme: and drunke in wine (ſaith Platina) lib. 3. cap. 13. *De honeſta voluptate*, doth haſt on drunkenneſſe, which is verie true. And I haue knowne ſome, that by eating onelie of bread more than of cuſtome ſtreined with ſaffron, haue become like drunken men, & yet otherwiſe well known to be but competent drinkers. For further confirmation of this alſo, if a man do but open and ranſake a bag of one hundred or two hundred weight, as merchants do when they buie it of the crokers, it will ſtrike ſuch an aire into their heads which deale withall, that for a time they ſhall be giddie and ſicke (I meane for two or three houres ſpace) their noſes and eies in like ſort will yeeld ſuch plentie of rheumatike water, that they ſhall be the better for it long after, eſpeciallie their eieſight, which is wonderfullie clarified by this meanes: howbeit ſome merchants not liking of this phyſike, muffle themſelues as women do when they ride, and put on ſpectacles ſet in leather, which doth in ſome meaſure (but not for altogither) put by the force thereof. There groweth ſome ſaffron in manie places of Almaine, and alſo about Vienna in Auſtria, which later is taken for the beſt that ſpringeth in thoſe quarters. In ſtead of this ſome do vſe the Carthamus, called amongſt vs baſtard ſaffron, but neither is this of anie value, nor the other in anie wiſe comparable vnto ours. Whereof let this ſuffice as of a commoditie brought into this Iland in the time of Edward 3. and not commonlie planted till Richard 2. did reigne. It would grow verie well (as I take it) about the Chiltern hils, & in all the vale of the White horſe ſo well as in Walden and Cambridgeſhire, if they were carefull of it. I heare of ſome alſo to be cherished alreadie in Glocesterſhire, and certeine other places weſtward. But of the fineneſſe and tincture of the chiue, I heare not as yet of anie triall. Would to God that my countriemen had beene heretofore (or were now) more carefull of this commoditie! then would it no doubt haue prouued more beneficiall to our Iland than our cloth or woll. But alas! ſo idle are we, and heretofore ſo much giuen to eaſe, by reaſon of the ſmalneſſe of our rents, that few men regard to ſearch out which are their beſt commodities. But if landlords hold on to raiſe the rents of their farms as they begin, they will inforce their tenants to looke better vnto their gains, and ſcratch out their rent from vnder euerie clod that may be turned aſide. The greateſt mart for ſaffron is at Aquila in Abruzo, where they haue an eſpeciall weight for the ſame of ten pounds leſſe in the hundred than that of Florens and Luke: but how it agreeth with ours it ſhall appeere hereafter.

Of quarries of ſtone for building.

Chap. 9.

Quarries with vs are pits or mines, out of which we dig our ſtone to build withall, & of theſe as we haue great plentie in England, ſo are they of diuerſe ſorts, and thoſe verie profitable for ſundrie neceſſarie vſes. In times paſt the vſe of ſtone was in maner dedicated to the building of churches, religious houſes, princely palaces, biſhops manours, and holds onlie: but now that ſcrupulous obſeruation is altogither infringed, and building with ſtone ſo commonlie taken vp, that amongſt noble men & gentlemen, the timber frames are ſuppoſed to be not much better than paper worke, of little continuance, and leaſt continuance of all. It farre paſſeth my cunning to ſet downe how manie ſorts of ſtone for building are to be found in England, but much further to call each of them by their proper names. Howbeit, ſuch is the curioſitie of our countrimen, that notwithſtanding almightie God hath ſo bleſſed our realme in moſt plentifull maner, with ſuch and ſo manie quarries apt and meet for piles of longeſt continuance, yet we as lothſome of this abundance, or not liking of the plentie, do commonlie leaue theſe naturall gifts to mould and cinder in the ground, and take vp an artificiall bricke, in burning whereof a great part of the wood of this land is dailie conſumed and ſpent, to the no ſmall decaie of that commoditie, and hinderance of the poore that periſh oft for cold.

Our elders haue from time to time, following our naturall vice in miſliking of our owne commodities at home, and deſiring thoſe of other countries abroad, moſt eſteemed the cane ſtone that is brought hither out of Normandie: and manie euen in theſe our dates following the ſame veine, do couet in their works almoſt to vſe none other. Howbeit experience on the one ſide, and our ſkilfull maſons on the other (whoſe iudgement is nothing inferiour to thoſe of other countries) do affirme, that in the north and ſouth parts of England, and certeine other places, there are ſome quarries, which for hardneſſe and beautie are equall to the outlandiſh greet. This maie alſo be confirmed by the kings chappell at Cambridge, the greateſt part of the ſquare ſtone wherof was brought thither out of the north. Some commend the veine of white free ſtone, ſlate, and meere ſtone, which is betweene

twéene Pentolwen, and the blacke head in Cornewall, for verie fine ſtuffe. Other doo ſpeake much of the quarries at Hamden, nine miles from Wilberie, and pauing ſtone of Barbecke. For toph ſtone, not a few allow of the quarrie that is at Dzeſleie, diuerſe miſlike not of the veines of hard ſtone that are at Drford, and Burford. One praiſeth the free ſtone at Manchelter, & Peſtburie in Glocelterſhire; another the quarries of the like in Richmont. The third liketh well of the hard ſtone in Clee hill in Shropſhire; the fourth of that of Thorowbridge, Welden, and Terrinton. Whereby it appeareth that we haue quarries inow, and good inough in England, ſufficient for vs to build withall, if the péeuiſh contempt of our owne commodities, and delectations to inrich other countries, did not catch ſuch ſolith hold vpon vs. It is alſo verified (as anie other wate) that all nations haue rather néed of England, than England of ante other. And this I thinke may ſuffice for the ſubſtance of our woorks. Now if you haue regard to their ornature, how manie mines of ſundrie kinds of courſe & fine marble are there to be had in England? But chiefflie one in Staffordſhire, an other neere to the Peke, the third at [illegible], the fourth at [illegible] (belonging to the lord Chaindois) the fift at Egleſtone, which is of blacke marble, ſpotted with graie or white ſpots, the firſt not farre from Durham. Of white marble alſo we haue ſtore, and ſo faire as the Parpeſian of Paris Ile. But what meane I to go about to recite all, or the moſt excellent? ſith theſe which I haue named alredie are not altogither of the beſt, nor ſcarſelie of anie value in compariſon of thoſe, whoſe places of growth are vtterlie vnknowne vnto me, and whereof the blacke marble ſpotted with greene is none of the vileſt ſort, as maie appeare by parcell of the pauement of the lower part of the quire of Paules in London, and alſo in Weſtminſter, where ſome péeces thereof are yet to be ſéene and marked, if anie will looke for them. If marble will not ſerue, then haue we the fineſt alabaſter that maie elſewhere bée had, as about ſaint Dauids of Wales; alſo neere to Beau manour, which is about foure or fiue miles from Leiceſter, & taken to be the beſt, although there are diuerſe other quarries hereof beyond the Trent, as in Yorkeſhire, &c: and ſullie ſo good as that, whoſe names at this time are out of my remembrance. What ſhould I talke of the plaiſter of Arholme (for of that which they dig out of the earth in ſundrie places of Lincolne and Darbiſhires, wherewith they blanch their houſes in ſtead of lime, I ſpeake not) certes it is a fine kind of alabaſter. But ſith it is ſold commonlie but after twelue pence the load, we iudge it to be but vile and courſe. For my part I cannot skill of ſtone, yet in my opinion it is not without great vſe for plaiſter of paris, and ſuch is the mine of it, that the ſtones thereof lie in flakes one vpon an other like plankes or tables, and vnder the ſame is an exceeding hard ſtone verie profitable for building, as hath often times béene prooued. This is alſo to be marked further of our plaiſter white and graie, that not contented with the ſame, as God by the quarrie doth ſend and yéeld it forth, we haue now deuiſed to caſt it in moulds for windowes and pillers of what forme and faſhion we liſt, euen as alabaſter it ſelfe: and with ſuch ſtuffe ſundrie houſes in Yorkſhire are furniſhed of late. But of what continuance this deuiſe is like to proue, the time to come ſhall eaſilie bewraie. In the meane time ſir Raſe Burcher knight hath put the deuiſe in practiſe, and affirmeth that ſix men in ſix moneths ſhall trauell in that trade to ſée greater profit to the owner, than twelue men in ſix yeares could before this tricke was inuented.

If neither alabaſter nor marble doth ſuffice, we haue the touchſtone, called in Latine *Lydius lapis*, ſhining as glaſſe, either to match in ſockets with our pillers of alabaſter, or contrariwiſe: or if it pleaſe the workeman to ioine pillers of alabaſter or touch with ſockets of braſſe, pewter, or copper, we want not alſo theſe mettals. So that I think no nation can haue more excellent & greater diuerſitie of ſtuffe for building, than we maie haue in England, if our ſelues could ſo like of it. But ſuch alas is our nature, that not our own but other mens do moſt of all delite vs; & for deſire of noueltie, we oft exchange our fineſt cloth, corne, tin, and woolles, for halfe penie cockhorſſes for children, dogs of war or of chéeſe, two pennie tabers, leaden ſwords, painted feathers, gewgaws for fooles, dogtricks for diſards, hawkeſwhoods, and ſuch like trumperie, whereby we reape ſuch mockage and reproch in other countries. I might remember here our pits for milſtones, that are to be had in diuerſe places of our countrie, as in Angleſeie, Kent, alſo at Queene hope of blew gréet, of no leſſe value than the Colaine, yea than the French ſtones: our grindſtones for hardware men. Our whetſtones are no leſſe laudable than thoſe of Creta & Lacedemonia, albeit we vſe no oile with them, as they did in thoſe parties, but onelie water, as the Italians and Nar[illegible] with theirs: whereas they that grow in Cilicia muſt haue both oile and water laid vpon them, or elſe they make no edge. Theſe alſo are diuided either into the hard gréet, as the common that ſhomakers vſe, or the ſoft gréet called hones, to be had among the barbars, and thoſe either blacke or white, and the rub or brickle ſtone which huſbandmen do occupie in the whetting of their ſithes.

In like maner ſlate of ſundrie colours is euerie where in maner to be had, as is the flint and chalke, the ſhalder and the peble. Howbeit for all this wée muſt fetch them ſtill from farre, as did the Hull men their ſtones out of Iſeland, wherewith they paued their towne for want of the like in England: or as ſir Thomas Gresham did, when he bought the ſtones in Flanders, wherwith he paued the Burſe. But as he will anſwer peraduenture, that he bargained for the whole mould and ſubſtance of his workemanſhip in Flanders: ſo the Hullanders or Hull men will ſaie, how that ſtockefiſh is light loding, and therfore they did balaſſe their veſſels with theſe Iſeland ſtones, to keepe them from turning ouer in their ſo tedious a voiage. And thus much briefflie of our quarries of ſtone for building, wherein oftentimes the workemen haue found ſtrange things incloſed, I meane liuelie creatures ſhut vp in the hard ſtones, and liuing there without reſpiration or breathing, as frogs, todes, &c: whereof you ſhall read more in the chronologie following: alſo in Caius Langius, William of Newburie, Agricola, Cornelius of Amſterdam, Bellogius de aquatilibus, Albert the great, lib. 19. cap. 9. *De rebus metallicis*, and Goropius in Niloſcopio, pag. 237, &c. Sometime alſo they find pretious ſtones (though ſeldome) and ſome of them perfectlie ſquared by nature, and much like vnto the diamond, found of late in a quarrie of marble at Naples, which was ſo perfectlie pointed, as if all the workemen in the world had cõſulted about the performance of that workemanſhip. I know that theſe reports vnto ſome will ſéeme incredible, and therefore I ſtand the longer vpon them; neuertheleſſe omitting to ſpeake particularlie of ſuch things as happen amongſt vs, and rather ſéeking to confirme the ſame by the like in other countries, I will deliuer a few more examples, whereby the truth hereof ſhall ſo much the better appeare. For in the middeſt of a ſtone not long ſince found at Chius, vpon the breaking vp thereof, there was ſéene *Caput paniſci* incloſed therin, very perfectlie formed as the beholders do remember. How come the grains of gold to be ſo faſt incloſed in the ſtones

that are ꝛ haue beene found in the Spaniſh Batis: But this is moſt maruellous, that a moſt delectable and ſweet oile, comparable to the fineſt balme, or oile of ſpike in ſmell, was found naturallie included in a ſtone, which could not otherwiſe be broken but with a ſmiths hammer. Goropius doth tell of a pearch perfectlie formed to be found in Britaine: but as then committed into hard ſtone, vpon the top of a crag. Ariſtotle and Theophraſt ſpeake of fiſhes digged out of the earth, farre from the ſea in Græce, which Seneca alſo confirmeth, but with addition that they are perillous to be eaten. In pope Martins time, a ſerpent was found faſt incloſed in a rocke, as the kernell is within the nut, ſo that no aire could come to it: and in my time another in a coffin of ſtone at Auignion, wherein a man had beene buried, which ſo filled the rome, and laie ſo cloſe from aire, that all men wondered how it was poſſible for the ſame to liue and continue ſo long time there. Finallie I my ſelfe haue ſeene ſtones opened, and within them the ſubſtances of corrupted wormes like vnto adders (but far ſhorter) whoſe creſts and wrinkles of bodie appeared alſo therein, as if they had bene ingraued in the ſtones by art and induſtrie of man. Wherefore to affirme, that as well liuing creatures, as precious ſtones, gold, &c: are now and then found in our quarries, ſhall not hereafter be a thing ſo incredible as manie talking philoſophers, void of all experience, do affirme, and wilfullie mainteine againſt ſuch as hold the contrarie.

Of ſundrie minerals.

Chap. 10.

WIth how great benefits this Iland of ours hath beene indued from the beginning, I hope there is no godlie man but will readilie confeſſe, and yeeld vnto the Lord God his due honour for the ſame. For we are bleſſed euerie waie, ꝛ there is no temporall commoditie neceſſarie to be had or traued by anie nation at Gods hand, that he hath not in moſt aboundant maner beſtowed vpon vs Engliſhmen, if we could ſee to vſe it, ꝛ be thankefull for the ſame. But alas (as I ſaid in the chapter precedent) we lone to inrich them that care not for vs, but for our great commodities: and one trifling toie not worth the cariage, cõming (as the prouerbe ſaith) in three ſhips from beyond the ſea is more worth with vs, than a right good iewell, eaſie to be had at home. They haue alſo the caſt to teach vs to neglect our owne things, for if they ſee that we begin to make anie account of our commodities (if it be ſo that they haue alſo the like in their owne countries) they will ſuddenlie abaſe the ſame to ſo low a price, that our gaine not being worthie our trauell, and the ſame commoditie with leſſe coſt readie to be had at home from other countries (though but for a while) it cauſeth vs to giue ouer our indeuours, and as it were by and by to forget the matter wherabout we went before, ſo obteine them at their hands. And this is the onelie cauſe wherefore our commodities are oft ſo little eſtæmed of. Some of them can ſaie without anie teacher, that they will buie the caſe of a for of an Engliſhman for a groat, and make him afterward giue twelue pence for the taile. Would to God we might once war wiſer, and each one indeuor that the common-wealth of England may flouriſh againe in hir old rate, and that our commodities may be ſullie forought at home (as cloth if you will for an example) and not caried out to be ſhorne and dreſſed abroad, while our clothworkers here do ſtarue and beg their bread, and for lacke of dailie practiſe vtterlie neglect to be ſkilfull in this ſcience! But to my purpoſe.

We haue in England great plentie of quicke ſiluer, antimonie, ſulphur, blacke lead, and orpiment red and yellow. We haue alſo the fineſt alume (wherein the diligence of one of the greateſt fauourers of the common-wealth of England of a ſubiect hath beene of late egregiouſlie abuſed, and euen almoſt with barbarous inciuilitie) ꝛ of no leſſe force againſt fire, if it were vſed in our parietings than that of Lipara, which onlie was in vſe ſomtime amongſt the Aſians ꝛ Romans, ꝛ wherof Sylla had ſuch triall that when he meant to haue burned a tower of wood erected by Archelaus the lieutenant of Mithridates, he could by no meanes ſet it on fire in a long time, becauſe it was waſhed ouer with alume, as were alſo the gates of the temple of Jeruſalem with like effect, and perceiued when Titus commanded fire to be put vnto the ſame. Beſide this we haue alſo the naturall cinnabarum or vermilion, the ſulphurous glebe called bitumen in old time for morter, and yet [illegible] the chryſocolla, coperis, and minerall ſtone, whereof petriolum is made, and that which is moſt ſtrange the minerall pearle, which as they are for greatneſſe and colour moſt excellent of all other, ſo are they digged out of the maine land, and in ſundrie places far diſtant from the ſhore. Certes the weſterne part of the land hath in times paſt greatlie abounded with theſe and manie other rare and excellent commodities, but now they are waſhed awaie by the violence of the ſea, which hath deuoured the greateſt part of Cornewall and Deuonſhire on either ſide: and it doth appeare yet by good record, that whereas now there is a great diſtance betweene the Syllan Iles and point of the lands end, there was of late yeares to ſpeke of ſcarſelie a broke or braine of one fadam water betweene them, if ſo much, as by thoſe euidences appeareth, and are yet to be ſeene in the hands of the lord and chiefe owner of thoſe Iles. But to proceed.

The lord Mountioy.

Of colemines we haue ſuch plentie in the north and weſterne parts of our Iland, as may ſuffice for all the realme of England: and ſo muſt they do hereafter in deed, if wood be not better cherriſhed than it is at this preſent. And to ſaie the truth, notwithſtanding that verie manie of them are caried into other countries of the maine, yet their greateſt trade beginneth now to grow from the forge into the kitchin and hall, as may appeare alreadie in moſt cities and townes that lie about the coaſt, where they haue but little other fewell, except it be turffe and haſſocke. I maruell not a little that there is no trade of theſe into Suſſex and Southhampton ſhire, for want whereof the ſmiths do worke their iron with charcoale. I thinke that far carriage be the onelie cauſe, which is but a ſlender excuſe to inforce vs to carrie them vnto the maine from hence.

Gold. Siluer.

Beſide our colemines we haue pits in like ſort of white plaſter, and of fat and white and other coloured marle, wherewith in manie places the inhabitors do compoſt their ſoile, and which doth benefit their land in ample maner for manie yeares to come. We haue ſaltpeter for our ordinance, and ſalt ſoda for our glaſſe, ꝛ thereto in one place a kind of earth (in Southerie as I weene hard by Codington, and ſometime in the tenure of one Croxton of London) which is ſo fine to make moulds for goldſmiths and caſters of mettall, that a load of it was worth fiue ſhillings thirtie yeares agone: none ſuch againe they ſaie in England. But whether there be or not, let vs not be vnthankefull to God for theſe and other his benefits

beſtowed

beſtowed vpon vs, wherby he ſheweth himſelfe a louing and mercifull father vnto vs, which contrariewiſe returne vnto him in lieu of humilitie and obedience, nothing but wickednelle, auarice, mere contempt of his will, pride, exceſſe, atheiſme, and no leſſe than Iewiſh ingratitude.

Of mettals to be had in our land.

Chap. 11.

All mettals receiue their beginning of quickſiluer and ſulphur, which are as mother and father to them. And ſuch is the purpoſe of nature in their generations: that ſhe tendeth alwaies to the procreation of gold, neuertheleſſe ſhe ſildome reacheth vnto that hir end, becauſe of the vnequall mixture and proportion of theſe two in the ſubſtance ingendered, whereby impediment and corruption is induced, which as it is more or leſſe, doth ſhew it ſelfe in the mettall that is produced. Firſt of all therefore the ſubſtance of ſulphur and quickſiluer being mixed in due proportion, after long and temperate decoction in the bowels of the earth, ouerlie ingroſſed and fixed, becommeth gold, which Engelius doth call the ſunne and right heire of nature: but if it ſwarue but a little (ſaith he) in the commixtion and other circumſtances, then doth it produce ſiluer the daughter, not ſo noble a child as gold hir brother, which among mettall is worthilie called the cheefe. Contrariwiſe, the ſubſtances of the aforeſaid parents mixed without proportion, and leſſe digeſted and fixed in the entrailes of the earth, whereby the radicall moiſture becommeth combuſtible and not of force to indure heat and hammer, doth either turne into tin, lead, copper, or iron, which were the firſt mettals knowne in time paſt vnto antiquitie, although that in theſe daies there are diuerſe other, whereof neither they nor our alchumiſts had euer anie knowledge. Of theſe therfore which are reputed among the third ſort, we here in England haue our parts, and as I call them to mind, ſo will I intreat of them, and with ſuch breuitie as may ſerue the turne, and yet not altogither omit to ſaie ſomewhat of gold and ſiluer alſo, bicauſe I find by good experience how it was not ſaid of old time without great reaſon, that all countries haue need of Britaine, and Britaine it ſelfe of none. For truelie if a man regard ſuch neceſſities as nature onelie requireth, there is no nation vnder the ſunne, that can ſaie ſo much as ours: ſith we doo want none that are conuenient for vs. Wherefore if it be a benefit to haue anie gold at all, we are not void of ſome, neither likewiſe of ſiluer: whatſoeuer Cicero affirmeth to the contrarie, *Lib. 4. ad Atticum epi. 16.* in whoſe time they were not found, *Britannici belli exitus* (ſaith he) *expectatur, conſtat enim aditus inſulæ eſſe munitos mirificis molibus: etiam illud iam cognitum eſt, neque argenti ſcrupulum eſſe vllum in illa inſula, neque vllam ſpem prædæ niſi ex mancipys, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris aut muſicis eruditos expectare.* And albeit that we haue no ſuch abundance of theſe (as ſome other countries doo yeeld) yet haue my rich countrimen ſtore inough of both in their purſſes, where in time paſt they were wont to haue leaſt, bicauſe the garniſhing of our churches, tabernacles, images, ſhrines and apparell of the prieſts conſumed the greateſt part, as experience hath confirmed.

Of late my countriemen haue found out I wot not what voiage into the weſt Indies, from whence they haue brought ſome gold, whereby our countrie is inriched: but of all that euer aduentured into thoſe parts, none haue ſped better than ſir Francis Drake whoſe ſucceſſe 1582 hath far paſſed euen his owne expectation. One Iohn Frobiſher in like maner attempting to ſeeke out a ſhorter cut by the northerlie regions into the peaceable ſea and kingdome of Cathaie, happened 1577 vpon certeine Ilands by the waie, wherein great plentie of much gold appeared, and ſo much that ſome letted not to giue out for certeintie, that Salomon had his gold from thence, wherewith he builded the temple. This golden ſhew made him ſo deſirous alſo of like ſucceſſe, that he left off his former voiage, & returned home to bring newes of ſuch things as he had ſeene. But when after another voiage it was found to be but droſſe, he gaue ouer both the enterprizes, and now keepeth home without anie deſire at all to ſeeke into farre countries. In truth, ſuch was the plentie of ore there ſeene and to be had, that if it had holden perfect, might haue furniſhed all the world with abundance of that mettall; the iorneie alſo was ſhort and performed in foure or fiue moneths, which was a notable incouragement. But to proceed.

Tin and lead, mettals which Strabo noteth in his time to be carried vnto Marſilis from hence, as Diodorus alſo confirmeth, are verie plentifull with vs, the one in Cornewall, Deuonſhire (& elſe-where in in the north) the other in Darbiſhire, Weredale, and ſundrie places of this Iland; whereby my countriemen doo reape no ſmall commoditie, but eſpeciallie our pewterers, who in time paſt imploied the vſe of pewter onelie vpon diſhes, pots, and a few other trifles for ſeruice here at home, whereas now they are growne vnto ſuch exquiſit cunning, that they can in maner imitate by infuſion anie forme or faſhion of cup, diſh, ſalt, bowle, or goblet, which is made by goldſmiths craft, though they be neuer ſo curious, exquiſite, and artificiallie forged. Such furniture of houſhold of this mettall, as we commonlie call by the name of veſſell, is ſold vſuallie by the garniſh, which doth conteine twelue platters, twelue diſhes, twelue ſaucers, and thoſe are either of ſiluer faſhion, or elſe with broade & narrow brims, and bought by the pound, which is now valued at ſix or ſeuen pence, or peraduenture at eight pence. Of porringers, pots, and other like I ſpeake not, albeit that in the making of all theſe things there is ſuch exquiſite diligence vſed, I meane for the mixture of ths mettall and true making of this commoditie (by reaſon of ſharpe laws prouided in that behalfe) as the like is not to be found in any other trade. I haue beene alſo informed that it conſiſteth of a compoſition, which hath thirtie pounds of kettle braſſe to a thouſand pounds of tin, whervnto they ad three or foure pounds of tinglaſſe: but as too much of this doth make the ſtuffe brickle, ſo the more the braſſe be, the better is the pewter, and more profitable vnto him that doth buie and purchaſe the ſame. But to proceed.

In ſome places beyond the ſea a garniſh of good flat Engliſh pewter of an ordinarie making (I ſaie flat, bicauſe diſhes and platters in my time begin to be made deepe like baſons, and are indeed more conuenient both for ſawce, broth, and keeping the meat warme) is eſteemed almoſt ſo pretious, as the like number of veſſels that are made of fine ſiluer, and in maner no leſſe deſired amongſt the great eſtates, whoſe workmen are nothing ſo ſkilfull in that trade as ours, neither their mettall ſo good, nor plentie ſo great, as we haue here in England. The Romans made excellent looking glaſſes of our Engliſh tin, howbeit our workemen were not then ſo exquiſite in that feat as the Bzunduſiens: wherefore the wrought mettall was carried ouer vnto them by waie of merchandize, and verie highlie were thoſe glaſſes

eſteemed

Gold. Siluer. Tin. Lead.

eſtéemed of till ſiluer came generallie in place, which in the end brought the tin into ſuch contempt, that in manner euerie diſhwaſher refuſed to looke in other than ſiluer glaſſes for the attiring of hir head. Howbeit the making of ſiluer glaſſes had béene in vſe before Britaine was knowne vnto the Romans, for I read that one Prariteles deuiſed them in the yoong time of Pompeie, which was before the comming of Cæſar into this Iland.

There were mines of lead ſometimes alſo in Wales, which indured ſo long till the people had conſumed all their wood by melting of the ſame (as they did alſo at Comeriſk with ſir miles from Stradfleur) and I ſuppoſe that in Plinies time the abundance of lead (whereof he ſpeaketh) was to be found in thoſe parts, in the ſeauenteenth of his thirtie fourth booke: alſo he affirmeth that it laie in the verie ſwart of the earth, and dailie gotten in ſuch plentie, that the Romans made a reſtraint of the cariage thereof to Rome, limiting how much ſhould yearelie be wrought and tranſported ouer the ſea. And here by the waie it is worthie to be noted, of a crow which a miner of tin, dwelling néere Comeriſk with (as Leland ſaith) had made ſo tame, that it would dailie flie and follow him to his worke and other places where ſoeuer he happened to trauell. This labourer working on a time in the bottome or vallie, where the firſt mine was knowne to be, did laie his purſe and girdle by him, as men commonlie doo that addreſſe themſelues to aplie their buſineſſe earneſtlie, and he himſelfe alſo had vſed from time to time before. The crow likewiſe was verie buſie flittering about him, and ſo much moleſted him, that he waxed angrie with the bird, & in his furie threatened to wring off his necke, if he might once get him into his hands; to be ſhort, in the end the crow haſtilie caught vp his girdle and purſe, and made awaie withall ſo faſt as hir wings could carrie hir. Héere vpon the poore man falling into great agonie (for he feared to loſe peradventure all his monie) threw downe his mattocke at aduenture and ran after the bird, curſſing and menacing that he ſhould loſe his life if euer he got him againe: but as it fell out, the crow was the meanes whereby his life was ſaued, for he had not béene long out of the mine, yer it fell downe and killed all his fellowes. If I ſhould take vpon me to diſcourſe and ſearch out the cauſe of the thus dealing of this bird at large, I ſhould peraduenture ſet my ſelfe further into the briers than well find which waie to come out againe: yet am I perſuaded, that the crow was Gods inſtrument herein, wherby the life of this poore labourer was preſerued. It was done alſo in an other order than that which I read of another tame crow, kept vp by a ſhoomaker of Dutch land in his ſhop or ſtoue: who ſéeing the ſame to ſit vpon the pearch among his ſhoone, verie beautifie and drouſie, ſaid vnto the bird: What aileth my iacke, whie art thou ſad and penſiue? The crow hearing his maiſter ſpeake after this ſort vnto him, anſwered (or elſe the diuell within him) out of the pſalter: *Cogitaui dies antiquos & æternos in mente habui*. But whither am I digreſſed, from lead vnto crowes, & from crowes vnto diuels? Certes it is now high time to returne vnto our mettals, and reſume the tractation of ſuch things as I had earſt in hand.

Iron. Iron is found in manie places, as in Suſſex, Kent, Weredale, Mendip, Walſhall, as alſo in Shropſhire, but chéeflie in the woods betwixt Beluos and Willocke or Wicberie néere Manchéſter, and elſewhere in Wales. Of which mines diuerſe doo bring forth ſo fine and good ſtuffe, as anie that commeth from beyond the ſea, beſide the infinit gaines to the owners, if we would ſo accept it, or beſtow a little more coſt in the refining of it. It is alſo of ſuch toughneſſe, that it yéeldeth to the making of clarichord wire in ſome places of the realme. Neuertheleſſe, it was better cheape with vs when ſtrangers onelie brought it hither: for it is our qualitie when we get anie commoditie, to vſe it with extremitie towards our owne nation, after we haue once found the meanes to ſhut out forreners from the bringing in of the like. It breedeth in like manner great expenſe and waſte of wood, as doth the making of our pots and table veſſell of glaſſe, wherein is much loſſe ſith it is ſo quicklie broken; and yet (as I thinke) eaſie to be made tougher, if our alchumiſts could once find the true birth or production of the red man, whoſe mixture would induce a metallicall toughneſſe vnto it, whereby it ſhould abide the hammer.

Goat.

Laon. Chalcho vtie.

Copper. Copper is latelie not found, but rather reſtored againe to light. For I haue read of copper to haue béene heretofore gotten in our Iland; howbeit as ſtrangers haue moſt commonlie the gouernance of our mines, ſo they hitherto make ſmall gains of this in hand in the north parts: for (as I am informed) the profit doth verie hardlie countervaile the charges; whereat wiſe men doo not a litle marueil, conſidering the abundance which that mine doth ſéeme to offer, and as it were at hand. Iland our countrieman noteth ſundrie great aſſelihods of naturall copper mines to be eaſtwards, as betwéene Dudman and Trewarroth in the ſea cliffes, beſide other places, where diuerſe are noted here and there in ſundrie places of this booke alreadie, and therefore it ſhall be but in vaine to repeat them here againe: as for that which is gotten out of the marchaſite, I ſpeake not of it, ſith it is not incident to my purpoſe. In Dorſetſhire alſo a copper mine latelie found is brought to good perfection.

Steele. As for our ſteéle, it is not ſo good for edge-tooles as that of Colaine, and yet the one is often ſold for the other, and like tale vſed in both, that is to ſaie, thirtie gads to the ſheffe, and twelue ſheffes to the burden. Our alchumie is artificiall, and thereof our ſpones and ſome ſalts are commonlie made, and preferred before our pewter with ſome, albeit in truth it be much ſubiect to corruption, putrifaction, more heauie and foule to handle than our pewter; yet ſome ignorant perſons affirme it to be a mettall more naturall, and the verie ſame which Encelius calleth *Plumbum cinereum*, the Germans, wiſemute, mithan, & counterfeie, adding, that where it groweth, ſiluer can not be farre off. Neuertheleſſe it is knowne to be a mixture of braſſe, lead, and tin (of which this latter occupieth the one halfe) but after another proportion than is vſed in pewter. But alas I am perſuaded that neither the old Arabians, nor new alchumiſts of our time did euer heare of it, albeit that the name thereof doo ſéeme to come out of their forge. For the common ſort indeed doo call it alchumie, an vnwholſome mettall (God wot) and worthie to be baniſhed and driuen out of the land. And thus I conclude with this diſcourſe, as hauing no more to ſaie of the mettals of my countrie, except I ſhould talke of braſſe, bell mettall, and ſuch as are brought ouer for merchandize from other countries: and yet I can not but ſaie that there is ſome braſſe found alſo in England, but ſo ſmall is the quantitie, that it is not greatlie to be eſtéemed or accounted of.

Of

Of pretious ſtones.

Chap. 12.

THe old writers remember few other ſtones of eſtimation to be found in this Iland than that which we call geat, and they in Latine *Gagates:* whereunto furthermore they aſcribe ſundrie properties, as vſuallie practiſed here in times paſt, whereof none of our writers do make anie mention at all. Howbeit whatſoeuer it hath pleaſed a number of ſtrangers (vpon falſe ſurmiſe) to write of the vſages of this our countrie, about the triall of the virginitie of our maidens by drinking the powder hereof againſt the time of their beſtowing in marriage: certeine it is that euen to this date there is ſome plentie to be had of this commoditie in Darbiſhire and about Warwike, whereof rings, ſalts, ſmall cups, and ſundrie triſling toies are made, although that in manie mens opinions nothing ſo fine as that which is brought ouer by merchants dailie from the maine. But as theſe men are drowned with the common errour conceiued of our nation, ſo I am ſure that in diſcerning the price and value of things, no man now liuing can go beyond the iudgement of the old Romans, who preferred the geat of Britaine before the like ſtones bred about Luke and all other countries whereſoeuer. Marbodeus Gallus alſo writing of the ſame among other of eſtimation, ſaith thus:

Geat.

Lyon. Chalchonitis.

Naſcitur in Lycia lapis & propè gemma Gagates,
Sed genus eximium fœcunda Britannia mittit,
Lucidus & niger eſt, leuis & leuiſſimus idem,
Vicinas paleas trahit attritu calefactus,
Ardet aqua lotus, reſtinguitur vnctus oliuo.

The Germane writers confound it with amber as if it were a kind therof: but as I regard not their iudgement in this point, ſo I read that it taketh name of Gagas a citie and riuer in Silicia, where it groweth in plentifull maner, as Dioſcorides ſaith. Nicander in Theriaca calleth it Engangin and Gangitin, of the plentie thereof that is found in the place aforeſaid, which he calleth Ganges, and where they haue great vſe of it in driuing awaie of ſerpents by the onelie perfume thereof. Charles the fourth emperour of that name glaſed the church withall that ſtandeth at the fall of Tangra, but I cannot imagine what light ſhould enter therby. The writers alſo diuide this ſtone into fiue kinds, of which the one is in colour like vnto lion tawnie, another ſtraked with white veines, the third with yellow lines, the fourth is garled with diuerſe colours, among which ſome are like drops of bloud (but thoſe come out of Inde) and the fift ſhining blacke as anie rauens feather.

Moreouer, as geat was one of the firſt ſtones of this Ile, whereof anie forren account was made, ſo our pearles alſo did match with it in renowme: in ſo much that the onelie deſire of them cauſed Cæſar to aduenture hither, after he had ſeene the quantities and heard of our plentie of them, while he abode in France, and whereof he made a tabard which he offered vp in Rome to Venus, where it hong long after as a rich and notable oblation and teſtimonie of the riches of our countrie. Certes they are to be found in theſe our daies, and thereto of diuerſe colours, in no leſſe numbers than euer they were in old time. Yet are they not now ſo much deſired bicauſe of their ſmalneſſe, and alſo for other cauſes, but eſpeciallie ſith church worke, as copes, veſtments, albes, tunicles, altarclothes, canopies, and ſuch traſh, are worthilie aboliſhed; vpon which our countrimen ſuperſtitiouſly beſtowed no ſmall quantities of them. For I thinke there were few churches or religious houſes, beſides biſhops miters, bookes and other pontificall veſtures, but were either throughlie fretted, or notablie garniſhed with huge numbers of them. Marbodeus likewiſe ſpeaking of pearles, commendeth them after this maner:

Gignit & inſignes antiqua Britannia baccas, &c.

Marcellinus alſo Lib. 23, *in ipſo fine*, ſpeaketh of our pearls and their generation, but he preferreth greatlie thoſe of Perſia before them, which to me doth ſeeme vnequallie done. But as the Britiſh geat or orient pearle were in old time eſteemed aboue thoſe of other countries; ſo time hath ſince the conqueſt of the Romans reuealed manie other: inſomuch that at this ſeaſon there are found in England the Aetites (in Engliſh called the erneſtone, but for erne ſome pronounce eagle) and the hematite or bloodſtone, and theſe verie pure and excellent: alſo the calcedonie, the porphyrite, the chriſtall, and thoſe other which we call calaminares and ſpeculares, beſides a kind of diamond or adamant, which although it be verie faire to ſight, is yet much ſofter (as moſt are that are found & bred toward the north) than thoſe that are brought hither out of other countries. We haue alſo vpon our coaſt the white coral, nothing inferiour to that which is found beyond the ſea in the albe, nere to the fall of Tangra, or to the red and blacke, whereof Dioſcorides intreateth, Lib. 5. cap. 8. We haue in like ſort ſundrie other ſtones dailie found in cliffes and rocks (beſide the load ſtone which is oftentimes taken vp out of our mines of iron) whereof ſuch as find them haue either no knowledge at all, or elſe do make but ſmall account, being ſeduced by outlandiſh lapidaries, whereof the moſt part diſcourage vs from the ſearching and ſeeking out of our owne commodities, to the end that they maie haue the more free vtterance of their naturall and artificiall wares, whereby they get great gaines amongſt ſuch as haue no ſkill.

I haue heard that the beſt triall of a ſtone is to laie it on the naile of the thombe, and ſo to go abroad into the cleare light, where if the colour hold in all places a like, the ſtone is thought to be naturall and good: but if it alter, eſpeciallie toward the naile, then is it not ſound, but rather to be taken for an artificiall peece of practiſe. If this be true it is an experiment worthie the noting. Cardan alſo hath it in his *De ſubtilitate*; if not, I haue read more lies than this, as one for example out of Cato, who ſaieth, that a cup of iuie will hold no wine at all. I haue made ſome veſſels of the ſame wood, which refuſe no kind of liquor, and therefore I ſuppoſe that there is no ſuch Antipathia betweene wine and our iuie, as ſome of our reading philoſophers (without all maner of practiſe) will ſeeme to infer amongſt vs: and yet I denie not but the iuie of Greece or Italie may haue ſuch a propertie; but why ſhould not the iuie then of France ſomewhat participat withall in the like effect, which groweth in an hotter ſoile than ours is? For as Baptiſta porta ſaith, it holdeth not alſo in the French iuie, wherefore I can not beleeue that it hath anie ſuch qualitie at all as Cato aſcribeth vnto it. What ſhould I ſay more of ſtones? Trulie I can not tell, ſith I haue ſaid what I may alreadie, and peraduenture more than I thinke neceſſarie: and that cauſeth me to paſſe ouer thoſe that are now & then taken out of our oiſters, todes, muſkels, ſnailes and adders, and likewiſe ſuch as are found vpon ſundrie hils in Glocеſterſhire, which haue naturallie ſuch ſundrie proportions, formes & colours in them, as paſſe all humane poſſibilitie to imitate, be the workeman neuer ſo

Triall of a ſtone.

Lib. 7.

ſkilfull and cunning, alſo thoſe that are found in the heads of our perches and carps much deſired of ſuch as haue the ſtone, & yet of themſelues are no ſtones but rather ſhels or griſſles, which in time conſume to nothing. This yet will I ad, that if thoſe which are found in muſkels (for I am vtterlie ignorant of the generation of pearls) be good pearle in deed, I haue at ſundrie times gathered more than an ounce of them, of which diuerſe haue holes alreadie entered by nature, ſome of them not much inferiour to great reaſon in quantitie, and thereto of ſundrie colours, as it happeneth amongſt ſuch as are brought from the eſterlie coaſt to Saffron Walden in Lent, when for want of flesh, ſtale ſtinking fiſh and welked muſkels are thought to be good meat; for other fiſh is to deere amongſt vs when law doth bind vs to vſe it. See more for the generation of pearls in the deſcription of Scotland, for there you ſhall be further informed out of Boetius in that behalfe. They are called orient, becauſe of the cleereneſſe, which reſembleth the colour of the cleere aire before the riſing of the ſun. They are alſo ſought for in the later end of Auguſt, a little before which time the ſweetneſſe of the dew is moſt conuenient for that kind of fiſh, which doth ingender and conceiue them, whoſe forme is flat, and much like vnto a lempet. The further north alſo that they be found the brighter is their colour, & their ſubſtances of better valure, as lapidaries do giue out.

Of ſalt made in England.

Chap. 13.

THere are in England certein welles where ſalt is made, whereof Leland hath written abundantlie in his cõmentaries of Britaine, and whoſe words onlie I will ſet downe in Engliſh as he wrote them, becauſe he ſeemeth to haue had diligent conſideration of the ſame, without adding anie thing of mine owne to him, except it be where neceſſitie doth inforce me for the meere aid of the reader, in the vnderſtanding of his mind. Directing therefore his iournie from Worceſter in his peregrination and laborious trauell ouer England, he ſaith thus: From Worceſter I road to the Wich by incloſed ſoile, hauing meetlie good corne ground, ſufficient wood and good paſture, about a ſir miles off, Wich ſtandeth ſomewhat in a vallie or low ground, betwixt two ſmall hils on the left ripe (for ſo he calleth the banke of euerie broke through out all his Engliſh treatiſes) of a pretie riuer which not far beneath the Wich is called Salope broke. The beautie of the towne in maner ſtandeth in one ſtreet, yet be there manie lanes in the towne beſides. There is alſo a meane church in the maine ſtreet, and once in the weeke an indifferent round market. The towne of it ſelfe is ſomewhat foule and durtie when anie raine falleth by reaſon of much cariage through the ſtreets, which are verie ill paued or rather not paued at all. The great aduancement alſo hereof is by making of ſalt. And though the commoditie thereof be ſingular great, yet the burgeſſes be more generallie, becauſe gentlemen haue for the moſt part gotten the great gaine of it into their hands, whileſt the poore burgeſſes yeeld vnto all the labour. There are at this preſent time three hundred ſalters, and three ſalt ſprings in the towne of Wich, whereof the principall is within a butſhot of the right ripe (or banke) of the riuer that there commeth downe: and this ſpring is double ſo profitable in yeelding of ſalt liquor, as both the other. Some ſaie (or rather fable) that this ſalt ſpring did faile in the time of Richard de la Wich biſhop of Chicheſter, and that afterwards by his interceſſion it was reſtored to the profit of the old courſe (ſuch is the ſuperſtition of the people) in remembrance whereof, or peraduenture for the zeale which the Wich men and ſalters did beare vnto Richard de la Wich their countriman, they vſed of late times on his daie (which commeth once in the yeare) to hang this ſalt ſpring or well about with tapiſtrie, and to haue ſundrie games, drinkings, and ſolish reuels at it. But to proceed. There be a great number of ſalt cotes about this well, wherein the ſalt water is ſodden in leads, and brought to the perfection of pure white ſalt. The other two ſalt ſprings be on the left ſide of the riuer a pretie waie lower than the firſt, and (as I found) at the veris end of the towne. At theſe alſo be diuerſe fornaces to make ſalt, but the profit and plentie of theſe two are nothing comparable to the gaine that riſeth by the greateſt. I aſked of a ſalter how manie fornaces they had at all the three ſprings, and he numbred them to eightéene ſcore, that is, three hundred and ſirtie, ſaieng how euerie one of them paied yearelie ſir ſhillings and eight pence to the king. The truth is that of old they had liberties giuen vnto them for three hundred fornaces or more, and therevpon they giue a fee farme (or Vectigal) of one hundred pounds yearelie. Certes the penſion is as it was, but the number of fornaces is now increaſed to foure hundred. There was of late ſearch made for another ſalt ſpring there abouts, by the meanes of one Newport a gentleman dwelling at the Wich, and the place where it was appéereth, as doth alſo the wood and timber which was ſet about it, to keepe vp the earth from falling into the ſame. But this pit was not ſince occupied, whether it were for lacke of plentie of the ſalt ſpring, or for letting or hindering of the profit of the other three. We thinke that if wood and ſale of ſalt would ſerue, they might dig and find more ſalt ſprings about the Wich than three, but there is ſomewhat elſe in the wind. For I heard that of late yeares a ſalt ſpring was found in an other quarter of Worceſterſhire, but it grew to be without anie vſe, ſith the Wich men haue ſuch a priuilege, that they alone in thoſe quarters ſhall haue the making of ſalt. The pits be ſo ſet about with gutters, that the ſalt water is eaſilie turned to euerie mans houſe, and at Nantwich verie manie troughs go ouer the riuer for the commoditie of ſuch as dwell on the other ſide of the ſame. They ſeeth alſo their ſalt water in fornaces of lead, and lade out the ſalt ſome in caſes of wicker, through which the water drayneth, and the ſalt remaineth. There be alſo two or three but verie little ſalt ſprings at Dertwitch, in a low bottome, where ſalt is ſometime made.

Of late alſo a mile from Cumbremere abbaie a peece of an hill did ſinke, and in the ſame pit roſe a ſpring of ſalt water, where the abbat began to make ſalt; but the men of the citie compounded with the abbat & conuent that there ſhould be none made there, whereby the pit was ſuffered to go to loſſe. And although it yéelded ſalt water ſtill of it ſelfe, yet it was ſpoiled at the laſt and filled vp with filth. The Wich men vſe the cõmoditie of their ſalt ſprings in drawing and decocting the water of them onlie by ſir moneths in the yeare, that is, from Midſummer to Chriſtmas, as (I geſſe) to mainteine the price of ſalt, or for ſauing of wood, which I thinke to be their principall reaſon. For making of ſalt is a great and notable deſtruction of wood, and ſhall be greater hereafter, except ſome prouiſion be made for the better increaſe of firing. The lacke of wood alſo is alreadie perceiued in places neere the Wich, for whereas they vſed to buie and take their wood neere vnto their occupi-

other catcheth the birds, as we maie ſe in batſowling.

Priuileges doo ſometimes harme.

A common plague in all things of anie great commoditie, for one beateth the buſh but an-

occupiengs, thoſe wonted ſpringes are now decaied, and they be inforced to ſeke their wood ſo far as Worceſter towne, and all the parts about Wrenſgraue, Alchirch, and Alceſter. I aſked a ſalter how much wood he ſuppoſed yearelie to be ſpent at theſe fornaces: and he anſwered that by eſtimation there was conſumed about ſix thouſand load, and it was round pole wood for the moſt, which is eaſie to be cleft, and handſomelie riuen in peeces. The people that are about the fornaces are verie ill coloured, and the iuſt rate of euerie fornace is to make foure loads of ſalt pearelie, and to euerie load goeth fiue or ſix quarters as they make their accounts. If the fornace men make more in one fornace than foure loads, it is (as it is ſaid) imploied to their owne auaile. And thus much hath Leland left in memorie of our white ſalt, who in an other booke, not now in my hands, hath touched the making alſo of baie ſalt in ſome part of our countrie. But ſith that booke is deliuered againe to the owner, the tractation of baie ſalt can not be framed in anie order, bicauſe my memorie will not ſerue to ſhew the true maner and the place. It ſhall ſuffice therfore to haue giuen ſuch notice of it, to the end the reader may know that aſwell the baie as white are wrought and made in England, and more white alſo vpon the weſt coaſt toward Scotland, in Eſſex and elſe where, out of the ſalt water betweene Wire and Cokermouth, which commonlie is of like price with our wheat. Finallie, hauing thus intermedled our artificiall ſalt with our minerals, let vs giue ouer, and go in hand with ſuch mettals as are growing here in England.

Of our accompt of time & hir parts.

Chap. 14.

AS *Libra* is *As* or *Aſſis* to the Romans for their weight, and the foot in ſtandard meaſure: ſo in our accompt of the parts of time, we take the daie conſiſting of foure and twentie houres, to be the greateſt of the leaſt, and leaſt of the greateſt, whereby we keepe our reckoning: for of the houre (to ſaie the truth) the moſt ancient Romans, Greeks, nor Hebrues had anie vſe; ſith they reckoned by watches: and whereof alſo Cenſorinus cap. 19. ſheweth a reaſon wherefore they were neglected. For my part I doo not ſee anie great difference vſed in the obſeruation of time & hir parts, betweene our owne & any other forren nation, wherfore I ſhall not need to ſtand long on this matter. Howbeit to the end our exact order herein ſhall appere vnto all men, I will ſet downe ſome ſhort rehearſall thereof, and that in ſo briefe manner as vnto me is poſſible. As for our aſtronomicall practiſes, I meane not to meddle with them, ſith their courſe is vniformelie obſerued ouer all. Our common order therefore is to begin at the minut, which conteineth ½ part of an houre, as at the ſmalleſt part of time knowne vnto the people, notwithſtanding that in moſt places they deſcend no lower than the halfe quarter or quarter of the houre; and from whence they proceed vnto the houre, to wit, the foure and twentith part of that which we call the common and naturall daie, which doth begin at midnight, and is obſerued continuallie by clockes, dialles, and aſtronomicall inſtruments of all ſorts. The artificiall varietie of which kind of ware is ſo great here in England, as no place elſe (in mine opinion) can be comparable therein to this Ile. I will not ſpeake of the coſt beſtowed vpon them in perle and ſtone, neither of the value of mettall, whereof they haue beene made, as gold, ſiluer, &c: and almoſt no abbeie or religious houſe without ſome of them. This onelie ſhall ſuffice to note here (as by the waie) that as antiquitie hath delighted in theſe things, ſo in our time pompe and exceſſe ſpendeth all, and nothing is regarded that bringeth in no bread. Of vnequall or temporall houres or daies, our nation hath no regard, and therefore to ſhew their quantities, differences, and diuiſions, into the greater and the leſſer, (whereof the later conteineth one vnequall houre, or the riſing of halfe a ſigne, the other of a whole ſigne, which is in two houres ſpace, wherof Marke ſeemeth to ſpeake cap. 15 c 25, as the reſt of the euangeliſts (yea and he alſo ibid. verſ. 33) doo of the other, Matth. 27 e 45 Luke 23 e 44, John 19 b 14) it ſhould be but in vaine. In like ſort, whereas the elder Aegyptians, Italians, Bohemians, latter Atheniens, and Iewes begin their daie at the ſun ſet ouer night; the Perſians, Babylonians, Grecians, and Nouibergians, at the ſun riſing (ech of them accompting their daies and nights by vnequall houres) alſo the elder Atheniens, Arabians, Dutchmen, Umbers, Hetrurians, and Aſtronomers at high noone, and ſo reckon from noone to noone: we after Hipparchus and the latter Aegyptians, or to ſpeake more properlie, imitating the Roman maner vſed in the church there of long time, chooſe the verie point of midnight; from whence we accompt twelue equall houres vnto midnight inſuing, and other twelue againe vnto the aforeſaid point, according to theſe verſes;

Manè diem Græca gens incipit aſtra ſequentes
In medio lucis Iudæis veſpere ſancta,
Inchoat eccleſia media ſua tempora nocte.

And this is our generall order for the naturall daie. Of the artificiall we make ſo farre accompt, as that we reckon it daie when the ſun is vp, and night when the ſun leaueth our horizon. Otherwiſe alſo we diuide it into two parts, that is to ſaie, fore noone and after noone, not regarding the ruddie, ſhining, burning and warming ſeaſons (of three vnequall houres a peece, which others ſeeme to diuide into ſpring time, ſummer, autumne, and winter, in like curious manner) and whereof I read theſe verſes:

Solis equi lucis dicuntur quatuor horæ,
Hæc rubet, hæc ſplendet, hæc calet, illa tepet.

Indeed our phyſicians haue another partition of the daie, as men of no leſſe learning no doubt than the beſt of forren countries, if we could ſo conceiue of them. And herein they concurre alſo with thoſe of other nations, who for diſtinction in regiment of our humors, diuide the artificiall daie and night in ſuch wiſe as theſe verſes do import, and are indeed a generall rule which ech of them doth follow:

Tres lucis primas, noctis tres ſanguinis imas,
Vis choleræ medias lucis ſex vendicat horas.
Dátque melam primas noctis, tres lucis & imas,
Centrales ponas ſex noctis phlegmatis horas.

Orthus, as Tanſteter hath giuen them forth in his prælections:

A nona noctis donec ſit tertia lucis,
Eſt dominus ſanguis, ſex inde ſequentibus horis
Eſt dominans cholera, dum lucis nona ſit hora
Poſt niger humid ineſt donec ſit tertia noctis,
Poſt hæc phlegma venit, donec ſit nona quietis.

In Engliſh thus in effect:

Three houres yer ſun doo riſe,
and ſo manie after, bluid,
From nine to three at after noone,
hot choler beares the ſwaie,
Euen ſo to nine at night,
ſwart choler hath to rule,
As phlegme from thence to three at morne;
ſix houres ech one I ſaie.

In

Night. In like ſort for the night we haue none other parts than the twilight, darkenight, midnight, and cocks crowing: wher as the Latins diuide the ſame into 7 parts, as *Veſper* or *Veſperugo*, as Plautus calleth it, as Virgil vſeth the word *Heſper* the euening, which is immediatlie after the ſetting of the ſun. *Crepuſculum* the twilight (which ſome call *Prima fax*, becauſe men begin then to light candles) when it is betweene daie and night, light and darkeneſſe, or properlie neither daie nor night. *Concubium* the ſtill of the night, when ech one is laid to reſt. *Intempeſtum*, the dull or dead of the night, which is midnight, when men be in their firſt or dead ſléepe. *Gallicinium*, the cocks crowing. *Conticinium*, when the cocks haue left crowing. *Matutinum*, the breach of the daie, and *Diluculum ſiue aurora*, the ruddie, orenge, golden or ſhining colour, ſéene immediatlie before the riſing of the ſun, and is oppoſite to the euening, as *Matutinum* is to the twilight.

Veſper. *Crepuſculum.* *Concubium.* *Intempeſtum.* *Gallicinium.* *Conticinium.* *Matutinum.* *Diluculum.*

Watches. Other there are which doo reckon by watches, diuiding the night after ſun ſetting into foure equall parts. Of which the firſt beginneth at euening called the firſt watch, and continueth by three vnequall houres, and ſo forth vntill the end of the ninth houre, whereat the fourth watch entreth, which is called the morning watch, becauſe it concurreth partlie with the darke night, and partlie with the morning and breach of the daie before the riſing of the ſun.

Houre. As for the originall of the word houre, it is verie ancient; but yet not ſo old as that of the watch, whereof we ſhall read abundantlie in the ſcriptures, which was deuiſed firſt among ſouldiors for their better ſafegard and change of watchmen in their camps; the like whereof is almoſt vſed among our ſeafaring men, which they call clearing of the glaſſe, and performed from time to time with great héed and ſome ſolennitie. Herevnto the word *Hora* among the Grecians ſignified ſo well the foure quarters of the yéere, as the foure and twentith part of the daie, and limits of anie forme: But what ſtand I vpon theſe things to let my purpoſe ſtaie? To proceéd therefore.

Wéeke. Of naturall daies is the wéeke compacted, which conſiſteth of ſeauen of them, the fridaie being commonlie called among the vulgar ſort either king or worling, becauſe it is either the faireſt or foulеſt of the ſeauen: albeit that I cannot gheſſe of anie reaſon whie they ſhould ſo imagine. The firſt of theſe entreth with mondaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that we reſt vpon the ſundaie, which is the ſeauenth in number, as almightie God hath commanded in his word. The Iews begin their wéeke vpon our ſaturdaie at the ſetting of the ſun: and the Turks in theſe daies with the ſaturdaie, whereby it commeth to paſſe, that as the Iews make our laſt daie the firſt of their wéeke, ſo the Turks make the Iewiſh ſabaoth the beginning of their *Hebdoma*: becauſe Mahomet their prophet (as they ſaie) was borne and dead vpon the fridaie, and ſo he was indéed, except their Alcharon deceiue them. The Iews doo reckon their daies by their diſtance from their ſabaoth, ſo that the firſt daie of their wéeke is the firſt daie of the ſabaoth, and ſo forth vnto the ſixt. The Latins and Aegyptians accompted their daies after the ſeauen planets, chooſing the ſame for the denominator of the daie, that entreth his regiment with the firſt vnequall houre of the ſame after the ſun be riſen. Howbeit, as this order is not wholie reteined with vs, ſo the vſe of the ſame is not yet altogither aboliſhed, as may appéere by our ſunday, mondaie, and ſaturdaie. The reſt were changed by the Saxons, who in remembrance of Theut ſometime their prince, called the ſecond day of the wéek Theutſdach, the third Woden, Othin, Othon, or Edon, or Wodenſdach. Alſo of Thor they named the fourth daie Thorſdach, and of Frea wife to Woden the fift was called Freadach. Albeit there are (and not amiſſe as I thinke) that ſuppoſe them to meane by Thor, Iupiter, by Woden, Mercurie, by Frea (or Frigga as Saxo calleth hir) Uenus, and finallie by Theut, Mars: which if it be ſo, then it is an eaſie matter to find out the german Mars, Uenus, Mercurie, and Iupiter, whereof you may read more hereafter in my chronologie. The truth is, that Frea albeit that Saxo giueth hir ſcant a good report, for that ſhe loued one of hir huſbands men better than himſelfe, had ſeauen ſonnes by Woden; the firſt, father to Werca, of whome deſcended thoſe that were afterwards kings of Kent. Fethelgeta was the ſecond, and of him came the kings of Mercia. Baldaie the third, father to the kings of the weſt Saxons. Beldagius the fourth, parent to the kings of Bzenicia or Northumberland. Weogodach the fift, author of the kings of Deira. Caſer the firſt race of the eaſt Angle race, & Naſcad originall burgeant of the kings of Eſſex. As for the kings of Suſſex, although they were of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame ſtreine, as our old monuments doo erpreſſe. But to proceéd.

As certeine of our daies ſuffered this alteration by the Saxons, ſo in our churches we reteined for a long time the number of daies or * feries from the ſabaoth, after the manner of the Iews, I meane vntill the ſeruice after the Romane vſe was aboliſhed, which cuſtome was firſt receiued (as ſome thinke) by pope Syluеſter, though other ſaie by Conſtantine; albeit another ſort doo affirme, that Syluеſter cauſed the ſundaie onelie to be called the Lords day, and dealt not with the reſt. * Feriæ.

Moneth. In like maner of wéekes our moneths are made, which are ſo called of the mone, each one conteining eight and twentie daies, or foure wéekes, without anie further curioſitie. For we reckon not our time by the yeare of the mone, as the Iews, Grecians, or Romans did at the firſt; or as the Turks, Arabians and Perſians doo now: neither anie parcell thereof by the ſaid planet, as in ſome part of the weſt Indies, where they haue neither wéeke, moneth, nor yéere, but onlie a generall accompt of hundreds and thouſands of mones. Wherefore if we ſaie or write a moneth, it is to be expounded of eight and twentie daies, or foure wéeks onelie, and not of hir vſuall period of nine and twentie daies and one and thirtie minuts. Or (if you take it at large) for a moneth of the common calender, which neuertheleſſe in plées and ſutes is nothing at all allowed of, ſith the mone maketh hir full reuolution in eight and twentie daies or foure wéeks, that is, vnto the place where ſhe left the ſun: notwithſtanding that he be now gone, and at hir returne not to be found verie often in that ſigne wherin ſhe before had left him. Plutarch writeth of diuers barbarous nations which reckoned a more or leſſe number of theſe moneths for whole yeares: and that of theſe ſome accompted but three, as the Archadians did foure, the Acarnans ſix, and the Aegyptians but one for a whole yeare, which cauſeth them to make ſuch a large accompt of their antiquitie and originall. But forſomuch as we are not troubled with anie ſuch diſorder, it ſhall ſuffice that I haue generallie ſaid of moneths and their quantities at this time. Now a word or two of the ancient Romane calender. *Trithemius in Antartico.*

In old time each moneth of the Romane calender was reckoned after the courſe of the mone, and their enterances were vncerteine, as were alſo the changes of that planet: whereby it came to paſſe, that the daie of the change was the firſt of the moneth, howſoeuer it fell out. But after Julius Ceſar had once corrected the ſame, the ſeuerall beginnings of euerie one of them did not onelie remaine fixed, but

but alſo the old order in the diuiſion of their parts continued ſtill vnaltered: ſo that the moneth is yet diuided as before, into calends, ides and nones, albeit that in my daies, the vſe of the ſame bée but ſmall, and their order reteined onelie in our calenders, for the better vnderſtanding of ſuch times, as the hiſtoriographers and old authors do remember. The reckoning alſo of each of theſe goeth (as you ſée) after a prepoſterous order, whereby the Romans did rather note how many daies were to the nert change from the precedent, than contrariwiſe, as by peruſall of the ſame you ſhall more eaſilie perceiue.

The daies alſo of the change of the moneth of the moone, are called *Calendæ*, which in time of paganiſme were conſecrated to Iuno, and ſacrifice made to that goddeſſe on the ſame. On theſe daies alſo, and on the ides and nones they would not marie. Likewiſe the morow after each of them were called *Dies atri*, blacke daies, as were alſo diuerſe other, and thoſe either by reaſon of ſome notable ouerthrow or miſhap that befell vnto the Romans vpon thoſe daies, or in reſpect of ſome ſuperſtitious imagination conceiued of euill ſucceſſe likelie to fall out vpon the ſame. Of ſome they were called *Dies Aegyptiaci*. Wherby it appeareth that this peeuiſh eſtimation of theſe daies came from that nation. And as we do note our holie and feſtiuall daies with red letters in our calenders, ſo did the Romans their principall feaſts & circle of the moone, either in red or golden letters, and their victories in white, in their publike or conſularie tables. This alſo is more to be added, that if anie good ſucceſſe happened afterward vpon ſuch day as was alreadie blacke in their calender, they would ſolemnlie enter it in white letters by racing out of the blacke, whereby the blacke daie was turned into white, and wherein they not a little reioiſed.

The word *Calendæ* (in Greéke *Neomenia*) is deriued of *Calo*, to call: for vpon the firſt day of euerie moneth, the prieſt vſed to call the people of the citie and countrie togither in Calabria, for ſo the place was called where they met, and ſhew them by a cuſtome how manie daies were from the ſaid calends to the nones, & what feaſts were to be celebrated betweéne that and the nert change. Their order is retrograde, becauſe that after the moneth was halfe expired, or the moone paſt the full, they reckoned by the daies to come vntill the nert change, as ſeuenteéne daies, ſixteéne daies, fourteéne daies, &c: as the Greékes did in the latter decad onelie, for they had no vſe of calends. The verie day therefore of the change is called *Calendæ*, dedicated to Iuno, who thereof was alſo called *Calendaris*. At the firſt alſo the faſts or feaſt daies were knowne by none other meanes vnto the people but by the denunciation of the prieſts (as I ſaid) vpon this daie, till Flauius Scriba cauſed them to be written & publiſhed in their common calenders, contrarie to the will and meaning of the ſenat, for the eaſe and benefit of the people, as he pretended.

The nones commonlie are not aboue foure or ſix in euerie moneth: and ſo long as the nones laſted, ſo long did the markets continue, and therefore they were called *Nonæ quaſi Nundinæ*. In them alſo were neither holie daies more than is at this preſent (except the day of the purification of our ladie) no ſacrifice offered to the gods, but each one applied his buſineſſe, and kept his market, reckoning the firſt day after the calends or change, to be the fourth or firt daie before the faire ended. Some thinke that they were called *Nonæ*, of the word *Non, quia in iſdem dij non colluntur*. For as Ouid ſaith, *Nonarum tutela deo caret*, or for that the nones were alwaies on the ninth daie before the ides: other becauſe *Nundina dea* was honored the ninth day before the ides, albeit I ſuppoſe rather that *Nundina dea* (a goddeſſe far yonger than the name of *Nonæ*) toke hir name of the nones, whereon it was a cuſtome among the Romans, *Luſtrare infantes ac nomina maribus imponere*, as they did with their maid children vpon the eight: but howſoeuer this be, ſure it is that they were the mart daies of euerie moneth, wherin the people bought, ſold, exchanged or bartered, and did nothing elſe.

The ides are ſo named of the Hethruſcan word, *Iduare*, to diuide: and before that Ceſar altered the calender, they diuided the moneth commonlie by the middeſt. But afterward when he had added certeine daies thereto, therby to make it agrée to the yeere of the ſunne (which he intruded about the end of euerie moneth, becauſe he would not alter the celebration of their vſuall feaſts, whereof the chiefe were holden alwaies vpon the day of the ides) then came they short of the middeſt, ſometime by two or thrée daies. In theſe therefore (which alwaies are eight) the merchants had leiſure to packe vp and conuey their merchandize, to pay their creditors, and make merie with their friends.

After the ides do the calends follow, but in a decreaſing order (as I noted) as the moone doth in light when ſhe is paſt the full. But herein lieth all the myſterie, if you can ſay ſo manie daies before the nert change or new moone, as the number there expreſſed doth betoken, as for 16 calends ſo manie daies before the nert conjunction, &c: (as is aboue remembred.) Of theſe calends, I meane touching their number in euerie moneth, I find theſe verſes inſuing:

Ianus & Auguſtus denas nouémq; December,
Iunius Aprilis September & ipſe Nouember
Terſenas retinent, Februs bis octo calendas,
Iulius October Mars Maius octa decémq;.

In Engliſh thus.

December Iune and Auguſt month
full nineteene calends haue,
Septemb Aprill Nouemb and Iune
twiſe nine they doo deſire,
Sixteene foule Februarie hath,
no more can he well craue,
October Maie and Iulie hot
but ſeuenteene doo require.

In like maner do the nones and ides.

Sex Maius nonas, October, Iulius, & Mars,
Quatuor at reliqui, dabit idus quilibet octo.

To Iulie, Mars, October, Maie,
ſix nones I hight,
The reſt but foure, and as for ides
they keepe ſtill eight.

Againe touching the number of daies in euerie moneth:

Iunius, Aprilis, Septémq;. Nouémq; tricenos,
Vnum plus reliqui, Februs tenet octo vicenos;
At ſi biſſextus fuerit ſuperadditur vnus.

Thirtie daies hath Nouember,
Aprill, Iune, and September,
Twentie and eight hath Februarie alone,
and all the reſt thirtie and one,
but in the leape you muſt ad one.

Our yeare is counted after the courſe of the ſunne, and although the church hath ſome vſe of that of the moone for obſeruation of certeine moueable feaſts, yet it is reducible to that of the ſunne, which in our ciuill dealings is chieflie had in vſe. Herein onelie I find a ſcruple, that the beginning thereof is not vniforme and certeine, for moſt of our records beare date the 25 of March, and our calenders the firſt of Januarie; ſo that with vs Chriſt is borne before he be conceiued. Our ſundrie officers alſo haue ſundrie entrances into their charges of cuſtome, which breédeth great confuſion, whereas if all theſe might be referred to one originall (and that to be the firſt of Januarie) I do not thinke but that there would be more

certeintie, and leſſe trouble for our hiſtoriographers, notaries, & other officers in their account of the yere. In old time the Atheniens began their yeare with the change of the moone that fell nereſt to the entrance of the ſunne into the crab, the Latines at the winter ſolſtice, or his going into the goat, the Iewes in ciuill caſe at the latter equinoctiall, and in eccleſiaſticall with the firſt. They of Calecute begin their yeare ſomewhere in September, but vpon no daie certeine, ſith they firſt conſult with their wiſards, who pronounce one day or other thereof to be moſt happie (as the yeare goeth about) and therewith they make their entrance, as Oſorius doth remember, who addeth that vpon the eleuenth calends of September, they haue ſolemne plaies, much like to the idoll games, & that they write in leaues of tree with a pencill, in ſtead of paper, which is not found among them. Some of the old Grecians began their yere alſo in September: but ſith we ſeeke herein but for the cuſtome of our countrie onelie, it ſhall be enough to affirme that we make our account from the calends or firſt of Ianuarie, and from the middeſt of the night which is *Limes* betweene that and the laſt of December, whereof this maie ſuffice. I might ſpeake of the Cynike yeare alſo in this place (for the eaſe of our Engliſh readers) ſometime in vſe amongſt the Egyptians, which conteineth 1460 common yeares, whoſe beginning is alwaies reckoned from the riſing of the leſſer dog. The firſt vſe thereof entered the ſelfe yeare wherin the Olimpiads were reſtored. And forſomuch as this nation hath no vſe of intercalation, at the end of euerie 1460 yeares, they added an whole yeare of intercalation, becauſe there are 365 leape yeers in the period, ſo that 1460 Iulian yeers do conteine 1461 after the Egyptians account, wherby their common yeare is found to be leſſe than ours. Furthermore, whereas our intercalation for the leape yere is ſomewhat too much by certeine minuts, which in 115 yeares amount vnto about an whole day, if one intercalation in ſo manie were omitted, our calender would be the more perfect: and I would wiſh that the ſame yeare wherein the ſaid intercalation truelie found out ſhould be ouerpaſſed, might be obſerued and called *Annus magnus Elizabethæ*, in perpetuall remembrance of our noble and ſouereigne princeſſe now reigning amongſt vs.

I might here ſaie ſomewhat alſo of the prime and hir alteration, which is riſen higher by fiue daies in our common calender than it was placed by Iulius Cæſar: and in ſeauen thouſand yeares ſome writer would grow to an error of an whole, if the world ſhould laſt ſo long. But forſomuch as in ſome calenders of ours it is reduced againe to the daie of euerie change, it ſhall ſuffice to ſaie no more therof. The pope alſo hath made a generall correction of the calender, wherein he hath reduced it to the ſame that it was or ſhould haue beene at the councell of Nice. Howbeit as he hath aboliſhed the vſe of the golden number, ſo hath he continued the epact, applieng it vnto ſuch generall vſe, as doth now ſerue both the turnes, whoſe reformation had alſo yet this time beene admitted into England, if it had not proceeded from him, againſt whom and all whoſe ordinances we haue ſo faithfullie ſworne and ſet our hands.

Certes the next omiſſion is to be performed if all princes would agree thereto in the leape yeare that ſhall be about the yeare of Grace 1668: if it ſhall pleaſe God that the world may laſt ſo long, and then may our calender alſo ſtand without anie alteration as it doth alreadie. By this alſo it appeareth how the defect of our calender may be ſupplied from the creation, wherein the firſt equinoctiall is ſeene higher toward the beginning of March than Cæſars calender now extant doth yeld vnto by ſeauen daies. For as in Cæſars time the true equinoctiall was pointed out to happen (as Stadius alſo noteth) either vpon or about the ſirteenth or ſeauenteenth of March, albeit the manifeſt apperance thereof was not found vntill the fiue and twentith of that moneth in their dials or by eie-ſight: ſo at the beginning of the world the ſaid entrance of the ſunne into the ram, muſt needs fall out to be about the twentith or one & twentith of Aprill, as the calender now ſtandeth, if I faile not in my numbers. Aboue the yeare we haue no more parts of time, that carie anie ſeuerall names with them, except you will affirme the word age to be one, which is taken for a hundred yeares, and ſignifieth in Engliſh ſo much as Seculum or Æuum doth in Latine; neither is it needfull to remember that ſome of my countrimen do reckon their times not by years but by ſummers and winters, which is verie common among vs. Wherefore to ſhut vp this chapiter withall, you ſhall haue a table of the names of the daies of the weeke, after the old Saxon and Scotiſh maner, which I haue borowed from amongſt our ancient writers, as I haue peruſed their volumes.

The preſent names.

Monday.	Fridaie.
Tueſday.	Saturdaie.
Wedneſday.	Sunday, or the
Thurſday,	Lords daie.

The old Saxon names.

Monendeg.	Frigeſdeg.
Tueſdeg.	Saterdeg.
Wodneſdeg.	Sunnan-
Thunreſdeg.	deg.

The Scotiſh vſage.

Diu Luna.	Diu Friach.
Diu Mart.	Diu Satur.
Diu Yath.	Diu Se-
Diu Ethamon.	roll.

Of our principall faires and *markets.*

Chap. 15.

I Haue heretofore ſaid ſufficientlie of our faires, in the chapter of fairs and markets; and now to performe my promiſe there made, I ſet downe here ſo manie of our faires as I haue found out by mine owne obſeruation, and helpe of others in this behalfe. Certes it is impoſſible for me to come by all, ſith there is almoſt no towne in England, but hath one or more ſuch marts holden yearelie in the ſame, although ſome of them (I muſt needs confeſſe) be ſcarſe comparable to Lowſe faire, and little elſe bought or ſold in them more than good drinke, pies, and ſome pedlerie trafh: wherefore it were no loſſe if diuerſe of them were aboliſhed. Neither do I ſee whereunto this number of paltrie fairs tendeth, ſo much as to the corruption of youth, who (all other buſineſſe ſet apart) muſt needs repaire vnto them, whereby they often ſpend not onelie the weeke daies, but alſo the Lords ſabbaoth in great vanitie and riot. But ſuch hath beene the iniquitie of ancient times. God grant therefore that ignorance being now aboliſhed, and a further inſight into things growne into the minds of magiſtrates, theſe old er-

rors

rors may be conſidered of, and ſo farre reformed, as that thereby neither God may be diſhonored, nor the common wealth of our countrie anie thing diminiſhed. In the meane time, take this table here inſuing in ſtead of a calender of the greateſt, ſith that I cannot, or at the leaſt wiſe care not to come by the names of the leſſe, whoſe knowledge cannot be ſo profitable to them that be farre off, as they are off preiudiciall to ſuch as dwell nere hand to the places where they be holden and kept, by pilferers that reſort vnto the ſame.

Faires in Ianuarie.

The firſt day being Twelfe day at Salisburie, the fiue and twentith being ſaint Paules day, at Brikſow, at Grauelend, at Churchingford, at Rotherhalerton in Yorkeſhire, where is kept a faire euerie wedneſday from Chriſtmaſſe vntill June.

Faires in Februarie.

The firſt day at Bromleie. The ſecond at Lin, at Bath, at Maidſtone, at Bickleſworth, at Budworth. The fourteenth at Feuerſham. On Aſhwedneſday at Lichfield, at Tamworth, at Roiſton, at Exceſter, at Abington, at Ciceſter. The foure and twentith at Henlie vpon Thames, at Tewkeſburie.

Faires in March.

On the twelfth day, at Stamford, Sappeſford, and at Sudburie. The thirteenth day at Wie, at the Mount, & at Bodmin in Cornewall. The firſt ſunday in Lent, at Grantham, at Saliſburie. On monday before our ladie day in Lent, at Wiſbich, at Kendall, Denbigh in Wales. On palmeſunday euen, at Pumfret. On palmeſunday, at Worceſter. The twentith day at Durham. On our ladie day in Lent at Northamton, at Malden, at great Chart, at Newcaſtell. And all the ladie daies at Huntington. And at Saffron Walden on midlentſunday.

Faires in Aprill.

The firſt day at Wallingford. The ſeuenth at Darbie. The ninth at Bickleſworth, at Belinſworth. On monday after, at Euerſham in Worceſterſhire. On tueſday in Eaſter weeke at Northfleet, at Rochford, at Hitchin. The third ſunday after Eaſter, at Louth. The two and twentith at Stabford. On ſaint Georges day, at Charing, at Ipſwich, at Tamworth, at Ampthill, at Hinninham, at Gilford, at ſaint Pombes in Cornewall. On ſaint Markes day at Darbie, at Dunmow in Eſſex. The ſix and twentith at Tenderden in Kent.

Faires in Maie.

On Maie daie at Ripon, at Perin in Cornwall, at Oſeſtrie in Wales, at Lerfield in Suffolke, at Stow the old, at Reading, at Leiceſter, at Chenſford, at Maidſtone, at Brickehill, at Blackeborne, at Cogilton, at Stokeneie land. The third at Bramyard, at Henningham, at Elſow, Waltham, Holicroſſe, and Hedningham caſtell. The ſeuenth at Beuerleie, at Newton, at Oxford. On Aſcenſion day at Newcaſtell, at Perne, at Brimechame, at ſaint Edes, at Biſhopſtratford, at Wicham, at Middlewich, at Stopford, at Chappell frith. On Whitſuneuen, at Skipton vpon Crauen. On Whitſunday, at Richell, at Gribbie, and euerie wedneſday fortnight at Kingſton vpon Thames, at Rateſdale, at Kirbiſtephin in Weſtmerland. On monday in Whitſunweeke, at Darington, at Exceſter, at Bradford, at Rigate, at Burton, at Salforth, at Whitechurch, at Cockermouth, at Aplebie, at Bickleſworth, at Stokeclare. On tueſday in Whitſunweeke, at Lewſe, at Rochford, at Canturburie, at Ormeſkirke, at Perith, at long Melford. On wedneſday in Whitſunweeke, at Sandbarre, at Raiſton. On Trinitie ſunday, at Kendall, and at Rowell. On thurſday after Trinitie ſunday, at Pyelcote, at Stapford, at ſaint Innes, at Newburie, at Couentrie, at ſaint Edes, at Withop ſtreet, at Roſſe. The ninth at Lowthar, at Dunſtable. The twentie ſeuenth day, at Lenham. The twentie ninth at Cranbroke. On monday in Rogation weeke at Rech, and ſunday after Aſcenſion day, at Charſted.

Faires in Iune.

The ninth day at Maidſtone. The xj, at Okingham, at Newborough, at Bardfield, at Parfield, & Holt. The ſeuentéenth at Hadſtocke. The twentie three at Shrewſburie, at ſaint Albans. The twentie fourth day, at Horſham, at Bedell, at Strackſtocke, at ſaint Annes, at Wakefield, at Colcheſter, at Reading, at Bedford, at Barnewell beſide Cambridge, at Wollerhampton, at Cramborke, at Gloceſter, at Lincolne, at Peterborow, at Windſor, at Harſtone, at Lancaſter, at Weſtcheſter, at Halifax, at Aſhborne. The twentie ſeuenth, at Folkeſtone. The twentie eight, at Yetcorne, at ſaint Pombes. The twentie ninth, at Woodhurſt, at Marleborough, at Holleſworth, at Wollerhampton, at Peterfield, at Lempſter, at Sudburie, at Gargrainge, at Bromleie.

Faires in Iulie.

The ſecond at Congreton, at Aſhton vnder line. The ſunday after the third of Julie, at Raiſton. The eleuenth at Partneie, and at Lid. The fiftéenth, at Pitchbacke. The ſeuentéenth, at Winchcombe. The twentith, at Vxbridge, at Catcſhie, at Bolton. The twentie two, at Marleborow, at Wincheſter, at Colcheſter, at Tetburie, at Coling, at Pealdon, at Bridgenorth, at Clitherall, at Norwich in Cheſhire, at Cheſwike, at Battelfield, at Bickleworth. The twentie fift, at Brikſow, at Douer, at Chilham, at Darbie, at Ipſwich, at Northampton, at Dudleie in Staffordſhire, at ſaint James beſide London, at Reading, at Ereth in the Ile, at Walden, at Thremhall, at Baldocke, at Louth, at Malmeſburie, at Bromeleie, at Chicheſter, at Liuerpole, at Altergam, at Rauenglaſſe in the north. The twentie firſt, at Tiptrie. The twentie ſeuenth at Canturburie, at Horſham, at Richmund in the north, at Warington, at Chappell frith.

Faires in Auguſt.

The firſt day at Exceſter, at Feuerſham, at Dunſtable, at ſaint Edes, at Bedford, at Northam church, at Wiſbich, at Yorke, at Rumneie, at Newton, at Yeland. The fourth at Linton. The tenth at Waltham, at Charſted, at Blackemore, at Hungerford, at Bedford, at Stroides, at Fernam, at S. Laurence by Bodmin, at Walton, at Croſſeie, at Seddell, at new Brainford. The xv, at Cambridge, at Dunmow, at Caerleſſl, at Peſton in Andall, at Wakefield on the two ladie daies, and vpon the ſunday after the fiftéenth day of Auguſt, at Hauerhull, On Bartholomew day, at London, at Beggers buſh beſide Rie; at Tenkeſburie, at Sudburie, at Rie, at Nantwich, at Pagets, at Bromleie, at Norwich, at Northalerton, at Douer. On the ſunday

after Bartholomew day, at Sandwich. The twentie ſeuenth, and at Alhford.

Faires in September.

The firſt day at S. Giles at the Buſh. The eight day at Wolfpit, at Wakefield, at Sturbridge, in Southwarke at London, at Snide, at Recolner, at Gilbourgh both the ladie daies, at Partneie. The three ladie dales at Blackeborſhe, at Gilborne in Yorkeſhire, at Chalton, at Worceſter. On Holirode day, at Richmond in Yorkeſhire, at Ripon a horſe faire, at Penhad, at Berſcie, at Walſingham, at Wotton vnder hedge, at Spalding, at Cheſterfield, at Denbigh in Wales. On Saint Mathies day, at Marleborough, at Bedford, at Croſdon, at Holden in Holderneſſe, at Saint Edmundſburie, at Palton, at ſaint Jues, at Shrewesburie, at Laneham, at Witnall, at Sittingborne, at Wainfleet, at Baldocke, at Katharine hill beſide Gilford, at Douer, at Calſtric. The twentie ninth day being Michaelmas day, at Canturburie, at Malton a noble horſe faire, at Lancaſter, at Blackeborne, at Weſtcheſter, at Cokermouth, at Aſhborne, at Hadleie, at Malden an horſe faire, at Waie hill, at Newburie, and at Leiceſter.

Faires in October.

The fourth day at Michell. The firſt day at ſaint Faiths beſide Norwich, at Maidſtone. The eight at Harborough, at Hereford, at Biſhop Stortford. On S. Edwards day, at Roiſton, at Grauesend, at Windſor, at Marſhfield. The ninth day at Colcheſter. On ſaint Lukes euen, at Elie, at Wrickle, at Vpane, at Hirſt, at Bridgenorth, at Stanton, at Charing, at Burton vpon Trent, at Charleton, at Wigan, at Friſwides in Oxford, at Dikdale, at Middlewich, at Holt in Wales. The twelfth one day at Saffron Walden, at Newmarket, at Hertford, at Cicester, at Stokeſleie. The twentie third, at Preſton, at Bikelſworth, at Ritchdale, at Whitechurch. The twentie eight, at Newmarket, and Hertford. On all ſaints euen, at Wakefield, and at Rithen.

Faires in Nouember.

The ſecond at Blechinglie, at Kingſton, at Warfield, at Epping. The firſt day, at Newport pond, at Stanleie, at Tregnie, at Salford, at Leſford, and Wetſhod faire at Hertford. The tenth, at Leuton. The eleuenth, at Marleborough, at Douer. The thirtenth, at ſaint Edmundſburie, at Gilford. The ſeuentæenth day, at Low, at Hide. The ninetæenth, at Horſham. On ſaint Edmunds day, at Hith, at Ingerſtone. The twentie third day, at Sandwich. On ſaint Andrews day at Colingbourgh, at Rocheſter, at Peterfield, at Haidenhed, at Bewdleie, at Warrington in Lancaſhire, at Bedford in Yorkeſhire, at Oſſtric in Wales, and at Powles Belcham.

Faires in December.

On the firſt day, at Pluckeleie. On the firſt, at Caſed, at Hedningham, at Spalding, at Exceſter, at Stnocke, at Arnedale, and at Northwich in Cheſhire. The ſeuenth day at Sandhurſt. The eight day being the conception of our ladie, at Clitherall in Lancaſhire, at Malpas in Cheſhire. The twentie ninth, at Canturburie, and at Saliſburie.

Of our innes and thoroughfaires.

Chap. 16.

THoſe townes that we call thoroughfaires haue great and ſumptuous innes builded in them, for the receiuing of ſuch trauellers and ſtrangers as paſſe to and fro. The manner of harbouring wherein, is not like to that of ſome other countries, in which the hoſt or goodman of the houſe doth chalenge a lordlie authoritie ouer his gheſts, but cleane otherwiſe, ſith euerie man may vſe his inne as his owne houſe in England, and haue for his monie holy great or little varietie of victels, and what other ſeruice himſelfe ſhall thinke expedient to call for. Our innes are alſo verie well furniſhed with naperie, bedding, and tapiſſerie, eſpeciallie with naperie: for beſide the linnen vſed at the tables, which is commonlie waſhed dailie, is ſuch and ſo much as belongeth vnto the eſtate and calling of the gheſt. Each commer is ſure to lie in cleane ſheets, wherein no man hath béene lodged ſince they came from the landreſſe, or out of the water wherein they were laſt waſhed. If the trauceller haue an horſe, his hed doth coſt him nothing, but if he go on foot he is ſure to paie a penie for the ſame: but whether he be horſeman or footman if his chamber be once appointed he may carie the kaie with him, as of his owne houſe ſo long as he lodgeth there. If he loſe oughts whileſt he abideth in the inne, the hoſt is bound by a generall cuſtome to reſtore the damage, ſo that there is no greater ſecuritie anie where for trauellers than in the greteſt ins of England. Their horſes in like ſort are walked, dreſſed and loked vnto by certeine hoſtelers or hired ſeruants, appointed at the charges of the goodman of the houſe, who in hope of extraordinarie reward will deale verie diligentlie after outward apéarance in this their function and calling. Herein neuertheleſſe are manie of them blameworthie, in that they doo not onelie deceiue the beaſt oftentimes of his allowance by ſundrie meanes, except their owners loke well to them; but alſo make ſuch packs with ſlipper merchants which hunt after preie (for what place is ſure from euill & wicked perſons) that manie an honeſt man is ſpoiled of his goods as he trauelleth to and fro, in which feat alſo the counſell of the tapſters or drawers of drinke, and chamberleins is not ſeldome behind or wanting. Certes I beléeue not that chapman or trauceller in England is robbed by the waie without the knowledge of ſome of them, for when he commeth into the inne, & alighteth from his horſe, the hoſtler forthwith is verie buſie to take downe his budget or capcaſe in the yard from his ſadle bow, which he peiſeth ſtille in his hand to féele the weight thereof: or if he miſſe of this pitch, when the gheſt hath taken vp his chamber, the chamberleine that loketh to the making of the beds, will be ſure to remoue it from the place where the owner hath ſet it as if it were to ſet it more conuenientlie ſome where elſe, whereby he getteth an inkling whether it be monie or other ſhort wares, & ther of giueth warning to ſuch od gheſts as haut the houſe and are of his confederacie, to the vtter vndoing of manie an honeſt yeoman as he tourneth by the waie. The tapſter in like ſort for his part doth marke his behauiour, and what plentie of monie he draweth when he paieth the ſhot, to the like end: ſo that it ſhall be an hard matter to eſcape all their ſubtile practiſes. Some thinke it a gay matter to commit their budgets at their comming to the goodman of the houſe: but thereby they oft be-

waie themſelues. For albeit their monie be ſafe for the time that it is in his hands (for you ſhall not heare that a man is robbed in his inne) yet after their departure the hoſt can make no warrantiſe of the ſame, ſith his protection extendeth no further than the gate of his owne houſe: and there cannot be a ſurer token vnto ſuch as prie and watch for thoſe booties, than to ſee anie gheſt deliuer his capcaſe in ſuch maner. In all our innes we haue plentie of ale, béere, and ſundrie kinds of wine, and ſuch is the capacitie of ſome of them that they are able to lodge two hundred or three hundred perſons, and their horſſes at eaſe, & therto with a verie ſhort warning make ſuch prouiſion for their diet, as to him that is vnacquainted withall may ſeeme to be incredible. Howbeit of all in England there are no worſe ins than in London, and yet manie are there far better than the beſt that I haue heard of in anie forren countrie, if all circumſtances be dulie conſidered. But to leaue this & go in hand with my purpoſe. I will here ſet downe a table of the beſt thorowfaires and townes of greateſt trauell of England, in ſome of which there are twelue or ſixteene ſuch innes at the leaſt, as I before did ſpeake of. And it is a world to ſée how ech owner of them contendeth with other for goodneſſe of interteinement of their gheſts, as about fineſſe & change of linnen, furniture of bedding, beautie of roomes, ſeruice at the table, coſtlineſſe of plate, ſtrength of drinke, varietie of wines, or well vſing of horſſes. Finallie there is not ſo much omitted among them as the gorgeouſnes of their verie ſignes at their doores, wherein ſome doo conſume thirtie or fortie pounds, a meere vanitie in mine opinion, but ſo vaine will they néeds be, and that not onelie to giue ſome outward token of the inne kéepers welth, but alſo to procure good gheſts to the frequenting of their houſes in hope there to be well vſed. Lo here the table now at hand, for more of our innes I ſhall not néed to ſpeake.

The waie from Walſingham to London.

From Walſingham to Picknam	12.miles
From Picknam to Brandonferie	10.miles
From Brandonferie to Newmarket	10.miles
From Newmarket to Brabram	10.miles
From Brabram to Barkewaie	20.miles
From Barkewaie to Puchrich	7.miles
From Puchrich to Ware	5.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Barwike to Yorke, and ſo to London.

From Barwike to Belford	12.miles
From Belford to Anwike	12.miles
From Anwike to Morpit	12.miles
From Morpit to Newcaſtell	12.miles
From Newcaſtell to Durham	12.miles
From Durham to Darington	13.miles
From Darington to Northalerton	14.miles
From Northalerton to Toplife	7.miles
From Toplife to Yorke	16.miles
From Yorke to Tadcaſter	8.miles
From Tadcaſter to Wantbridge	12.miles
From Wantbridge to Doncaſter	8.miles
From Doncaſter to Tutford	18.miles
From Tutford to Newarke	10.miles
From Newarke to Grantham	10.miles
From Grantham to Stanford	16.miles
From Stanford to Stilton	12.miles
From Stilton to Huntington	9.miles
From Huntington to Roiſton	15.miles
From Roiſton to Ware	12.miles
From Ware to Waltham	8.miles
From Waltham to London	12.miles

The waie from Carnaruan to Cheſter, and ſo to London.

From Carnaruan to Conwaie	24.miles
From Conwaie to Denbigh	12.miles
From Denbigh to Flint	12.miles
From Flint to Cheſter	10.miles
From Cheſter to Wich	14.miles
From Wich to Stone	15.miles
From Stone to Lichfield	16.miles
From Lichfield to Colſill	12.miles
From Colſill to Couentrie	8.miles

And ſo from Couentrie to London, as hereafter followeth.

The waie from Cockermouth to Lancaſter, and ſo to London.

From Cockermouth to Kiſwike	6.miles
From Kiſwike to Grocener	8.miles
From Grocener to Kendale	14.miles
From Kendale to Burton	7.miles
From Burton to Lancaſter	8.miles
From Lancaſter to Preſton	20.miles
From Preſton to Wigam	14.miles
From Wigam to Warington	20.miles
From Warington to Newcaſtell	20.miles
From Newcaſtell to Lichfield	20.miles
From Lichfield to Couentrie	20.miles
From Couentrie to Daintrie	14.miles
From Daintrie to Toceſter	10.miles
From Toceſter to Stoniſtratford	6.miles
From Stoniſtratford to Brichill	7.miles
From Brichill to Dunſtable	7.miles
From Dunſtable to ſaint Albons	10.miles
From ſaint Albons to Barnet	10.miles
From Barnet to London.	10.miles

The waie from Yarmouth to Colcheſter, and ſo to London.

From Yarmouth to Becclis	8.miles
From Becclis to Blibour	7.miles
From Blibour to Snapbridge	8.miles
From Snapbridge to Woodbridge.	8.miles
From Woodbridge to Ipſwich	5.miles
From Ipſwich to Colcheſter	12.miles
From Colcheſter to Caſtford	8.miles
From Caſtford to Chelmeſford	10.miles
From Chelmeſford to Brentwood	10.miles
From Brentwood to London	15.miles

The waie from Douer to London.

From Douer to Canturburie	12.miles
From Canturburie to Sittingborne	12.miles
From Sittingborne to Rocheſter	8.miles
From Rocheſter to Grauеſend	5.miles
From Grauеſend to Datford	6.miles
From Datford to London	12.miles

The waie from ſaint Burien in Cornewall to London.

From S. Burien to the Mount	20.miles
From the Mount to Thurie	12.miles
From ſaint Thurie to Bodman	20.miles
From Bodman to Launſtone	20.miles
From Launſtone to Dcomton	15.miles
From Dcomton to Crokehornewell	10.miles

From Crokehorne well to Excester 10.miles
From Excester to Honiton 12.miles
From Honiton to Chard 10.miles
From Chard to Crokehorne 7.miles
From Crokehorne to Shirborne 10.miles
From Shirborne to Shaftsburie 10.miles
From Shaftsburie to Salisburie 18.miles
From Salisburie to Andeuor 15.miles
From Andeuor to Basingstocke 18.miles
From Basingstocke to Hartford 8.miles
From Hartford to Bagshot 8.miles
From Bagshot to Stanes 8.miles
From Stanes to London 15.miles

The waie from Bristowe to London.

From Bristow to Marfield 10.miles
From Marfield to Chipnam 10.miles
From Chipnam to Marleborough 15.miles
From Marleborough to Hungerford 8.miles
From Hungerford to Newburie 7.miles
From Newburie to Reading 15.miles
From Reading to Maidenhead. 10.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

The waie from saint Dauids to London.

From saint Dauids to Arford 20.miles
From Arford to Carmarden 10.miles
From Carmarden to Newton 10.miles
From Newton to Lanburie 10.miles
From Lanburie to Brechnocke 16.miles
From Brechnocke to Hale 10.miles
From Hale to Harford 14.miles
From Harford to Rosh 9.miles
From Rosh to Glocester 12.miles
From Glocester to Cicester 15.miles
From Cicester to Farington 16.miles
From Farington to Habington 7.miles
From Habington to Dorchester 7.miles
From Dorchester to Henlete 12.miles
From Henleie to Maidenhead 7.miles
From Maidenhead to Colbroke 7.miles
From Colbroke to London 15.miles

Of thorowfares, from Douer to Cambridge.

From Douer to Canturburie 12.miles
From Canturburie to Rochester 20.miles
From Rochester to Grauesend 5.miles
From Grauesend ouer the Thames, to Hornedon 4.miles
From Hornedon to Chelmesford 12.miles
From Chelmesford to Dunmow 10.miles
From Dunmow to Charsted 5.miles
From Charsted to Radwinter 3.miles
From Radwinter to Linton 5.miles
From Linton to Babrenham 3.miles
From Babrenham to Cambridge 4.miles

From Canturburie to Oxford.

From Canturburie to London 43.miles
From London to Vxbridge or Colbroke 15.mile
From Vxbridge to Baccansfield 7.miles
From Baccansfield to east Wickham 5.miles
From Wickham to Stocking church 5.miles
From Stocking church to Thetilford 5.miles
From Thetilford to Thatlete 6.miles
From Thatlete to Oxford 4.miles

From London to Cambridge.

From London to Edmondton 6.miles
From Edmondton to Waltham 6.miles
From Waltham to Hoddesdon 5.miles
From Hoddesdon to Ware 3.miles
From Ware to Pulcherchurch 5.miles
From Pulcherchurch to Barkewaie 7.miles
From Barkewaie to Fulmere 6.miles
From Fulmere to Cambridge 6.miles

Or thus better waie.

From London to Hoddesdon 17.miles
From Hoddesdon to Hadham 7.miles
From Hadham to Saffron Walden 12.miles
From Saffron Walden to Cambridge 10.miles

Of certeine waies in Scotland, out of Reginald Wolfes his annotations.

From Barwijc to Edenborow.

From Barwijc to Chirneside 10.miles
From Chirneside to Coldingham 3.miles
From Coldingham to Pinketon 6.miles
From Pinketon to Dunbarre 6.miles
From Dunbarre to Linton 6.miles
From Linton to Haddington 6.miles
From Haddington to Seaton 4.miles
From Seaton to Aberladie or Muskelborow 8.mi.
From thence to Edenborow 8.miles

From Edenborow to Barwijc another waie.

From Edenborow to Dalketh 5.miles
From Dalketh to new Battell & Lander 5.miles
From Lander to Vrsidon 6.miles
From Vrsidon to Dysburg 5.miles
From Dysburg to Carlton 6.miles
From Carlton to Barwijc 14.miles

From Edenborow to Dunbrittaine westward.

From Edenborow to Kirkelifton 6.miles
From Kirkelifton to Lithco 6.miles
From Lithco to Farekirke ouer Forth 6.miles
From thence to Striuelin vpon Forth 6.miles
From Striuelin to Dunbrittaine 24.miles

From Striuelin to Kinghorne eastward.

From Striuelin to Dowue in Menketh 3.miles
From Dowue to Campskenell 3.miles
From Campskenell to Alwie vpon Forth 4.miles
From Alwie to Culrose on Fife 10.miles
From Culrose to Dunfermelin 2.miles
From Dunfermelin to Euerkennin 2.miles
From Euerkennin to Aberdore on Forth 3.miles
From Aberdore to Kinghorne vpon Forth 3.miles

From Kinghorne to Taimouth.

From Kinghorne to Dissard in Fife 3.miles
From Dissard to Cowper 8.miles

From

Britanni

From Colwper to S. Andrews 14. miles
From S. Andrews to the Taimouth 6. miles

From Taimouth to Stockeford.

From Taimouth to Balmerinoth abbeie 4. mil.
From thence to Londores abbeie 4. miles
From Londores to S. Johns towne 12. miles
From S. Johns to Schone 5. miles
From thence to Abernithie, where the Erne runneth into the Taie 15. miles
From Abernithie to Dundee 15. miles
From Dundee to Arboth and Muros 24. miles
From Muros to Aberden 20. miles
From Aberden to the water of Doneie 20. miles
From thense to the riuer of Spaie 30. miles
From thence to Stockeford in Rosse, and so to the Nesse of Haben, a famous point on the west side 30. miles

From Carleill to Whitherne westward.

From Carleill ouer the Ferie against Redkirke 4. miles
From thence to Dunfrees 20. miles
From Dunfrees to the Ferie of Cre 40. miles
From thence to Wligton 3. miles
From thence to Whitherne 12. miles

Hitherto of the common waies of England and Scotland, whereunto I will adioine the old thorowfaires ascribed to Antoninus, to the end that by their conference the diligent reader may haue further consideration of the same, than my leisure will permit me. In setting forth all whereof, I haue noted such diuersitie of reading, as hath happened in the sight of such written and printed copies, as I haue seene in my time. Notwithstanding I must confesse the same to be much corrupted in the rehearsall of the miles.

Iter Britanniarum.

A GESSORIACO.

De Gallis Ritupis in portu Britanniarum stadia numero. CCCCL.

A LIMITE, ID EST, A VALLO Prætorio vsque M. P. CLVI. sic:

Britannia.

A Bramenio Corstopitum, m. p. xx
Vindomora, m. p. ix
Viconia* m. p. xix *Vinouia Vinouium*
Cataractoni m. p. xxii Daringtõ.
Isurium m. p. xxiiii Aldborow *alias* Topclife.
Eburacum legio vi Victrix m. p. xvii yorke.
Deruentione m. p. vii Tadcaster.
Delgouitia m. p. xiii wentbridge.
Prætorio m. p. xxv Tudford.

ITEM A VALLO AD portum Ritupis m. p. 481 491 sic,

Ablato Bulgio* castra exploratorum m. p. x, 15 *aliàs* à Blato
Lugu-vallo* m. p. xii aliàs à Lugu-valio. Cairleil.
Voreda m. p. xiiii
Brouonacis* m. p. xiii *Brauoniacis*
Verteris m. p. xx, 13
Lauatris m. p. xiiii
Cataractone* m. p. xxi *Catarractonium.* Darington.
Isuriam* m. p. xxiiii *Isoriam.* Aldborow *aliàs* Topcliffe.
Eburacum* m. p. xviii *Eboracum.* yorke.
Calcaria* m. p. ix *Cacaria*
Camboduno m. p. xx
Mammuncio* m. p. xviii *Manucio*
Condate m. p. xviii
Deua legio xxiiii. ci. m. p. xx
Bouio* m. p. x *Bonio*
Mediolano m. p. xx
Rutunio m. p. xii
Vrio Conio* m. p. xi *Viroconium,* Shrewsburie *propè.*
Vxacona m. p. xi
Penno-Crucio m. p. xii
Etoceto m. p. xii
Mandues Sedo m. p. xvi
Venonis m. p. xii
Bennauenta* m. p. xvii *Bannaventa*
Lactorodo* m. p. xii *Lactodoro*
Maginto* m. p. xvii. 12 *Magiouintum*
Duro-Cobriuis m. p. xii Dunstable.
Vero-Lanio m. p. xii S. Albanes.
Sullomacis* m. p. ix Warnet.
Longidinio m. p. xii. *Londinio.* London.
Nouiomago m. p. xii.
Vagniacis m. p. vi
Durobrouis m. p. v *Duroprouis.* Rochester.
Duroleuo m. p. xvi. 8
Duror-Verno* m. p. xii *Drouerno Durouerno*
Ad portum Ritupis m. p. xii *Duraruenno Daruerno*

ITEM A LONDINIO ad portum Dubris m. p. 56 66, sic:

Dubobrus* m. p. xxvii *Durobrouis Durobrius.* Rochester.
Duraruenno m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum Dubris m. p. xiiii Douer hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO AD portum Lemanis m. p. 68 sic:

Durobrius m. p. xxvii Rochester.
Duraruennò m. p. xv, 25 Canturburie.
Ad portum* Lemanis m. p. xvi Limming hauen.

ITEM A LONDINIO Lugu-Valio ad Vallum m. p. 443, sic:

Cæsaromago m. p. xxviii
Colonia m. p. xxiiii
Villa Faustini m. p. xxxv, 25
Icianos m. p. xviii
Camborico m. p. xxxv
Durolipponte m. p. xxv
Durobriuas m. p. xxxv
Gausennis m. p. xxx
Lindo m. p. xxvi
Segeloci m. p. xiiii
Dano m. p. xxi
Lege-Olio* m. p. xvi *Legetium*
Bburaco m. p. xxi
Isubrigantum* m. p. xvi *Isurium Brigantum*
Cataractoni m. p. xxiiii
Leuatris* m. p. xviii *Leuatrix*
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Brocouo* m. p. xx *Broconicum*
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Duro Cobrius m. p. xii
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Lactodoro m. p. xvi *Magis*
Isanna Vantia* m. p. xii *Isanna vatia*
Tripontio m. p. xii *Isanna varia*
Venonis m. p. ix
Ratas m. p. xii
Verometo m. p. xiii
Margi-duno m. p. xii
Ad Pontem* m. p. vii *Pons Aelij*
Croco Calana* m. p. vii *Crorolana*
Lindo m. p. xii

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Galleua* Atrebatum m. p. xii *Gelleua,* walingford.
Pontibus m. p. xii Reding. *Callina,*
Londinio m. p. xxii

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ITEM AB EBVRACO Londinium m. p. 227 ſic:

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Dano m. p. XVI	Doncaſter.
Ageloco * m. p. XXI	*Segeloco*
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Vennonis m. p. XII	
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Magio Vinio m. p. XXVIII	
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ITEM A GLAMOVENTA Mediolano m. p. 150 ſic:

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FINIS.



THE

Hiſtorie of England, *from the time that it* was firſt inhabited, vntill *the time that it was* laſt conquered:

*Wherein the ſundrie alte-*rations of the ſtate vnder for-*ren people is declared; and* other manifold obſeruati-*ons remembred:*

By Raphael Holinshed.

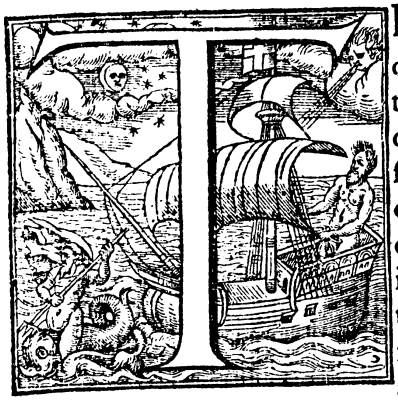
Now newlie read ouer, and *diligentlie digeſted into bookes and* chapters, with their ſeuerall argu-*ments prefixed, conteining an abridge-*ment of the whole hiſtorie, for the *helpe of the readers iudgement* and memorie:

With two tables of particulars, the one ſeruing the deſcrip-*tion, the other the hiſtorie:* by Abr. Fleming.

Laus hiſtoriæ ex
I. Lelando.

Quod ſol æthereo præſtat pulcherrimus orbi,
Hiſtoria humanis vſibus hoc tribuit.

To the Readers ſtudious in hiſtories.



THe order obſerued in the deſcription of Britaine, by reaſon of the neceſſarie diuiſion thereof into bookes and chapters growing out of the varietie of matters therein conteined, ſeemed (in my iudgement) ſo conuenient a courſe deuiſed by the writer, as I was eaſilie induced thereby to digeſt the hiſtorie of England immediatlie following into the like method: ſo that as in the one, ſo likewiſe in the other, by ſummarie contents foregoing euerie chapter, as alſo by certeine materiall titles added at the head of euerie page of the ſaid hiſtorie, it is a thing of no difficultie to comprehend what is diſcourſed and diſcuſſed in the ſame.

Wherein (ſith hiſtories are ſaid to be the regiſters of memorie and the monuments of veritie) all louers of knowlege, ſpeciallie hiſtoricall, are aduiſedlie to marke (among other points) the ſeuerall and ſucceſsiue alterations of regiments in this land: whereof it was my meaning to haue made an abſtract, but that the ſame is ſufficientlie handled in the firſt booke and fourth chapter of the deſcription of Britaine; whereto if the ſeuenth chapter of the ſame booke be alſo annexed, there is litle or no defect at all in that caſe wherof iuſtlie to make complaint. *Pag. 5, 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 28, 29, of the deſcription: and pag. 202 of the hiſtorie of England.*

Wherfore by remitting the readers to thoſe, I reape this aduantage, namelie a diſcharge of a forethought & purpoſed labour, which as to reduce into ſome plauſible forme was a worke both of time, paine and ſtudie: ſo ſeeming vnlikelie to be compriſed in few words (being a matter of neceſſarie and important obſeruation) occaſion of tediouſnes is to and fro auoided; ſpeciallie to the reader, who is further to be aduertiſed, that the computations of yeares here and there expreſſed, according to the indirect direction of the copies whenſe they were deriued and drawne, is not ſo abſolute (in ſome mens opinion) as it might haue beene: howbeit iuſtifiable by their originals.

Wherin hereafter (God prolonging peace in the church and common-welth that the vſe of bookes may not be abridged) ſuch diligent care ſhall be had, that in whatſoeuer the helpe of bookes will doo good, or conference with antiquaries auaile, there ſhall want no will to vſe the one and the other. And yet it is not a worke for euerie common capacitie, naie it is a toile without head or taile euen for extraordinarie wits, to correct the accounts of former ages ſo many hundred yeares receiued, out of vncerteinties to raiſe certeinties, and to reconcile writers diſſenting in opinion and report. But as this is vnpoſſible, ſo is no more to be looked for than may be performed: and further to inquire as it is againſt reaſon, ſo to vndertake more than may commendablie be atchiued, were fowle follie.

Abraham Fleming.

THE FIRST BOOKE of the hiſtorie of England.

Who inhabited this Iland be-fore the comming of Brute: of Noah & his three ſonnes, among whom the whole earth was di-uided: and to which of their portions this Ile of Bri-taine befell.

The firſt Chapter.

WHat manner of people did firſt inhabite this our country, which hath moſt generallie and of longeſt continuance béene knowne among all nations by the name of Britaine as yet is not certeinly knowne; neither can it be decided frõ whence the firſt inhabitants there of came, by reaſon of ſuch diuerſitie in iudgements as haue riſen amongſt the learned in this behalfe. But ſith the originall in maner of all nations is doubtfull, and euen the ſame for the more part fabulous (that alwaies excepted which we find in the holie ſcriptures) I wiſh not any man to leane to that which ſhall be here ſet downe as to an infallible truth, ſith I do but onlie ſhew other mens coniectures, grounded neuertheleſſe vpon likelie reaſons, concerning that matter whereof there is now left but little other certeintie, or rather none at all.

The originall of nations for the moſt part vncerteine.

Whither Britaine were an Iland at the firſt. Geog. com. lib.

No Ilands at the firſt, as ſome coniecture.

To fetch therefore the matter from the fartheſt, and ſo to ſtretch it forward, it ſeemeth by the report of Dominicus Marius Niger that in the beginning, when God framed the world, and diuided the waters apart from the earth, this Ile was then a parcell of the continent, and ioined without any ſeparation of ſea to the maine land. But this opinion (as all other the like vncerteinties) I leaue to be diſcuſſed of by the learned: howbeit for the firſt inhabitation of this Ile with people, I haue thought good to ſet downe in part, what may be gathered out of ſuch writers as haue touched that matter, and may ſeeme to giue ſome light vnto the knowledge thereof.

In the firſt part of the acts of the Engliſh votaries. Britaine inhabited before the flood. Geneſis. 6

Firſt therefore Iohn Bale our countrieman, who in his time greatlie trauelled in the ſearch of ſuch antiquities, doth probablie coniecture, that this land was inhabited and replenished with people long before the flood, at that time in the which the generation of mankind (as Moſes writeth) began to multiplie vpon the vniuerſall face of the earth: and therefore it followeth, that as well this land was inhabited with people long before the daies of Noah, as any the other countries and parts of the world beſide. But when they had once forſaken the ordinances appointed them by God, and betaken them to new waies inuented of themſelues, ſuch looſeneſſe of life enſued euerie where, as brought vpon them the great deluge and vniuerſall flood, in the which periſhed as well the inhabitants of theſe quarters, as the reſidue of the race of mankind, generallie diſperſed in euerie other part of the whole world, onelie Noah & his familie excepted, who by the prouidence and pleaſure of almightie God was preſerued from the rage of thoſe waters, to recontinue and repaire the new generation of man vpon earth. Beroſus ant. lib. 1

Noah.

In comment. ſuper 4. lib. Beroſus de antiquit. lib. 1. Annius vt ſupr.

AFter the flood (as Annius de Viterbo recordeth) and reaſon alſo enforceth, Noah was the onlie monarch of all the world, and as the ſame Annius gathereth by the account of Moſes in the 100. yeare after the flood, Noah diuided the earth among his three ſonnes; aſſigning to the poſſeſſion of his eldeſt ſonne all that portion of land which now is knowne by the name of Aſia; to his ſecond ſonne Cham, he appointed all that part of the world which now is called Affrica: and to his third ſonne Japhet was allotted all Europa, with all the Iles therto belonging, wherin among other was conteined this our Ile of Britaine, with the other Iles thereto perteining.

Japhet and his ſonnes.

Iohannes Bodinus ad fac. hiſt. cogn. Franciſcus Tarapha.

IAphet the third ſon of Noah, of ſome called Japetus, and of others, Atlas Maurus (becauſe he departed this life in Mauritania) was the firſt (as Bodinus affirmeth by the authoritie and conſent of the Hebrue, Greeke & Latine writers) that peopled the countries of Europe, which afterward he diuided among his ſonnes: of whom Tuball (as Tarapha affirmeth) obteined the kingdome of Spaine. Gomer had dominion ouer the Italians, and (as Beroſus and diuers other authors agrée) Samothes was the founder of Celtica, which conteined in it (as Bale witneſſeth) a great part of Europe, but ſpecíallie thoſe countries which now are called by the names of Gallia and Britannia.

Britaine inhabited ſhortlie after the flood.

Thus was this Iland inhabited and peopled within 200 yéeres after the flood by the children of Japhet the ſonne of Noah: & this is not onlie proued by Annius, writing vpon Beroſus, but alſo confirmed by Moſes in the ſcripture, where he writeth, that of the offſpring of Japhet, the Iles of the Gentiles (wherof Britain is one) were ſorted into regions in the time of Phaleg the ſonne of Hiber, who was borne at the time of the diuiſion of languages. Herevpon Theophilus hath theſe words: *Cùm priſcis temporibus paucæ eſſent hominum in Arabia & Chaldæa, poſt linguarum diuiſionem aucti & multiplicati paſſim ſunt: hinc quidam abierunt verſus orientem, quidam conceſſere ad partes maioris continentis, alij porrò profecti ſunt ad ſeptentrionem ſedes quæſiturj, nec prius deſiterunt terram vbiq; occupare, quàm etiam Britannos in Arctois climatibus acceſſerint, &c.* That is;

Theophilus epiſcop. Antioch. ad Autol. lib. 2. The words of Theophilus a doctor of the church, who liued an. Dom. 160.

When at the first there were not manie men in Arabia and Chaldæa, it came to passe, that after the diuision of tongs, they began somewhat better to increase and multiplie, by which occasion some of them went toward the east, and some toward the parts of the great maine land: diuers went also northwards to seeke them dwelling places, neither staid they to repleniſh the earth as they went, till they came vnto the Iles of Britaine, lieng vnder the north pole. Thus far Theophilus.

These things considered, Gildas the Britaine had great reason to thinke, that this countrie had bene inhabited from the beginning. And Polydor Virgil was with no lesse consideration hereby induced to confesse, that the Ile of Britaine had receiued inhabitants forthwith after the floud.

Of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, fiue kings succeeding each other in regiment ouer the Celts and Samotheans, and how manie hundred yeeres the Celts inhabited this Iland.

The second Chapter.

Gen. 2. De migr. gen. SAmothes the first begotten sonne of Japhet called by Moses Mesech, by others Dis, receiued for his portion (according to the report of Wolfgangus Lazius) all the countrie lieng betweene the riuer of Rhene and the Pyrenian mountains, where he founded the kingdome of Celtica ouer his people called Celtæ. Which name Cent. 1. Bale affirmeth to haue bene indifferent to the inhabitants both of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile of Britaine, & that he planted colonies of men (brought forth of the east parts) in either of them, first in the maine land, and after in the Iland. He is reported by Anti. lib. 1. Berosus to haue excelled all men of that age in learning and knowledge: and also is thought by Bale to haue imparted the same among his people; namelie, the vnderstanding of the sundrie courses of the Bale script. Brit. cent. 1. starres, the order of inferiour things, with manie other matters incident to the morall and politike gouernment of mans life: and to haue deliuered the same in the Phenician letters: out of which the Grekes (according to the opinion of Archilochus) deuised & derived the Greeke characters, insomuch that Xenophon and Iosephus do constantlie report (although Diogenes Laertius be against it) that both the Grekes and other nations receiued their letters and learning first from these countries. Of this king and his learning arose a sect of philosophers (saith Annius) first in Britaine, and after in Gallia, the which of his name were called Samothei. They (as Aristotle and Secion write) were passing skilfull both in the law of God and man: and for that cause exceedinglie giuen to religion, especiallie the inhabitants of this Ile of Britaine, insomuch that the whole nation did not onelie take the name of them, but the Iland it selfe (as Bale and doctor Caius agree) came to be called Samothea, which was the first peculiar name that euer it had, and by the which it was especiallie knowne before the arriuall of Albion.

Caes. comment. lib. 8. In epithet. temp. De æquinoctis contra Appionem. Lib. de Magic. succeſſ. lib. 22. Script. Brit. cent. 1. De ant. Cant. cens. lib. 1. This Ile called Samothea.

Magus the son of Samothes

MAgus the sonne of Samothes, after the death of his father, was the second king of Celtica; by whome (as Berosus writeth) there were manie townes builded among the Celts, which by the witnesse of Annius did beare the addition of their founder Magus: of which townes diuers are to be found in Ptolomie. And Antoninus a painfull surueior of the world and searcher of cities, maketh mention of foure of them here in Britaine, Sitomagus, Neomagus, Noiomagus, and Nouiomagus. Neomagus sir Thomas Eliot writeth to haue stood where the citie of Chester now standeth; Noiomagus, George Lillie placeth where the towne of Buckingham is now remaining. Beside this, Bale doth so highlie commend the foresaid Magus for his learning renowmed ouer all the world, that he would haue the Persians, and other nations of the south and west parts, to deriue the name of their diuines called *Magi* from him. In deed Rauisius Textor, and sir Iohn Prise affirme, that in the daies of Plinie, the Britons were so expert in art magike, that they might be thought to haue first deliuered the same to the Persians. What the name of *Magus* importeth, and of what profession the *Magi* were, Tullie declareth at large, and Mantuan in briefe, after this maner:

Annius in comment. super eundem Geogr. De diui. lib. 1. De fastis li. 5.

Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sidera norit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires cultúmq; deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos prudentia triplex.

The Persians terme him Magus, that
the course of starres doth knowe,
The power of herbs, and worship due
to God that man doth owe,
By threefold knowledge thus the name
of Magus then doth growe.

H. F.

Sarron the sonne of Magus,

SArron the third king of the Celts succeeded his father Magus in gouernement of the countrie of Gallia, and the Ile Samothea, wherein as (D. Caius writeth) he founded certaine publike places for them that professed learning, which Berosus affirmeth to be done, to the intent to restraine the wilfull outrage of men, being as then but raw and void of all ciuilitie. Also it is thought by Annius, that he was the first author of those kind of philosophers, which were called Sarronides, of whom Diodorus Siculus writeth in this sort: There are (saith he) among the Celts certaine diuines and philosophers called Sarronides, whom aboue all other they haue in great estimation. For it is the manner among them, not without a philosopher to make anie sacrifice: sith they are of beleefe, that sacrifices ought onelie to be made by such as are skilfull in the diuine mysteries, as of those who are nerest vnto God, by whose intercession they thinke all good things are to be required of God, and whose aduise they vse and follow, as well in warre as in peace.

De ant. Cant. lib. 1. Bale script. Brit. cent. 1. Lib. 6.

Druis the son of Sarron.

DRuis, whom Seneca calleth Dzyus, being the sonne of Sarron, was after his father established the fourth king of Celtica, indifferentlie reigning as wel ouer the Celts as Britons, or rather (as the inhabitants of this Ile were then called) Samotheans. This prince is commended by Berosus to be so plentifullie indued with wisedome and learning, that Annius taketh him to be the vndoubted author of the begining and name of the philosophers called Druides, whome Cæsar and all other ancient Greeke and Latine writers do affirme to haue had their beginning in Britaine, and to haue bin brought from thence into Gallia, insomuch that when there arose any doubt in that countrie touching anie point of their discipline, they did repaire to be resolued therein into Britaine, where, speciallie in the Ile of Angleſey (as Humfrey Lhoyd witnesseth) they made their principall abode. Touching their vsages manie things are written by Aristotle, Socion, Plinie, Laertius, Bodinus, and others: which I will gather in briefe, and set downe as followeth. They had (as Cæsar saith) the charge of common & priuate sacrifices; the

De mor. te Cland. Anti. lib. 5. Annius super eundem. De bello Gallico. lib. 9. De bello Gallico. 6.

the discussing of points of religion, the bringing vp of youth, the determining of matters in variance, with full power to interdict so manie from the sacrifice of their gods and the companie of men, as disobeied their award. Polydore affirmeth, how they taught, that mens soules could not die, but departed from one bodie to another, and that to the intent to make men valiant and dreadlesse of death. Tullie writeth, that partlie by tokens, and partlie by surmises, they would foretell things to come. And by the report of Hector Boetius, some of them were not ignorant of the immortalitie of the one and everlasting God. All these things they had written in the Greeke tong, insomuch that Wolf. Lazius (vpon the report of Marcellinus) declareth how the Greeke letters were first brought to Athens by Timagenes from the Druides. And herevpon it commeth also to passe, that the British tong hath in it remaining at this day some smacke of the Greeke. Among other abuses of the Druides, they had (according to Diodorus) one custome to kill men, and by the falling, bleeding, and dismembring of them, to diuine of things to come: for the which and other wicked practises, their sect was first condemned for abhominable (as some haue written) and dissolued in Gallia (as Auentinus witnesseth) by Tiberius and Claudius the emperours; and lastlie abolished here in Britaine (by the report of Caius) when the gospell of Christ by the preaching of Fugatius and Damianus was receiued among the Britaines, vnder Lucius king of Britaine, about the yeare of our sauior, 179.

Bardus the sonne of Druis.

BArdus the sonne of Druis succéeded his father in the kingdome of Celtica, and was the fift king ouer the Celtes and Samotheans, amongst whom he was highlie renowmed (as appeareth by Berosus) for inuention of ities and musicke, wherein Annius of Viterbo writeth, that he trained his people: and of such as excelled in this knowledge, he made an order of philosophicall poets or heraulds, calling them by his owne name Bardi. And it should séeme by doctor Caius and maister Bale, that Cæsar found some of them here at his arrinall in this Ile, and reported that they had also their first begining in the same. The profession and vsages of these Bardi, Nonnius, Strabo, Diodorus, Stephanus, Bale, and sir Iohn Prise, are in effect reported after this sort. They did vse to record the noble exploits of the ancient captains, and to drawe the pedegrées and genealogies of such as were liuing. They would frame pleasant ities and songs, learne the same by heart, and sing them to instruments at solemne feasts and assemblies of noble men and gentlemen. Wherefore they were had in so high estimation, that if two hosts had bene readie ranged to ioine in battell, and that any of them had fortuned to enter among them, both the hosts (as well the enimies as the friends) would haue holden their hands, giuen eare vnto them, and ceassed from fight, vntill these Bards had gone out of the battell. Of these Bards Lucane saith,

Vos quoq; qui fortes animas bellóq; peremptas,
Laudibus in longum vates dimittitis ævum,
Plurima securi fudistis carmina Bardi.

And you ô poet Bards from danger void that dities sound,
Of soules of dreadlesse men, whom rage of battell would confound,
And make their lasting praise to time of later age rebound.

Because the names of these poets were neither discrepant from the ciuilitie of the Romans, nor repugnant to the religion of the Christians, they (of all the other sects before specified) were suffered onlie to continue vnabolished in all ages, insomuch that there flourished of them among the Britains (according to Bale) before the birth of Christ, Plenidius and Dionius: after Christ (as Prise recounteth) Thalesine, and the two Merlins, Merlin, Elaskirion, and others: and of late daies among the Welshmen, Dauid Die, Iollo Gough, Dauid ap William, with an infinite number more. And in Wales there are sundrie of them (as Caius reporteth) remaining vnto this day, where they are in their language called (as Leland writeth) Barthes. Also by the witnes of Humfrey Lhoyd, there is an Iland nére vnto Wales, called *Insula Bardorum*, and Bardsey, whereof the one name in Latine, and the other in Saxon or old English, signifieth the Iland of the Bardes or Barthes.

Iohn Bale script. Britan. cens. 2.
Iohn Prise defens. hist. Brit.
Caius de ant. Cant. lib. 1.
Iohn Leland syllab. ant. dict.
Hum. Lloyd de Mona insula.

Thus fare the gouernement of the Celts in this Ile.

An appendix to the former chapter.

AFter Bardus, the Celts (as Bale saith) loathing the strict ordinances of their ancient kings, and bodsking themselues to pleasure and idlenesse, were in short time, and with small labour brought vnder the subiection of the giant Albion, the sonne of Neptune, who altering the state of things in this Iland, stretched the name of Celtica and the Celts within the bounds of Gallia, from whence they came first to inhabit this land vnder the conduct of Samothes, as before ye haue heard, accordinglie as Annius hath gathered out of Berosus the Chaldean, who therein agréeth also with the scripture, the saieng of Theophilus the doctor, and the generall consent of all writers, which fullie consent, that the first inhabitants of this Ile came out of the parties of Gallia, although some of them dissent about the time and maner of their comming. Sir Brian Tuke thinketh it to be ment of the arriuall of Brute, when he came out of those countries into this Ile. Cæsar and Tacitus séeme to be of opinion, that those Celts which first inhabited here, came ouer to view the countrie for trade of merchandize. Bodinus would haue them to come in (a Gods name) from Languedoc, and so to name this land Albion, of a citie in Languedoc named Albie. Beda, and likewise Polydore (who followeth him) affirme that they came from the coasts of Armorica, which is now called little Britaine.

Bale.
Annius.
Theophilus.
Sir Brian Tuke
Cæsar.
Tacitus.
Bodinus.
Beda.
Polydor.

But that the authorities afore recited are sufficient to proue the time that this Iland was first inhabited by the Celts, the old possessors of Gallia; not onelie the nérnesse of the regions, but the congruence of languages, two great arguments of originals do fullie confirme the same. Bodinus writeth vpon report, that the British and Celtike language was all one. But whether that be true or not, I am not able to affirme, bicause the Celtike tong is long sithens growne wholie out of vse. Howbeit some such Celtike words as remaine in the writings of old authours may be perceiued to agrée with the Welsh tong, being the vncorrupted speech of the ancient Britains. In déed Pausanias the Grecian maketh mention how the Celts in their language called a horsse *Marc*: and by that name do the Welshmen call a horsse to this day: and the word *Trimarc* in Pausanias, signifieth in the Celtike tong, three horsses.

Bodinus.
Pausanias.

Thus it appeareth by the authoritie of writers, by situation of place, and by affinitie of language, that this Iland was first found and inhabited by the Celts, that there name from Samothes to Albion continued here the space of 310 yeares or there abouts. And finallie it is likelie, that aswell the progenie as the speech of them is partlie remaining in this Ile among the inhabitants, and speciallie the British, euen vnto this day.

John Bale.

Of the giant Albion, of his comming into this Iland, diuers opinions why it was called Albion: why Albion and Bergion were slaine by Hercules: of Danaus and of his 50. daughters.

The third Chapter.

Bale.

NEptunus called by Moſes (as ſome take it) Nepthuim, the firſt ſonne of Oſiris, after the account of Annius, and the brother of Hercules, had appointed him of his father (as Diodorus writeth) the gouernement of the ocean ſea: wherefore he furniſhed himſelfe of ſundrie light ſhips for the more redie paſſage by water, which in the end grew to the number of a full nauie: & ſo by continuall exerciſe he became ſo ſkilfull, and therewith ſo mightie vpon the waters (as Higinus & Pictonius do write) that he was not onelie called the king, but alſo eſteemed the god of the ſeas. He had to wife a ladie called Amphitrita, who was alſo honored as goddeſſe of the ſeas, of whoſe bodie he begat ſundrie children: and (as Bale reporteth) he made euerie one of them king of an Iland. In the Ile of Britaine he landed his fourth ſon called Albion the giant, who brought the ſame vnder his ſubiection. And herevpon it reſteth, that Iohn Textor, and Polydor Virgil made mention, that light ſhippes were firſt inuented in the Britiſh ſeas, and that the ſame were couered round with the hides of beaſts, for defending them from the ſurges and waues of the water.

Annius de Viterbo. Diodorus Siculus.

Pinneſſes or gallies.

Higinus. Pictonius.

Script. Brit. cens. 1.

Ioh. Textor. Polydor.

This Albion being put by his father in poſſeſſion of this Ile of Britaine, within ſhort time ſubdued the Samotheans, the firſt inhabitantes thereof, without finding any great reſiſtance, for that (as before ye haue heard) they had giuen ouer the practiſe of all warlike and other painefull exerciſes, and through vſe of effeminate pleaſures, whereunto they had giuen themſelues ouer, they were become now vnapt to withſtand the force of their enimies: and ſo (by the teſtimonie of Nicholaus Perottus, Rigmanus Phileſius, Ariſtotle, and Humfrey Llhoyd, with diuers other, both forraine & home-writers) this Iland was firſt called by the name of Albion, hauing at one time both the name and inhabitants changed from the line of Iaphet vnto the accurſed race of Cham.

Nichol. Perot. Rigmanus Phileſius. Ariſtotle. Hum. Lhoyd.

This Albion (that thus changed the name of this Ile) and his companie, are called giants, which ſignifieth none other than a tall kind of men, of that vncorrupt ſtature and highneſſe naturallie incident to the firſt age (which Beroſus alſo ſeemeth to allow, where he writeth, that Noah was one of the giants) and were not ſo called only of their monſtrous greatneſſe, as the common people thinke (although in deed they exceeded the vſuall ſtature of men now in theſe daies) but alſo for that they toke their name of the ſoile where they were borne: for *Gigantes* ſignifieth the ſons of the earth: the *Aborigines*, or (as Ceſar calleth them) *Indigenæ*) that is, borne and bred out of the earth where they inhabited.

Beroſus.

What *Gigantes* ſignifie.

Thus ſome thinke, but verelie although that their opinion is not to be allowed in any condition, which maintaine that there ſhould be any Aborigines, or other kind of men than thoſe of Adams line; yet that there haue bene men of far greater ſtature than are now to be found, is ſufficientlie proued by the huge bones of thoſe that haue bene found in our time, or lately before: whereof here to make further relation it ſhall not need, ſith in the deſcription of Britaine ye ſhall find it ſufficientlie declared.

Againſt the opinion of the Aborigines.

But now to our purpoſe. As Albion held Britaine in ſubiection, ſo his brother Bergion kept Ireland and the Orkenies vnder his rule and dominion, and hearing that their coſine Hercules Lybicus hauing finiſhed his conqueſts in Spaine, meant to paſſe through Gallia into Italie, againſt their brother Leſtrigo that oppreſſed Italie, vnder ſubiection of him & other of his brethren the ſons alſo of Neptune; as well Albion as Bergion aſſembling their powers togither, paſſed ouer into Gallia, to ſtoppe the paſſage of Hercules, whoſe intention was to vanquiſh and deſtroie thoſe tyrants the ſonnes of Neptune, & their complices that kept diuers countries and regions vnder the painefull yoke of their heauie thraldome.

Bale. Bergion brother to Hercules Lybicus.

The cauſe why Hercules purſued his coſins.

The cauſe that moued Hercules thus to purſue vpon thoſe tyrants now reigning thus in the world, was, for that not long before, the greateſt part of them had conſpired togither and ſlaine his father Oſiris, notwithſtanding that they were nephues to the ſame Oſiris, as ſonnes to his brother Neptune, and not contented with his ſlaughter, they diuided his carcaſe alſo amongſt them, ſo that each of them got a peece in token of reioiſing at their murtherous atchiued enterpriſe.

Pomp. Mela.

For this cauſe Hercules (whome Moſes calleth Laabin) proclamed warres againſt them all in reuenge of his fathers death: and firſt he killed Triphon and Buſiris in Aegypt, then Anteus in Mauritania, & the Gerions in Spaine, which enterpriſe atchiued, he led his armie towardes Italie, and by the way paſſed through a part of Gallia, where Albion and Bergion hauing vnited their powers togither, were readie to receiue him with battell: and ſo nere to the mouth of the riuer called Rhoſne, in Latine *Rhodanus*, they met & fought. At the firſt there was a right terrible and cruell conflict betwixt them. And albeit that Hercules had the greateſt number of men, yet was it verie doubtfull a great while, to whether part the glorie of that daies worke would bend. Whereupon when the victorie began outright to turne vnto Albion, and to his brother Bergion, Hercules perceiuing the danger and likelihod of vtter loſſe of that battell, ſpeciallie for that his men had waſted their weapons, he cauſed thoſe that ſtod ſtill and were not otherwiſe occupied, to ſtoppe downe, and to gather vp ſtones, whereof in that place there was great plentie, which by his commandement they beſtowed ſo freelie vpon their enimies, that in the end he obteined the victorie, and did not only put his aduerſaries to flight, but alſo ſlue Albion there in the field, togither with his brother Bergion, and the moſt part of all their whole armie. This was the end of Albion, and his brother Bergion, by the valiant proweſſe of Hercules, who as one appointed by Gods prouidence to ſubdue the cruell & vnmercifull tyrants, ſpent his time to the benefit of mankind, deliuering the oppreſſed from the heauie yoke of miſerable thraldome, in euerie place where he came.

Hercules comfiteth his enimies.

Albion is ſlaine.

And by the order of this battell we maye learne whereof the poets had their inuention, when they faine in their writings, that Iupiter holpe his ſonne Hercules, by throwing downe ſtones from heauen in this battell againſt Albion and Bergion. Moreouer, from henceforth was this Ile of Britaine called Albion (as before we haue ſaid) after the name of the ſaid Albion: becauſe he was eſtabliſhed chiefe ruler and king thereof both by his grandfather Oſiris, and his father Neptune that cunning ſailour reigning therein (as Bale ſaith) by the ſpace of 44. yeares,

The occaſion of the fable of Iupiters helping his ſonne Hercules.

How this Iland was called Albion, eſtabliſhed by the giant Albion. Iohn Bale.

peares, till finally he was ſlaine in maner afore remembred by his vncle Hercules Libicus.

After that Hercules had thus vanquiſhed and deſtroied his enimies, hee paſſed to and fro thorough Gallia, ſuppreſſing the tyrants in euerie part where he came, and reſtoring the people vnto a reaſonable kinde of libertie, vnder lawfull gouernours. This Hercules (as we find) builded the citie Alexia in Burgoigne, nowe called Alize. Moreouer, by Lilius Giraldus in the life of Hercules it is auouched, that the ſame Hercules came ouer hither into Britaine. And this doth Giraldus write by warrant of ſuch Britons as (ſaith he) haue ſo written themſelues, which thing peraduenture he hath read in Gildas the ancient Britiſh poet: a booke that (as he confeſſeth in the firſt dialog of his hiſtories of poets) he hath ſeene. The ſame thing alſo is confirmed by the name of an head of land in Britaine called *Promontorium Herculis*, as in Ptolomie ye may read, which is thought to take name of his arriuall at that place. Thus much for Albion and Hercules.

Diuers opinions why this Ile was called Albion. See more hereof in the deſcription.

But now, whereas it is not denied of anie, that this Ile was called anciently by the name of Albion: yet there be diuers opinions how it came by that name: for manie do not allow of this hiſtorie of Albion the giant. But for ſo much as it appertaineth rather to the deſcription than to the hiſtorie of this Ile, to rip vp and lay forth the ſecret myſteries of ſuch matters: and becauſe I thinke that this opinion which is here auouched, how it toke that name of the forſaid Albion, ſonne to Neptune, may be confirmed with as good authoritie as ſome of the other, I here paſſe ouer the reſt, & proceed with the hiſtorie.

When Albion chiefe capteine of the giants was ſlaine, the reſidue that remained at home in the Ile, continued without anie rule or reſtraint of law, in ſo much that they fell to ſuch a diſſolute order of life, that they ſeemed little or nothing to differ from brute beaſts: and thoſe are they which our ancient chronicles call the giants, who were ſo named, as well for the huge proportion of their ſtature (ſithens as before is ſaid, that age brought forth far greater men than are now liuing) as alſo for that they were the firſt, or at the leaſt the furtheſt in remembrance of any that had inhabited this countrie. For this word Gigines, or Gegines, from whence our word giant (as ſome take it) is deriued, is a Greeke word, and ſignifieth, Borne or bred of or in the earth, for our fore-elders, ſpecially the Gentiles, being ignorant of the true beginning of mankind, were perſuaded, that the firſt inhabitants of any countrie were bred out of the earth, and therefore when they could go no higher, reckoning the deſcents of their predeceſſours, they would name him *Terræ filius*. The ſonne of the earth: and ſo the giants whom the poets faine to haue ſought to make battell againſt heauen are called the ſonnes of the earth: and the firſt inhabitants generally of euery countrie were of the Greekes called Gigines, or Gegines, and of the Latines *Aborigines*, and *Indigenæ*, that is, People borne of the earth from the beginning, and comming from no other countrie, but bred within the ſame.

Terræ filius what it ſignifieth.

Aborigines. Indigenæ.

These giants and firſt inhabitants of this Ile continued in their beaſtlie kind of life vnto the arriuall of the ladies, which ſome of our chronicles ignorantly write to be the daughters of Diocleſian the king of Aſſyria, whereas in deed they haue beene deceiued, in taking the word Danaus to be short written for Diocleſianus: and by the ſame meanes haue diuers words and names beene miſtaken, both in our chronicles, and in diuers other ancient written workes. But this is a fault that learned men ſhould not ſo much trouble themſelues about, conſidering the ſame hath bin alreadie found by ſundrie authors ling ſithens, as Hugh the Italian, John Harding, Iohn Rouſe of Warwike, and others, ſpeciallie by the helpe of Dauid Pencair a Britiſh hiſtorie, who recite the hiſtorie vnder the name of Danaus and his daughters. And becauſe we would not any man to thinke, that the hiſtorie of theſe daughters of Danaus is onelie of purpoſe deuiſed, and brought in place of Diocleſianus, to excuſe the imperfection of our writers, whereas there was either no ſuch hiſtorie (or at the leaſt no ſuch women that arriued in this Ile) the authoritie of Nennius a Briton writer may be auouched, who wrote aboue 900. yeares paſt, and maketh mention of the arriuall of ſuch ladies.

Hugh the Italian. Harding. Iohn Rouſe out of Dauid Pencair. Nennius.

The miſtaking of the name of Diocleſianus for Danaus.

To be ſhort, the hiſtorie is thus. Belus the ſonne of Epaphus, or (as ſome writers haue) of Neptune and Libies (whome Iſis after the death of Apis maried) had iſſue two ſonnes: the firſt Danaus, called alſo Armeus; and Aegyptus called alſo Rameſes: theſe two were kings among the Aegyptians. Danaus the elder of the two, hauing in his rule the vpper region of Aegypt, had by ſundrie wiues 50. daughters, with whome his brother Aegyptus, gaping for the dominion of the whole, did inſtantlie labour, that his ſonnes being alſo 50. in number, might match. But Danaus hauing knowledge by ſome propheſie or oracle, that a ſonne in law of his ſhould be his death, refuſed ſo to beſtow his daughters. Hereupon grew warre betwixt the brethren, in the end whereof, Danaus being the weaker, was inforced to flee his countrie, and ſo prepared a nauie, imbarked himſelfe and his daughters, and with them paſſed ouer into Greece, where he found meanes to diſpoſſeſſe Gelenor (ſonne to Stenelas king of Argos) of his rightfull inheritance, driuing him out of his countrie, and reigned in his place by the aſſiſtance of the Argiues that had conceiued an hatred towardes Gelenor, and a great liking towardes Danaus, who in verie deed did ſo farre excell the kings that had reigned there before him, that the Greekes in remembrance of him were after called Danai.

Belus priſcus. *Dictionarium poeticum.* Danaus. Aegyptus. Higinus.

But his brother Aegyptus, taking great diſdaine for that he and his ſonnes were in ſuch ſort deſpiſed of Danaus, ſent his ſonnes with a great armie to make warre againſt their vncle, giuing them in charge not to returne, till they had either ſlaine Danaus, or obteined his daughters in mariage. The yong gentlemen according to their fathers commandement, being arriued in Greece, made ſuch warre againſt Danaus, that in the end he was conſtrained to giue vnto thoſe his 50. nephues his 50. daughters, to ioine with them in mariage, and ſo they were. But as the prouerbe ſaith, In truſt appeared treacherie. For on the firſt night of the mariage, Danaus deliuered to ech of his daughters a ſword, charging them that when their huſbands after their bankets and paſtimes were once brought into a ſound ſleepe, ech of them ſhould ſlea hir huſband, menacing them with death vnleſſe they fulfilled his commandement. They all therefore obeied the will of their father, Hypermneſtra onely excepted, with whom preuailed more the loue of kinred and wedlocke, than the feare of hir fathers diſpleaſure: for thee alone ſpared the life of hir huſband Lynceus, waking him out of his ſleepe, and warning him to depart and flee into Aegypt to his father. He therefore hauing all the wicked practiſes reuealed to him by his wife, followed hir aduice, and ſo eſcaped.

Now when Danaus perceiued how all his daughters had accompliſhed his commandement, ſauing onelie Hypermneſtra, he cauſed hir to be brought forth into iudgement, for diſobeieng him in a matter wherein both the ſafetie and loſſe of his life reſted: but ſhe was acquitted by the Argiues, & Pauſanias.

diſcharged. Howbeit hir father kept hir in priſon, and ſeeking to find out other huſbands for his other daughters that had obeied his pleaſure in ſleaing their firſt huſbands, long it was per he could find any to match with them: for the heinous offenſe committed in the ſlaughter of their late huſbands, was yet too freſh in memorie, and their bloud not wiped out of mind. Neuertheleſſe, to bring his purpoſe the better to paſſe, he made proclamation, that his daughters ſhould demand no iointures, and euerie ſuter ſhould take his choiſe without reſpect to the age of the ladie, or abilitie of him that came to make his choiſe, but ſo as firſt come beſt ſerued, according to their owne phantaſies and likings. Howbeit when this policie alſo failed, & would not ſerue his turne, he deuiſed a game of running, ordeining therewith, that whoſoeuer got the beſt price ſhould haue the firſt choiſe among all the ſiſters; and he that got the ſecond, ſhould chooſe next to the firſt; and ſo forth, ech one after an other, according to the triall of their ſwiftneſſe of foote.

How much this practiſe auailed, I know not: but certeine it is, diuers of them were beſtowed, either by this or ſome other meanes, for we find that Autonomes was maried to Architeles, Chryſanta or (as Pauſanias ſaith) Scea was matched with Archandrus, Amaome with Neptunus Equeſtris, on whome he begat Nauplius.

Higinus. But now to returne vnto Lynceus, whome his wife Hypermneſtra preſerued, as before ye haue heard. After he was once got out of the reach and danger of his father in law king Danaus, he gaue Pauſanias. knowledge thereof to his wife, in raiſing a fire on heigth beaconwiſe, accordingly as ſhe had requeſted him to doo at his departure from hir: and this was at a place which afterwards tooke name of him, and was called Lyncea. Vpon his returne into Aegypt, he gaue his father to vnderſtand the whole circumſtance of the trecherous crueltie vſed by his vncle and his daughters in the murder of his brethren, and how hardly he himſelfe had eſcaped death out of his vncles handes. Wherevpon at time conuenient he was furniſhed forth with men and ſhips by his father, for the ſpeedie reuenge of that heinous, vnnaturall and moſt diſloiall murder, in which enterpriſe he ſped him forth with ſuch diligence, that in ſhort time he found meanes to diſpatch his vncle Danaus, ſet his wife Hypermneſtra at libertie, and ſubdued the whole kingdome of the Argiues.

This done, he cauſed the daughters of Danaus (ſo many as remained within the limits of his dominion) to be ſent for, whome he thought not worthie to liue, becauſe of the cruell murther which they had committed on his brethren: but yet for that they were his wiues ſiſters, he would not put them to death, but commanded them to be thruſt into a ſhip, without maiſter, mate or mariner, and ſo to be turned into the maine ocean ſea, and to take and abide ſuch fortune as ſhould chance vnto them. Theſe ladies thus imbarked and left to the mercy of the ſeas, Harding and Iohn Rous out of Dauid Pencair. by hap were brought to the coaſts of this Ile then called Albion, where they tooke land, and in ſeeking to prouide themſelues of victuals by purſute of wilde beaſts, met with no other inhabitants, than the rude and ſauage giants mentioned before, whome our hiſtoriens for their beaſtlie kind of life doo call diuells. With theſe monſters did theſe ladies (finding none other to ſatiſfie the motions of their ſenſuall luſt) ioine in the act of venerie, and ingendred a race of people in proportion nothing differing from their fathers that begat them, nor in conditions from their mothers that bare them.

But now peraduenture ye will thinke that I haue forgotten my ſelfe, in rehearſing this hiſtorie of the ladies arriuall here, bicauſe I make no mention of Albina, which ſhould be the eldeſt of the ſiſters, of whome this land ſhould alſo take the name of Albion. To this we anſwer, that as the name of their father hath bene miſtaken, ſo likewiſe hath the whole courſe of this hiſtorie in this behalfe. For though we ſhall admit that to be true which is rehearſed (in maner as before ye haue heard) of the arriuall here of thoſe ladies; yet certeine it is that none of them bare the name of Albina, from whome this land might be called Albion. For further aſſurance whereof, if any Higinus. man be deſirous to know all their names, we haue The names of the daughters of Danaus. thought good here to rehearſe them as they be found in Higinus, Pauſanias, and others, 1 Idea, 2 Philomela, 3 Scillo, 4 Phicomene, 5 Europe, 6 Demoditas, 7 Hyale, 8 Trite, 9 Damone, 10 Hipothoe, 11 Pirmidone, 12 Euridice, 13 Chleo, 14 Urania, 15 Cleopatra, 16 Phylea, 17 Hypareta, 18 Chryſothemis, 19 Heranta, 20 Armoaſſe, 21 Danaes, 22 Scea, 23 Glaucippe, 24 Demophile, 25 Autodice, 26 Polyxena, 27 Hecate, 28 Achamantis, 29 Arſalte, 30 Monuſke, 31 Aminone, 32 Helice, 33 Amaome, 34 Polybe, 35 Helice, 36 Electra, 37 Eubule, 38 Daphildice, 39 Hero, 40 Europomene, 41 Critomedia, 42 Pyrene, 43 Eupheno, 44 Themiſtagora, 45 Paleno, 46 Erato, 47 Autonomes, 48 Itea, 49 Chryſanta, 50 Hypermneſtra. Theſe were the names of thoſe ladies the daughters of Danaus: howbeit, which they were that ſhould arriue in this Ile, we can not ſay: but it ſufficeth to vnderſtand, that none of them hight Albina. So that, whether the hiſtorie of their landing here ſhould be true or not, it is all one for the matter concerning the name of this Ile, which vndoubtedlie was called Albion, either of Albion the giant (as before I haue See more in the deſcription. ſaid) or by ſome other occaſion.

And thus much for the ladies, whoſe ſtrange aduenture of their arriuall here, as it may ſeeme to manie (with good cauſe) incredible, ſo without further auouching it for truth, I leaue it to the conſideration of the reader, to thinke thereof as reaſon ſhall moue him; ſith I ſee not how either in this, or in other things of ſuch antiquitie, we cannot haue ſufficient warrant otherwiſe than by likelie coniectures. Which as in this hiſtorie of the ladies they are not moſt probable, yet haue we ſhewed the likelieſt, that (as we thinke) may be deemed to agree with thoſe authors that haue written of their comming into this Ile. But as for an aſſured proofe that this Ile was Humfr. L. inhabited with people before the comming of Brute, I truſt it may ſuffice which before is recited out of Annius de Viterbo, Theophilus, Gildas, and other, although much more might be ſaid: as of the comming hither of Oſiris, as well as in the other parties of the world: and likewiſe of Ulyſſes his being here, Ulyſſes in Britaine. who in performing ſome vow which he either then did make, or before had made, erected an altar in that part of Scotland which was anciently called Caledonia, as Iulius Solinus Polyhiſtor in plaine words Iulius Solinus. doth record.

¶ Vpon theſe conſiderations I haue no doubt to deliuer vnto the reader, the opinion of thoſe that thinke this land to haue bene inhabited before the arriuall here of Brute, truſting it may be taken in good part, ſith we haue but ſhewed the coniectures of others, till time that ſome ſufficient learned man ſhall take vpon him to decipher the doubts of all theſe matters. Neuertheleſſe, I thinke good to aduertiſe the reader that theſe ſtories of Samothes, Magus, Sarron, Druis, and Bardus, doo relie onelie vpon the authoritie of Beroſus, whom moſt diligent antiquaries doo reiect as a fabulous and counterfet author, and Vacerius hath laboured to proue the ſame by a ſpeciall treatiſe latelie publiſhed at Rome.

Harding. lex. Ner. Har.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Of Brute and his deſcent, how *he ſlue his father in hunting, his* baniſhment, his letter to king Pan*draſus, againſt whom he wageth* battell, taketh him priſoner, *and concludeth peace vpon* conditions.

The firſt Chapter.

HItherto haue we ſpoken of the inhabitants of this Ile before the comming of Brute, although ſome will néeds haue it, that he was the firſt which inhabited the ſame with his people deſcended of the Troians, ſome few giants onelie excepted whom he vtterlie deſtroied, and left not one of them aliue through the whole Ile. But as we ſhall not doubt of Brutes comming hither, ſo may we aſſuredly thinke, that he found the Ile peopled either with the generation of thoſe which Albion the giant had placed here, or ſome other kind of people whom he did ſubdue, and ſo reigned as well ouer them as ouer thoſe which he brought with him. Humfr. Lhoyd.

This Brutus, or Brytus [for this letter (Y) hath of ancient time had the ſounds both of V and I] (as the author of the booke which Geffrey of Monmouth tranſlated doth affirme) was the ſonne of Siluius, the ſonne of Aſcanius, the ſonne of Aeneas the Troian, begotten of his wife Creuſa, & borne in Troie, before the citie was deſtroied. But as other do take it, the author of that booke (whatſoeuer he was) and ſuch other as follow him, are deceiued onelie in this point, miſtaking the matter, in that Poſthumus the ſonne of Aeneas (begotten of his wife Lauinia, and borne after his fathers deceaſſe in Italie) was called Aſcanius, who had iſſue a ſonne named Julius, who (as theſe other do coniecture) was the father of Brute, that noble chieftaine and aduenturous leader of thoſe people, which being deſcended (for the more part in the fourth generation) from thoſe Troians that eſcaped with life, when that roiall citie was deſtroied by the Grékes, got poſſeſſion of this worthie and moſt famous Ile. Harding. Alex. Neuil. W. Har.

To this opinion Giouan Villani a Florentine in his vniuerſall hiſtorie, ſpeaking of Aeneas and his offſpring kings in Italie, ſéemeth to agrée, where he ſaith: Siluius (the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Lauinia) fell in loue with a néece of his mother Lauinia, and by hir had a ſonne, of whom he died in trauell, and therefore was called Brutus, who after as he grew in ſome ſtature, and hunting in a foreſt ſlue his father vnwares, and thereupon for feare of his grandfather Siluius Poſthumus he fled the countrie, and with a retinue of ſuch as followed him, paſſing through diuers ſeas, at length he arriued in the Ile of Britaine.

Concerning therefore our Brute, whether his father Julius was ſonne to Aſcanius the ſonne of Aeneas by his wife Creuſa, or ſonne to Poſthumus called alſo Aſcanius, and ſonne to Aeneas by his wife Lauinia, we will not further ſtand. But this, we find, that when he came to the age of 15. yéeres, ſo that he was now able to ride abrode with his father into the foreſts and chaſes, he fortuned (either by miſhap, or by Gods prouidence) to ſtrike his father with an arrow, in ſhooting at a déere, of which wound he alſo died. His grandfather (whether the ſame was Poſthumus, or his elder brother) hearing of this great miſfortune that had chanced to his ſonne Siluius, liued not long after, but died for verie greefe and ſorow (as is ſuppoſed) which he conceiued thereof. And the yong gentleman, immediatlie after he had ſlaine his father (in maner before alledged) was baniſhed his countrie, and thereupon got him into Grecia, where trauelling the countrie, he lighted by chance among ſome of the Troian offſpring, and aſſociating himſelfe with them, grew by meanes of the linage (whereof he was deſcended) in proces of time into great reputation among them: chieflie by reaſon there were yet diuers of the Troian race, and that of great authoritie in that countrie. For Pyrrhus the ſonne of Achilles, hauing no iſſue by his wife Hermione, maried Andromache, late wife vnto Hector: and by hir had three ſonnes, Poloſſus, Pileus, and Pergamus, who in their time grew to be of great power in thoſe places and countries, and their offſpring likewiſe: whereby Brutus or Brytus wanted no friendſhip. For euen at his firſt comming thither, diuers of the Troians that remained in ſeruitude, being deſirous of libertie, by flocks reſorted vnto him. And amongſt other, Aſſaracus was one, whom Brute intertained, receiuing at his hands the poſſeſſion of ſundrie forts and places of defenſe, before that the king of thoſe parties could haue vnderſtanding or knowledge of any ſuch thing. Herewith alſo ſuch as were readie to make the aduenture with him, repaired to him on eth ſide, whereupon he firſt placed garriſons in thoſe townes which had bene thus deliuered vnto him, and afterwards with Aſſaracus and the reſidue of the multitude he withdrew into the mountains néere adioining. And thus being made ſtrong with ſuch aſſiſtance, by conſultation had with them that were of moſt authoritie about him, Brute killeth his father. Pauſanias.

him, wrote vnto the king of that countrie called Pandraſus, in forme as followeth.

A letter of Brute to Pandraſus, as I *find it ſet downe in Galfride* Monumetenſis.

BRute leader of the remnant of the Troian people, to Pandraſus king of the Greekes, ſendeth greeting. Bicauſe it hath beene thought a thing vnworthie, that the people deſcended of the noble linage of Dardanus ſhould be otherwiſe dealt with than the honour of their nobilitie dooth require: they haue withdrawne themſelues within the cloſe couert of the woods. For they haue choſen rather (after the maner of wild beaſts) to liue on fleſh and herbs in libertie, than furniſhed with all the riches in the world to continue vnder the yoke of ſeruile thraldome. But if this their dooing offend thy mightie highneſſe, they are not to be blamed, but rather in this behalfe to be pardoned, ſith euerie captiue priſoner is deſirous to be reſtored vnto his former eſtate and dignitie. You therefore pitieng their caſe, vouchſafe to grant them their abridged libertie, and ſuffer them to remaine in quiet within theſe woods which they haue got into their poſſeſſion: if not ſo, yet giue them licence to depart forth of this countrie into ſome other parts.

The ſight of theſe letters, and requeſt in them conteined, made Pandraſus at the firſt ſomewhat amazed, howbeit deliberating further of the matter, and conſidering their ſmall number, he made no great account of them, but determined out of hand to ſuppreſſe them by force, before they ſhould grow to a greater multitude. And to bring his intention the better to paſſe, he paſſed by a towne called Sparatinum, & marching toward the woods where he thought to haue found his enimies, he was ſuddenlie aſſaulted by Brute, who with three thouſand men came forth of the woods, and fiercelie ſetting vpon his enimies, made great ſlaughter of them, ſo that they were vtterlie diſcomfited, & ſought by flight to ſaue themſelues in paſſing a riuer neere hand called Akalon. Brute with his men following faſt vpon the aduerſaries, cauſed them to plunge into the water at aduenture, ſo that manie of them were drowned. Howbeit Antigonus the brother of Pandraſus did what he could to ſtay the Grecians from fleeing, and calling them backe againe did get ſome of them togither, placed them in order, and began a new field: but it nothing auailed, for the Troians preſſing vpon him, tooke him priſoner, ſlue and ſcattred his companie, and ceaſed not till they had rid the fields of all their aduerſaries.

Pandraſus preparath an armie to ſuppreſſe the Troian offſpring.

Sparatinum.

Peraduenture Achelous

Antigonus, the brother of Pandraſus.

He is taken priſoner.

Brute entreth into Sparatinum.

This done, Brute entering the towne, furniſhed it with ſix hundred able ſouldiours, and afterwards went backe to the reſidue of his people that were incamped in the woods, where he was receiued with vnſpeakeable ioy for this proſperous atchiued enterpriſe. But although this euill ſucceſſe at the firſt beginning ſore troubled Pandraſus, as well for the loſſe of the field, as for the taking of his brother, yet was he rather kindled in deſire to ſeeke reuenge, than otherwiſe diſcouraged. And therefore aſſembling his people againe togither that were ſcattered here and there, he came the next day before the towne of Sparatinum, where he thought to haue found Brute incloſed togither with the priſoners, and therfore he ſhewed his whole endeuour by hard ſiege and fierce aſſaults to force them within to yeld.

To conclude, ſo long he continued the ſiege, till victuals began to ware ſcant within, ſo that there was no way but to yeld, if preſent ſuccour came not to remoue the ſiege: whereupon they ſignified their neceſſitie vnto Brute, who for that he had not power ſufficient to fight with the enimies in open field, he ment to giue them a camiſado in the night ſeaſon, and ſo ordered his buſineſſe, that informing a priſoner (named Anacletus whome he had taken in the laſt battell) to ſerue his turne, by conſtreining him to take an oth (which he durſt not for conſcience ſake breake) he found meanes to encounter with his enimies vpon the aduantage, that he did not onelie ouerthrowe their whole power, but alſo tooke Pandraſus priſoner, whereby all the trouble was ended: and ſhortlie after a perfect peace concluded, vpon theſe conditions following.

Pandraſus taken priſoner.

First, that Pandraſus ſhould giue his daughter Innogen vnto Brute in mariage, with a competent ſumme of gold and ſiluer for hir dowrie.

The conditions of the agreement betwixt Brute & Pandraſus.

Secondlie, to furniſh him and his people with a nauie of ſhips, and to fraught the ſame with victuals and all other neceſſaries.

Thirdlie, that Brute with his people ſhould haue licence to depart the countrie, to ſeeke aduentures whither ſo euer it ſhould pleaſe them to direct their courſe, without let, impeachment, or trouble to be offered anie waies by the Greeks.

To all theſe conditions (bicauſe they touched not the prerogatiue of his kingdome) Pandraſus did willinglie agree, and likewiſe performed.

Brute and his wife Innogen arriue in *Leogitia, they aske counſell of an oracle* where they ſhall inhabit, he meeteth with *a remnant of Troians on the coaſts* neere the ſhooting downe of the *Pyrenine hills into the ſea.*

The ſecond Chapter.

ALl things being thus brought to paſſe according to Brutes deſire, wind alſo and wether ſeruing the purpoſe, he with his wife Innogen and his people imbarked, and hoiſing vp ſailes departed from the coaſts of Grecia. Now after two daies and a nights ſailing, they arriued at Leogitia (in ſome old written bookes of the Britiſh hiſtorie noted downe Lergetia) an Iland, where they conſulted with an oracle. Brute himſelfe kneeling before the idoll, and holding in his right hand a boll prepared for ſacrifice full of wine, and the bloud of a white hinde, ſpake in this maner as here followeth:

Diua potens nemorum, terror ſylueſtribus apris,
Cui licet anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernáſq; domos, terreſtria iura reſolue,
Et dic quas terras nos habitare velis:
Dic certam ſedem qua te venerabor in æuum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.

These verſes (as Ponticus Virunnius and others alſo do geſſe) were written by Gildas Cambrius in his booke intituled *Cambreidos*, and may thus be Engliſhed:

Thou goddeſſe that doſt rule
the woods and forreſts greene,
And chaſeſt foming boares
that flee thine awfull ſight,
Thou that maiſt paſſe aloft
in airie skies ſo ſheene,

And

And walke eke vnder earth
in places void of light,
Diſcouer earthlie ſtates,
direct our courſe aright,
And ſhew where we ſhall dwell,
according to thy will,
In ſeates of ſure abode,
where temples we may dight
For virgins that ſhall ſound
thy laud with voices ſhrill.

After this praier and ceremonie done, according to the pagane rite and cuſtome, Brute abiding his anſwer, fell aſléepe: in which ſléepe appeared to him the ſaid goddeſſe vttering this anſwer in the verſes following expreſſed.

Brute, ſub occaſum ſolis trans Gallica regna,
Inſula in oceano eſt, vndiq; clauſa mari,
Inſula in oceano eſt, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deſerta quidem, gentibus apta tuis:
Hanc pete, námq; tibi ſedes erit illa perennis,
Hic fiet natis altera Troia tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges naſcentur, & ipſis
Totius terræ ſubdita turba orbis erit.

Brute, farre by-weſt beyond the Gallike land is found,
An Ile which with the ocean ſeas
incloſed is about,
Where giants dwelt ſometime,
but now is deſart ground,
Moſt meet where thou maiſt plant
thy ſelfe with all thy rout:
Make thitherwards with ſpeed,
for there thou ſhalt find out
An euerduring ſeat,
and Troie ſhall riſe anew,
Vnto thy race, of whom
ſhall kings be borne no dout,
That with their mightie power
the world ſhall whole ſubdew.

After he awaked out of ſléepe, and had called his dreame to remembrance, he firſt doubted whether it were a verie dreame, or a true viſion, the goddes hauing ſpoken to him with liuelie voice. Whereupon calling ſuch of his companie vnto him as he thought requiſite in ſuch a caſe, he declared vnto them the whole matter with the circumſtances, whereat they greatlie reioiſing, cauſed mightie bonfires to be made, in the which they caſt wine, milke, and other liquors, with diuers gums and ſpices of moſt ſweet ſmell and ſauour, as in the pagan religion was acuſtomed. Which obſeruances and ceremonies performed and brought to end, they returned ſtreightwaies to their ſhips, and as ſone as the wind ſerued, paſſed forward on their iournie with great ioy and gladneſſe, as men put in comfort to find out the wiſhed ſeats for their firme and ſure habitations. From hence therefore they caſt about, and making weſtward, firſt arriued in Affrica, and after kéeping on their courſe, they paſſed the ſtraits of Gibralterra, and coaſting alongſt the ſhore on the right hand, they found another companie that were likewiſe deſcended of the Troian progenie, on the coaſts nere where the Pyrenine hils ſhot downe to the ſea, whereof the ſame ſea by good reaſon (as ſome ſuppoſe) was named in thoſe daies *Mare Pyrenæum*, although hitherto by fault of writers & copiers of the Britiſh hiſtorie receiued, in this place *Mare Tyrrhenum*, was ſlightlie put downe in ſtead of *Pyrenæum*.

Brute with his companie landed in Affrike.

The miſtaking of thoſe that haue copied the Britiſh hiſtorie putting *Mare Tyrrhenum*, for *Pyrenæum*.

The offſpring of thoſe Troians, with whom Brute and his companie thus did méet, were a remnant of them that came away with Antenor. Their capteine hight Cozineus, a man of great modeſtie and approued wiſedome, and thereto of incomparable ſtrength and boldneſſe.

Brute and the ſaid Troians with their *capteine Corineus doo aſſociat, they take* landing within the dominion of king Gof*farus, he raiſeth an armie againſt Brute and* his power, but is diſcomfited: of the *citie of Tours: Brutes arriuall in this* Iland with his companie.

The third Chapter.

Brute and Cozineus ioin their companes together.

After that Brute and the ſaid Troians, by conference interchangeablie had, vnderſtood one anothers eſtates, and how they were deſcended from one countrie and progenie, they united themſelues togither, greatlie reioiſing that they were ſo fortunatlie met: and hoiſing vp their ſailes, directed their courſe forward ſtill, till they arriued within the mouth of the riuer of Loire, which diuideth Aquitaine from Gall Celtike, where they toke land within the dominion of a king called Goffarius, ſurnamed Pictus, by reaſon he was deſcended of the people *Agathyrſi*, otherwiſe named Picts, bicauſe they vſed to paint their faces and bodies, inſomuch that the richer a man was amongſt them, the more coſt he beſtowed in painting himſelfe; and commonlie the haire of their head was red, or (as probable writers ſay) of ſkie colour. Herodotus calleth them χρυσοφόρους, bicauſe they did weare much gold about them. They vſed their wiues in common, and bicauſe they are all ſuppoſed to be brethren, there is no ſtrife nor diſcord among them. Of theſe *Agathyrſi*, it is recorded by the ſaid Herodotus, that they refuſed to ſuccour the Scythians againſt Darius, giuing this reaſon of their refuſall; bicauſe they would not make warre againſt him who had done them no wrong. And of this people doth the poet make mention, ſaieng,

They arriue on the coaſts of Gallia, now called France. Goffarius ſurnamed Pictus. *Les annales d'Aquitaine.* Agathyrſi, otherwiſe called Picts, of painting their bodies. Marcellus. Plinie. Herodotus li. 4. Virg. Aeneid. 4.

Cretéſq; Dryopéſq; fremunt pictiq; Agathyrſi.

To paint their faces not for amiableneſſe, but for terribleneſſe, the Britons in old time vſed, and that with a kind of herbe like vnto plantine. In which reſpect I ſée no reaſon why they alſo ſhould not be called Picts, as well as the Agathyrſi; ſéeing the denomination ſprang of a vaine cuſtome in them both. And here by the way, ſithens we haue touched this follie in two ſeuerall people, let it not ſéeme tedious to read this one tricke of the Indians, among whom there is great plentie of pretious ſtones, wherewith they adorne themſelues in this maner; namelie, in certein hollow places which they make in their fleſh, they incloſe and riuet in pretious ſtones, and that as well in their foreheads as their chéekes, to none other purpoſe, than the Agathyrſi in the vſe of their painting. Cæſar com. li. 5 P. Mart. com. part. 2. ſect. 60.

The countrie of Poictou (as ſome hold) where the ſaid Goffarius reigned, toke name of this people: likewiſe a part of this our Ile of Britaine now contained within Scotland, which in ancient time was called Pightland or Pictland, as elſewhere both in this hiſtorie of England, and alſo of Scotland may further appeare. But to our purpoſe.

Pightland or Pictland.

When Goffarius the king of Poictou was aduertiſed of the landing of theſe ſtrangers within his countrie, he ſent firſt certeine of his people to vnderſtand what they ment by their comming a land within his dominion, without licence or leaue of him obteined. They that were thus ſent, came by chance to a place where Cozineus with two hundred of the companie were come from the ſhips into a forreſt nére the ſea ſide, to kill ſome veneſon for their ſuſte-

Goffarius ſendeth vnto Brute.

nance:

nance: and being rebuked with some disdainfull speach of those Poictouins, he shaped them a round answer: insomuch that one of them whose name was Imbert, let driue an arrow at Corinetus: but he auoiding the danger thereof, shot againe at Imbert, in reuenge of that iniurie offered, and claue his head in sunder. The rest of the Poictouins fled therevpon, and brought word to Goffarius what had happened: who immediatlie with a mightie armie made forward to encounter with the Troians; and comming to ioine with them in battell, after a sharpe and sore conflict, in the end Brute with his armie obteined a triumphant victorie, specially through the noble prowesse of Corineus.

Corineus answereth the messengers. Imbert.

Imbert is slaine by Corineus.

Goffarius raiseth an armie.

Goffarius is discomfited.

Goffarius seeketh aid against Brute.

Goffarius escaping from the field, fled into the inner parts of Galia, making suit for assistance vnto such kings as in those daies reigned in diuers prouinces of that land, who promised to aid him with all their forces, and to expell out of the coasts of Aquitaine, such strangers as without his licence were thus entred the countrie. But Brute in the meane time passed forward, and with fire and sword made hauocke in places where he came: and gathering great spoiles, fraught his ships with plentie of riches. At length he came to the place, where afterwards he built a citie named *Turonium*, that is, Tours.

Brute spoileth the countrie.

Turonium or Tours built by Brute.

Here Goffarius with such Galles as were assembled to his aid, gaue battell againe vnto the Troians that were incamped to abide his comming. Where after they had fought a long time with singular manhood on both parties: the Troians in fine oppressed with multitudes of aduersaries (euen thirtie times as manie mo as the Troians) were constreined to retire into their campe, within the which the Galles kept them as besieged, lodging round about them, and purposing by famine to compell them to yéeld themselues vnto their mercie. But Corineus taking counsell with Brute, deuised to depart in the darke of the night out of the campe, to lodge himselfe with three thousand chosen souldiers secretlie in a wood, and there to remaine in couert till the morning that Brute should come forth and giue a charge vpon the enimies, wherewith Corineus should breake forth and assaile the Galles on the backes.

Goffarius hauing renewed his forces, fighteth eftsoones with Brute.

This policie was put in practise, and tooke such effect as the deuisers themselues wished: for the Galles being sharplie assailed on the front by Brute and his companie, were now with the sudden comming of Corineus (who set vpon them behind on their backes) brought into such a feare, that incontinentlie they tooke them to flight, whom the Troians egerlie pursued, making no small slaughter of them as they did ouertake them. In this battell Brute lost manie of his men, and amongst other one of his nephues named Turinus, after he had shewed maruellous proofe of his manhood. Of him (as some haue written) the foresaid citie of Tours tooke the name, and was called *Turonium*, because the said Turinus was there buried.

Theuet.

Andrew Theuet affirmeth the contrarie, and mainteineth that one Taurus the nephue of Hanniball was the first that inclosed it about with a pale of wood (as the maner of those daies was of fensing their townes) in the yeare of the world 3374. and before the birth of our sauiour 197.

3374

But to our matter concerning Brute, who after he had obteined so famous a victorie, albeit there was good cause for him to reioise, yet it sore troubled him to consider that his numbers dailie decaied, and his enimies still increased, and grew stronger: wherevpon resting doubtfull what to doo, whether to proceed against the Galles, or returne to his ships to seeke the Ile that was appointed him by oracle, at length he chose the surest and best way, as he tooke it, and as it proued. For whilest the greater part of his armie was yet left aliue, and that the victorie remained on his side, he drew to his naule, and lading his ships with exceeding great store of riches which his people had got abroad in the countrie, he tooke the seas againe. After a few daies sailing they landed at the hauen now called Totnesse, the yeare of the world 2850, after the destruction of Troy 66, after the deliuerance of the Israelites from the captiuitie of Babylon 397, almost ended, in the 18 yeare of the reigne of Æneas king of Babylon, 13 of Pelanthus king of Athens, before the building of Rome 368, which was before the natiuitie of our Sauior Christ 1116, almost ended, and before the reigne of Alexander the great 783.

Brute hauing his remnant arriueth in Ile. Anno mundi 2850.

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Brute discouereth the commodities of *this Iland, mightie giants withstand him,* Gogmagog and Corineus wrestle together *at a place beside Douer: he buildeth the* citie of Trinouant now termed London, *calleth this Iland by the name of* Britaine, and diuideth it into three *parts among his three sonnes.*

The fourth Chapter.

WHEN Brute had entred this land, immediatlie after his arriuall (as writers do record) he searched the countrie from side to side, and from end to end, finding it in most places verie fertile and plentious of wood and grasse, and full of pleasant springs and faire riuers. As he thus trauelled to discouer the state and commodities of the Iland, he was encountred by diuers strong and mightie giants, whome he destroied and slue, or rather subdued, with all such other people as he found in the Iland, which were more in number than by report of some authors it should appeare there were. Among these giants (as Geffrey of Monmouth writeth) there was one of passing strength and great estimation, named Gogmagog, with whome Brute caused Corineus to wrestle at a place beside Douer, where it chanced that the giant brake a rib in the side of Corineus while they strone to claspe, and the one to ouerthrow the other: wherewith Corineus being sore chafed and stirred to wrath, did so double his force that he got the vpper hand of the giant, and cast him downe headlong from one of the rocks there, not farre from Douer, and so dispatched him: by reason whereof the place was named long after, The fall or leape of Gogmagog, but afterward it was called The fall of Douer. For this valiant deed, and other the like seruices first and last atchiued, Brute gaue vnto Corineus the whole countrie of Cornwall. To be briefe, after that Brute had destroied such as stood against him, and brought such people vnder his subiection as he found in the Ile, and searched the land from the one end to the other: he was desirous to build a citie, that the same might be the seate roiall of his empire or kingdome. Wherevpon he chose a plot of ground lieng on the north side of the riuer of Thames, which by good consideration seemed to be most pleasant and conuenient for any great multitude of inhabitants, aswell for holsomnesse of aire, goodnesse of soile, plentie of woods, and commoditie of the riuer, serving as well to bring in as to carrie out all kinds of merchandize and things necessarie for the gaine, store, and vse of them that there should inhabit.

Brute entreth the countrie by the giants.

Corineus wrestleth with Gogmagog.

Gogmagog slaine.

Cornwall giuen to Corineus.

Brute in doubt what to doo.

inhabit.

Here therefore he began to build and lay the foundation of a citie, in the tenth or (as other thinke) in the second yeare after his arriuall, which he named (saith Gal.Mon.) Troinouant, or (as Hum. Llhoyd saith) Troinewith, that is, new Troy, in remembrance of that noble citie of Troy from whence he and his people were for the greater part descended.

When Brutus had builded this citie, and brought the Iland fullie vnder his subiection, he by the aduise of his nobles commanded this Ile (which before hight Albion) to be called Britaine, and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for a perpetuall memorie that he was the first bringer of them into the land. In this meane while also he had by his wife three sonnes, the first named Locrinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Camber, and the third Albanactus or Albanact. Now when the time of his death drew néere, to the first he betoke the gouernment of that part of the land nowe knowne by the name of England: so that the same was long after called Loegria, or Logiers, of the said Locrinus. To the second he appointed the countrie of Wales, which of him was first named Cambria, diuided from Loegria by the riuer of Seuerne. To his third sonne Albanact he deliuered all the north part of the Ile, afterward called Albania, after the name of the said Albanact: which portion of the said Ile lieth beyond the Humber northward. Thus when Brutus had diuided the Ile of Britaine (as before is mentioned) into 3. parts, and had gouerned the same by the space of 15. yeares, he died in the 24 yeare after his arriuall (as Harison noteth) and was buried at Troinouant or London: although the place of his said buriall there be now growne out of memorie.

In the dales of this sour Kings Saule and Samuell gouerned Israell.

Of Locrine the eldest sonne of Brute, *of Albanact his yoongest sonne, and his* death: of Madan, Mempricius, Ebranke, *Brute Greenesheeld, Leill,* Ludhurdibras, Baldud, and Leir, *the nine rulers of Britaine successiuelie after Brute.*

The fift Chapter.

Locrine the second ruler of Britain

Gal.Mon. Mat.West. Fabian out of G. de Co.

LOcrinus or Locrine the first begotten sonne of Brute began to reigne ouer the countrie called Logiers, in the yeare of the world 1874, and held to his part the countrie that reached from the south sea vnto the riuer of Humber. While this Locrinus gouerned Logiers, his brother Albanact ruled in Albania, where in fine he was slaine in a battell by a king of the Hunnes or Scythians, called Humber, who inuaded that part of Britaine, and got possession thereof, till Locrinus with his brother Camber, in reuenge of their other brothers death, and for the recouerie of the kingdome, gathered their powers togither, and comming against the said king of the Hunnes, by the valiancie of their people they discomfited him in battell, and chased him so egerlie, that he himselfe and a great number of his men were drowned in the gulfe that then parted Loegria and Albania, which after tooke name of the said king, and was called Humber, and so continueth vnto this daie.

Gal.Mon. Mat.West.

It should seeme that he was come once the Humber.

Gal. Mon.

Moreouer in this battell against the Hunnes were three yong damsels taken of excellent beautie, specially one of them, whose name was Estrild, daughter to a certeine king of Scythia. With this Estrild king Locrine fell so farre in loue, notwithstanding a former contract made betwixt him and the ladie Guendoloena, daughter to Corineus duke of Cornwall, that he meant yet with all speed to marie the same Estrild. But being earnestlie called vpon, and in manner forced thereto by Corineus, hée changed his purpose, and married Guendoloena, kéeping neuertheles the aforesaid Estrild as paramour still after a secret sort, during the life of Corineus his father in law.

Now after that Corineus was departed this world, Locrine forsoke Guendoloena, and maried Estrild. Guendoloena therefore being cast off by hir husband, got hir into Cornewall to hir friends and kinred, and there procured them to make warre against the said Locrine hir husband, in the which warres hée was slaine, and a battell fought néere to the riuer of Sture, after he had reigned (as writers affirme) twentie yeares, & was buried by his father in the Citie of Troinouant, leaving behind him a yong sonne (begotten of his wife Guendoloena) named Madan, as yet vnmeete to gouerne. Mat.West.

Guendoloena or Guendoline the wife of Locrinus, and daughter of Corineus duke of Cornewall, for so much as hir sonne Madan was not of yeares sufficient to gouerne, was by common consent of the Britons made ruler of the Ile, in the yéere of the world 2894, and so hauing the administration in hir hands, she did right discréetlie vse hir selfe therein, to the comfort of all hir subiects, till hir sonne Madan came to lawfull age, and then she gaue ouer the rule and dominion to him, after she had gouerned by the space of fiftéene yeares.

Shée is not numbred amongst those that reigned as rulers in this land by Mat. west.

Gal. Mon.

Madan the third ruler.

MAdan the sonne of Locrine and Guendoline entred into the gouernement of Britaine in the 2909, of the world. There is little left in writing of his doings, sauing that he vsed great tyrannie amongst his Britons: and therefore after he had ruled this land the tearme of 40. yeares, he was deuoured of wild beasts, as he was abroad in hunting. He left behind him two sonnes, Mempricius and Manlius. He builded (as is reported) Madancastre, now Dancastre, which reteineth still the later part of his name.

Mempricius the fourth ruler.

Fabian.

MEmpricius the eldest sonne of Madan began his reigne ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2949, he continued not long in peace. For his brother Manlius vpon an ambitious mind prouoked the Britons to rebell against him, so that sore and deadly warre continued long betweene them. But finallie, vnder colour of a treatie, Manlius was slaine by his brother Mempricius, so that then he liued in more tranquillitie and rest. Howbeit, being deliuered thus from trouble of warres, he fell into slouth, and so into vnlawfull lust of lecherie, and thereby into the hatred of his people, by forcing of their wiues and daughters: and finallie became so beastlie, that he forsoke his lawfull wife and all his concubines, and fell into the abhominable sinne of Sodomie. And thus from one vice he fell into another, till he became odious to God and man, and at length, going on hunting, was lost of his people, and deuoured of wild beasts, when he had reigned twentie yeares, leauing behind him a noble yong sonne named Ebranke, begotten of his lawfull wife.

Manlius is slaine. Gal. Mon.

Slouth engendzed lecherie.

Mempricius is deuoured of beastes.

Ebranke the fift ruler.

EBranke the sonne of Mempricius began to rule ouer the Britons in the yeare of the world 2969. He had as writers do of him record, one and twentie wiues, on whom he begot 20. sonnes and 30. daughters, of the which the eldest hight Guales, or Guales. These daughters he sent to Alba Sylvius, which was the eleuenth king of Italie, or the first king of the Latines, to the end they might be married

Ebranke had 21. wiues: his thirtie daughters sent into Italie.

married to his noble men of the blood of Troians, because the Sabines refused to ioine their daughters with them in marriage. Furthermore, he was the first prince of his land that euer inuaded France after Bute, and is commended as author and originall builder of many cities, both in his owne kingdome, and else where. His sonnes also vnder the conduct of Assaracus, one of their eldest brethren, returning out of Italie, after they had conducted their sisters thither, inuaded Germanie, being first molested by the people of that countrie in their rage, and by the helpe of the said Alba subdued a great part of that countrie, & there planted themselues. Our histories say, that Ebracus their father married them in their returne, and aided them in their conquests, and that he builded the citie of Caerbranke, now called Yorke, about the 14. yeare of his reigne. He builded also in Albania now called Scotland, the castle of Maidens, afterward called Edenburgh of Adian one of their kings. The citie of Alclud was builded likewise by him (as some write) now decaied. After which cities thus builded, he sailed ouer into Gallia, now called France, with a great armie, and subduing the Galles as is aforesaid, he returned home with great riches and triumph. Now when he had guided the land of Britaine in noble wise by the tearme of fortie yeares, he died, and was buried at Yorke.

Bergomas lib. 6.

The citie of Caerbranke builded. Matth. West.

Fortie yeares hath Math. West. and Gal. Monmine.

Brute Greeneshield the sixt ruler.

Iacobus Leſ.

BRute Greeneshield, the sonne of Ebranke, was made gouernor of this land in the yeare of the world 3009, Asa reigning in Juda, and Baasa in Israell. This prince bare alwaies in the field a greene shield, whereof he toke his surname, and of him some forraine authors affirme, that he made an attempt to bring the whole realme of France vnder his subiection, which he performed, because his father sustained some dishonor and losse in his last voiage into that countrie. Howbeit they say, that when he came into Henaud, Brinchild a prince of that quarter gaue him also a great ouerthrow, and compelled him to retire home againe into his countrie. This I borrow out of William Harison, who in his chronologie toucheth the same at large, concluding in the end, that the said passage of this prince into France is verie likelie to be true, and that he named a parcell of Armorica lieng on the south, and in manner vpon the verie loine after his owne name, and also a citie which he builded there Britaine. For (saith he) it should seeme by Strabo. lib. 4. that there was a noble citie of that name long before his time in the said countrie, whereof Plinie also speaketh lib. 4. cap. 7. albeit that he ascribe it vnto France after a disordered maner. Yore I find not of this foresaid Brute, sauing that he ruled the land a certeine time, his father yet liuing, and after his decease the tearme of twelue yeares, and then died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke.

Strabo lib. 4.

Leill the seuenth ruler.

Carleil builded.

LEill the sonne of Brute Greeneshield, began to reigne in the yeare of the world 3021, the same time that Asa was reigning in Juda, and Ambri in Israell. He built the citie now called Carleil, which then after his owne name was called Caerleil, that is, Leill his citie, or the citie of Leill. He repaired also (as Henrie Bradshaw saith) the citie of Caerleon now called Chester, which (as in the same Bradshaw appeareth) was built before Brutus entrie into this land by a giant named Leon Gauer. But what authoritie he had to auouch this, it may be doubted, for Ranulfe Higden in his booke intituled Polychronicon, saith in plaine words, that it is vnknowen who was the first founder of Chester, but that it toke the name of the soiourning there of some Romaine legions, by whome also it is not vnlike that it might be first built by Publius Scapula, who as we find, after he had subdued Caratacus king of the Ordouices that inhabited the countries now called Lancashire, Cheshire, and Salopshire, built in those parts, and among the Silures, certeine places of defense, for the better harborough of his men of warre, and keeping downe of such Britaines as were still readie to moue rebellion.

Chester repaired.

But now to the purpose concerning K. Leill. We find it recorded that he was in the beginning of his reigne verie vpright, and desirous to see iustice executed, and aboue all thinges loued peace & quietnesse; but as yeares increased with him, so his vertues began to diminish, in so much that abandoning the care for the bodie of the commonwealth, he suffered his owne bodie to welter in all vice and voluptuousnesse, and so procuring the hatred of his subiects, caused malice and discord to rise amongst them, which during his life he was neuer able to appease. But leauing them so at variance, he departed this life, & was buried at Carleil, which as ye haue heard he had builded while he liued.

Lud or Ludhurdibras the eight ruler.

LVd or Ludhurdibras the sonne of Leill began to gouerne in the yeare of the world 3046. In the beginning of his reigne, hee sought to appease the debate that was raised in his fathers daies, and bring the realme to his former quietnesse, and after that he had brought it to good end, he builded the towne of Kaerkin now called Canterburie: also the towne of Caerguent now cleped Winchester, and mount Paladour now called Shaftsburie. About the building of which towne of Shaftsburie, Aquila a prophet of the Britith nation wrote his prophesies, of which some fragments remaine yet to be seene, translated into the Latine by some ancient writers. When this Lud had reigned 29. yeares, he died, and left a sonne behind him named Baldud.

Kaerkin or Canterburie is builded.

Caerguent is builded.

Paladour is builded.

Baldud or Bladud the ninth ruler.

BAldud the sonne of Ludhurdibras began to rule ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3085. This man was well seene in the sciences of astronomie and nigromancie, by which (as the common report saith) he made the hot bathes in the citie of Caerbran now called Bath. But William of Malmesburie is of a contrarie opinion, affirming that Julius Cesar made those bathes, or rather repaired them when he was here in England: which is not like to be true: for Julius Cesar, as by good coniecture we haue to thinke, neuer came so farre within the land that way forward. But of these bathes more shall be said in the description. Now to proceed. This Baldud toke such pleasure in artificiall practises & magike, that he taught this art throughout all his realme. And to shew his cunning in other points, vpon a presumptuous pleasure which he had therein, he toke vpon him to flie in the aire, but he fell vpon the temple of Apollo, which stood in the citie of Troinouant, and there was torne in peces after he had ruled the Britaines by the space of 20. yeares.

Gal. Mon. The king was learned. Hot bathes.

Mat. West. The prince did flie.

Leir the 10. ruler.

LEir the sonne of Baldud was admitted ruler ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3105, at what time Joas reigned in Juda. This Leir was a prince of right noble demeanor, gouerning his land and subiects in great wealth. He made the towne of Caerleir now called Leicester, which standeth vpon the riuer of Soare. It is written that he had by his wife three daughters without other issue, whose names were Gonorilla, Regan, and Cordeilla. which daughters he greatly loued, but specially Cordeilla the youngest farre aboue the two elder. When this Leir therefore was come to great yeres, & began to waxe vnwieldie through age, he thought to vnderstand the affections of his daughters towards him, and preferre her whome he best loued, to the succession ouer the kingdome. Wherupon he first asked

Mat. West. Leicester is builded.

Gal. Mon.

A triall of loue.

asked Gonorilla the eldeſt, how well ſhe loued him: who calling hir gods to record, protested that ſhe loued him more than hir owne life, which by right and reaſon ſhould be moſt déere vnto hir. With which anſwer the father being well pleaſed, turned to the ſecond, and demanded of hir how well ſhe loued him: who anſwered (confirming hir ſaiengs with great othes) that ſhe loued him more than tong could expreſſe, and farre aboue all other creatures of the world.

Then called he his yongeſt daughter Cordeilla before him, and aſked of hir what account ſhe made of him, vnto whome ſhe made this anſwer as followeth: Knowing the great loue and fatherlie zeale that you haue alwaies borne towards me (for the which I maie not anſwere you otherwiſe than I thinke, and as my conſcience leadeth me) I proteſt vnto you, that I haue loued you euer, and will continuallie (while I liue) loue you as my naturall father. And if you would more vnderſtand of the loue that I beare you, aſſertaine your ſelfe, that ſo much as you haue, ſo much you are worth, and ſo much I loue you, and no more. The father being nothing content with this anſwer, married his two eldeſt daughters, the one vnto Henninus the duke of Cornewall, and the other vnto Maglanus the duke of Albania, betwixt whome he willed and ordeined that his land ſhould be diuided after his death, and the one halfe thereof immediatlie ſhould be aſſigned to them in hand: but for the third daughter Cordeilla he reſerued nothing.

The anſwer of the yongeſt daughter.

The two eldeſt daughters are maried.

The realme is promiſed to his two daughters.

Neuertheles it fortuned that one of the princes of Gallia (which now is called France) whoſe name was Aganippus, hearing of the beautie, womanhod, and good conditions of the ſaid Cordeilla, deſired to haue hir in mariage, and ſent ouer to hir father, requiring that he might haue hir to wife: to whome anſwer was made, that he might haue his daughter, but as for anie dower he could haue none, for all was promiſed and aſſured to hir other ſiſters alreadie. Aganippus notwithſtanding this anſwer of denial to receiue anie thing by way of dower with Cordeilla, toke hir to wife, onlie moued thereto (I ſaie) for reſpect of hir perſon and amiable vertues. This Aganippus was one of the twelue kings that ruled Gallia in thoſe daies, as in the Britiſh hiſtorie it is recorded. But to proceed.

He gouerned the third part of Gallia as Gal. Mon. ſaith.

After that Leir was fallen into age, the two dukes that had married his two eldeſt daughters, thinking it long yer the gouernment of the land did come to their hands, aroſe againſt him in armour, and reft from him the gouernance of the land, vpon conditions to be continued for terme of life: by the which he was put to his portion, that is, to liue after a rate aſſigned to him for the maintenance of his eſtate, which in proceſſe of time was diminiſhed as well by Maglanus as by Henninus. But the greateſt griefe that Leir toke, was to ſee the vnkindneſſe of his daughters, which ſeemed to thinke that all was too much which their father had, the ſame being neuer ſo little: in ſo much that going from the one to the other, he was brought to that miſerie, that ſcarſlie they would allow him one ſeruant to wait vpon him.

In the end, ſuch was the vnkindneſſe, or (as I maie ſaie) the vnnaturalneſſe which he found in his two daughters, notwithſtanding their faire and pleaſant words vttered in time paſt, that being conſtreined of neceſſitie, he fled the land, & ſailed into Gallia, there to ſeeke ſome comfort of his yongeſt daughter Cordeilla, whom before time he hated. The ladie Cordeilla hearing that he was arriued in poore eſtate, the firſt ſent to him priuilie a certeine ſumme of monie to apparell himſelfe withall, and to reteine a certeine number of ſeruants that might attend vpon him in honorable wiſe, as apperteined to the eſtate which he had borne: and then ſo accompanied, ſhe appointed him to come to the court, which he did, and was ſo ioifullie, honorablie, and louinglie receiued, both by his ſonne in law Aganippus, and alſo by his daughter Cordeilla, that his hart was greatlie comforted: for he was no leſſe honored, than if he had bæne king of the whole countrie himſelfe.

Now when he had informed his ſonne in law and his daughter in what ſort he had béene vſed by his other daughters, Aganippus cauſed a mightie armie to be put in a readineſſe, and likewiſe a great nauie of ſhips to be rigged, to paſſe ouer into Britaine with Leir his father in law, to ſée him againe reſtored to his kingdome. It was accorded, that Cordeilla ſhould alſo go with him to take poſſeſſion of the land, the which he promiſed to leaue vnto hir, as the rightfull inheritour after his deceaſſe, notwithſtanding any former grant made to hir ſiſters or to their huſbands in anie maner of wiſe.

Herevpon, when this armie and nauie of ſhips were readie, Leir and his daughter Cordeilla with hir huſband toke the ſea, and arriuing in Britaine, fought with their enimies, and diſcomfited them in battell, in the which Maglanus and Henninus were ſlaine: and then was Leir reſtored to his kingdome, which he ruled after this by the ſpace of two yéeres, and then died, fortie yeeres after he firſt began to reigne. His bodie was buried at Leiceſter in a vaut vnder the chanell of the riuer of Soze beneath the towne. Math. Weſt.

The gunarchie of queene Cordeilla, *how ſhe was vanquiſhed, of hir impriſonment and ſelfe-murther: the contention betweene Cunedag and* Margan nephewes for go*uernement, and the euill end* thereof.

The ſixt Chapter.

Queene Cordeilla.

Cordeilla the yongeſt daughter of Leir was admitted Q. and ſupreme gouernelle of Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3155, before the bylding of Rome 54, Vzia then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam ouer Iſraell. This Cordeilla after hir fathers deceaſſe ruled the land of Britaine right worthilie during the ſpace of fiue yéeres, in which meane time hir huſband died, and then about the end of thoſe fiue yéeres, hir two nephewes Margan and Cunedag, ſonnes to hir aforeſaid ſiſters, diſdaining to be vnder the gouernment of a woman, leuied warre againſt hir, and deſtroied a great part of the land, and finallie toke hir priſoner, and laid hir faſt in ward, wherewith ſhe toke ſuch griefe, being a woman of a manlie courage, and deſpairing to recouer libertie, there ſhe ſlue hirſelfe, when ſhe had reigned (as before is mentioned) the tearme of fiue yéeres.

Cunedag and Margan.

Cunedagius and Marganus nephewes to Cordeilla, hauing recouered the land out of hir hands, diuided the ſame betwixt them, that is to ſaie, the countrie ouer and beyond Humber fell to Margan, as it ſtretcheth euen to Catneſſe, and the other part lieng ſouth and by-weſt, was aſſigned to Cunedagius. This partition chanced in the yéere of the world 3170, before the building of Rome 47, Vzia as then reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Iſraell. After-

wards, theſe two couſins, Cunedag and Margan, had not reigned thus paſt a two yéeres, but thorough ſome ſeditious perſons, Margan was perſuaded to raiſe warre againſt Cunedag, telling him in his eare, how it was a ſhame for him being come of the elder ſiſter, not to haue the rule of the whole Ile in his hand. Herevpon ouercome with pride, ambition, and couetouſneſſe, he raiſed an armie, and entring into the land of Cunedag, he burned and deſtroied the countrie before him in miſerable maner.

Margan inuadeth his couſine Cunedag.

Cunedag in all haſt to reſiſt his aduerſarie, aſſembled alſo all the power he could make, and comming with the ſame againſt Margan, gaue him battell, in the which he ſlue a great number of Margans people, and put the reſidue to flight, and furthermore purſued him from countrie to countrie, till he came into Cambria, now called Wales, where the ſaid Margan gaue him eſtſoones a new battell: but being too weake in number of men, he was there ouercome and ſlaine in the field, by reaſon whereof that countrie toke name of him, being there ſlaine, and ſo is called to this daie Glau Margan, which is to meane in our Engliſh tong, Margans land. This was the end of that Margan, after he had reigned with his brother two yéeres, or thereabouts.

Margan is ſlaine. Matt. Weſt.

Cunedagus alone.

After the death of Margan, Cunedag the ſonne of Yennius and Ragaie (middlemoſt daughter of Leir before mentioned) became ruler of all the whole land of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3172, before the building of Rome 45, Vzia ſtill reigning in Juda, and Jeroboam in Iſraell. He gouerned this Ile well and honourablie for the tearme of 33 yeares, and then dieng, his bodie was buried at Troinouant or London. Moreouer, our writers do report, that he builded three temples, one to Mars at Perth in Scotland, another to Mercurie at Bangor, and the third to Apollo in Cornewall.

Of Riuallus, Gurguſtius, Syſillius, Iago, and Kinimacus, *rulers of Britaine* by ſucceſsion, and of the accidents *coincident with their times.*

The ſeuenth Chapter.

Riuallus the 13. ruler.

Riuallus, the ſonne of Cunedag, began to reigne ouer the Britaines in the yeare of the world 3203, before the building of Rome 15, Joathan as then being king of Juda, and Phacea king of Iſrael. This Riuall gouerned the Iland in great welth and proſperitie. In his time it rained bloud by the ſpace of three daies togither; after which raine enſued ſuch an exceeding number and multitude of flies, ſo noiſome and contagious, that much people died by reaſon thereof. When he had reigned 46 yeares he died, and was buried at Caerbranke now called Yorke. In the time of this Riuals reigne was the citie of Rome builded, after concordance of moſt part of writers. Perdix alſo a wizard, and a learned aſtrologian flouriſhed and writ his prophecies, and Herene alſo.

It rained bloud. Matth. Weſt.

Rome builded

Gurguſtius the 14. ruler.

Gurguſtius, the ſon of the before named Riuall, began to gouerne the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3249, and after the firſt foundation of Rome 33, Ezechias reigning in Juda. This Gurguſtius in the chronicle of England, is called Gorbodian the ſonne of Reignold, he reigned 37 yeares, then departing this life, was buried at Caerbranke (now called Yorke) by his father.

Syſillius, or after ſome writers Syluius, the brother of Gurguſtius, was choſen to haue the gouernance of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3287, and after the building of Rome 71, Manaſſes ſtill reigning in Juda. This Syſillius in the Engliſh chronicle is named Seciſil. He reigned 49 yeares, and then died, and was buried at Carbadon, now called Bath.

Syſillius the 15. ruler.

Iago or Lago, the couſin of Gurguſtius, as next inheritor to Syſillius, toke vpon him the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3336, and after the building of Rome 120, in whoſe time the citie of Jeruſalem was taken by Nabuchodonozar and the king of Juda, Mathania, otherwiſe called Zedechias, being ſlaine. This Iago or Lago died without iſſue, when he had reigned 28 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Iago the 16. ruler.

Kinimacus or Kinmarus the ſonne of Syſillius as ſome write, or rather the brother of Iago, began to gouerne the land of Britain, in the yere of the world 3364, and after the building of Rome 148, the Jewes as then being in the third yeare of their captiuitie of Babylon. This Kinimacus departed this life, after he had reigned 54 yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Kinimacus the 17. ruler.

Of Gorbodug and his two ſonnes Ferrex *and* Porrex, *one brother killeth another, the mother ſlaieth hir ſonne, and how Britaine by ciuill warres (for lacke of iſſue* legitimate to the gouernment) *of a monarchie became a pentarchie: the end* of Brutes line.

The eight Chapter.

Gorbodug the 18. ruler.

Gorbodug the ſonne of Kinimacus began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare after the creation of the world 3418, from the building of the citie of Rome 202, the 58 of the Jews captiuitie at Babylon. This Gorbodug by moſt likelihood to bring hiſtories to accord, ſhould reigne about the tearme of 62 yeares, and then departing this world, was buried at London, leauing after him two ſonnes Ferrex and Porrex, or after ſome writers, Ferreus and Porreus.

Ferrex the 19. ruler.

Ferrex with Porrex his brother began ſointlie to rule ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3476, after the building of Rome 260, at which time, the people of Rome forſoke their citie in their rebellious mood. Theſe two brethren continued for a time in good friendſhip and amitie, till at length through couetouſneſſe, and deſire of greater dominion, prouoked by flatterers, they fell at variance and diſcord, wherby Ferrex was conſtreined to flée into Gallia, and there purchaſed aid of a great duke called Gunhardus or Suardus, and ſo returned into Britaine, thinking to preuaile and obteine the dominion of the whole Iland. But his brother Porrex was readie to receiue him with battell after he was landed, in the which battell Ferrex was ſlaine, with the more part of his people. The Engliſh chronicle ſaith, that Porrex was he that fled into France, & at his returne, was ſlaine, and that Ferrex ſuruiued. But Geffrey of Monmouth & Polychronicon are of a contrarie opinion. Matthew Weſtmonaſterienſis writeth, that Porrex deuiſing waies to kill Ferrex, atchiued his purpoſe and ſlue him. But whether of them ſo euer ſuruiued, the mother of them was ſo highlie offended for the death of him that was ſlaine, whom the moſt intierlie

Ferrex fled into Gallia.

Matth. Weſt.

intierlie loued, that setting apart all motherlie affection, she found the meanes to enter the chamber of him that surviued in the night season, and as he slept, she with the helpe of hir maidens slue him, and cut him into small peeces, as the writers do affirme. Such was the end of these two brethren, after they had reigned by the space of foure yeares.

The mother killeth hir son.

After this followed a troublous season, full of cruell warre, and seditious discord, wherby in the end, and for the space of fiftie yeares, the monarchie or gouernement of the Iland became spent at this, that is, it was diuided betwixt fiue kings or rulers, till Dunwallon of Cornewall ouercame them all. Thus the line of Brute (according to the report of most writers) tooke an end: for after the death of the two foresaid brethren, no rightfull inheritor was left aliue to succeed them in the kingdome. The names of these fiue kings are found in certeine old pedegrees: and although the same be much corrupted in diuers copies, yet these vndernamed are the most agreeable.

Robert Record

But of these fiue kings or dukes, the English chronicle alloweth Cloton king of Cornewall for most right full heire. There appeareth not any thing certeine by report of ancient authors, how long this variance continued amongst the Britains: but (as some say) it lasted for the space of 51 yeares, counting so much by that which is recorded in Polychron. who saith, that it endured from the beginning of the reigne of Mulmucius Dunwallon, who began to gouerne from the time that Brute first entred Britaine, about the space of 700 yeares.

Fabian. Ctuill wares 51 yeares.

¶ Here ye must note, that there is difference amongst writers about the supputation and account of these yeares, insomuch that some making their reckoning after certeine writers, and finding the same to haue aboue three C. yeares, are brought into further doubt of the truth of the whole historie: but whereas other haue by diligent search tried out the continuance of euerie gouernors reigne, and reduced the same to a likelihood of some conformitie, I haue thought best to follow the same, leauing the credit thereof with the first authors.

The pentarchie.

1	Rudacus	king of	Wales.
2	Clotenus		Cornewall.
3	Pinnor		Loegria.
4	Staterus		Albania.
5	Yewan		Northumberland.

The end of the second Booke.

THE THIRD BOOKE of the Historie of England.

Of Mulmucius the first king of Britaine, who was crowned with a golden crowne, his lawes, his foundations, with other his acts and deeds.

The first Chapter.

Mulmucius. Matth. West. Polyd.

NOw to proceede with the aforesaid authors, Mulmucius Dunwallo, or as other saie Dunuallo Mulmucius, the sonne of Cloton (as testifieth th english chronicle and also Geffrey of Monmouth) got the vpper hand of the other dukes or rulers: and after his fathers decease began his reigne ouer the whole monarchie of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3529, after the building of Rome 314, and after the deliuerance of the Israelites out of captiuitie 97, and about the 26 yere of Darius Artaxerres Longimanus, the fift king of the Persians. This Mulmucius Dunuallo is named in the english chronicle Donebant, and proued a right worthie prince. He builded within the citie of London then called Trinouant, a temple, and named it the temple of peace: the which (as some hold opinion, I wote not vpon what ground) was the same which now is called Blackwell hall, where the market for buieng and selling of cloths is kept. The chronicle of England affirmeth, that Mulmucius (whome the old booke nameth Molle) builded the two townes Malmesburie and the Vies. He also made manie good lawes, which were long after vsed, called Mulmucius lawes, turned out of the British speech into the Latine by Gildas Priscus, and long time after translated out of latine into english by Alfred king of England, and mingled in his statutes. He moreouer gaue priuileges to temples, to plowes, to cities, and to high waies leading to the same, so that whosoeuer fled to them, should be in safegard from bodilie harme, and from thence he might depart into what countrie he would, with indemnitie of his person. Some authors write, that he began to make the foure great high waies of Britaine, the which were finished by his sonne Blinus, as after shall be declared.

Fabian. See more in the description.

Malmesburie and the Vies built. Matth. West.

Lawes made.

Caxton and Polychron.

rid.

After he had eſtabliſhed his land, and ſet his Captains in good and conuenient order, he ordeined him by the aduiſe of his lords a crowne of gold, & cauſed himſelfe with great ſolemnitie to be crowned, according to the cuſtome of the Pagan kings then in vſe: & becauſe he was the firſt that bare a crowne here in Britaine, after the opinion of ſome writers, he is named the firſt king of Britaine: and all the other before reherſed are named rulers, dukes, or gouernors.

The firſt king that was crowned with a golden crowne.

Polyd. Weights and meaſures.

Theft puniſhed. Fabian.

Among ſt other of his ordinances, he appointed weights and meaſures, with the which men ſhould buy and ſell. And further he deuiſed ſore and ſtreight orders for the puniſhing of theft. Finallie, after he had guided the land by the ſpace of fortie yéeres, he died, and was buried in the foreſaid temple of peace which he had erected within the citie of Troinouant now called London, as before ye haue heard, appointing in his life time, that his kingdome ſhould be diuided betwixt his two ſonnes, Brennus and Belinus (as ſome men do coniecture.)

The ioint-gouernment of Belinus and *Brennus the two ſonnes of Mulmucius*, their diſcontentment, the ſtratagems of *the one againſt the other, the expulſion* of Brennus out of Britaine.

The ſecond Chapter.

Belinus and Brennus.

BRennus and Belinus began to reigne iointlie as kings in Britaine, in the yéere of the world 3574, after the building of the citie of Rome 355, and after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 142, which was about the ſeuenth yéere of Artarerres ſurnamed Mnemon, the ſeuenth king of the Perſians. Belinus held vnder his gouernment Loegria, Wales, and Cornwall: and Brennus all thoſe countries ouer and beyond Humber. And with this partition were they contented by the tearme of ſir or ſeuen yéeres, after which time expired, Brennus coueting to haue more than his portion came to, firſt thought to purchaſe himſelfe aid in forreine parties, & therefore by the prouocation and counſell of yong vnquiet heads, ſailed ouer into Norway, and there married the daughter of Eſlung or Elſing, as then duke or ruler of that countrie. Beline offended with his brother, that he ſhould thus without his aduice marrie with a ſtranger, now in his abſence ſeized all his lands, townes, and fortreſſes into his owne hands, placing garriſons of men of warre where he thought conuenient.

3574

Matth. Weſt.

Polyd. ſaith 5.

Brennus not content with his portion.

Eſlingius.

In the meane time, Brenne aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled a great nauie of ſhips, well furniſhed with people and ſouldiers of the Norwegians, with the which he tooke his courſe homewards, but in the waie he was encountred by Guilthdacus king of Denmarke, the which had laid long in wait for him, becauſe of the yong ladie which Brenne had maried, for whome he had béene a ſuter to hir father Elſing of long time. When theſe two fléetes of the Danes and Norwegians met, there was a ſore battell betwixt them, but finallie the Danes ouercame them of Norway, and tooke the ſhip wherein the new bride was conueied, and then was the brought aboord the ſhip of Guilthdacus. Brenne eſcaped by flight as well as he might. But when Guilthdacus had thus obtained the victorie and préy, ſuddenlie thereupon

Guilthdacus king of Denmarke.

aroſe a ſore tempeſt of wind and weather, which ſcattered the Danith fléete, and put the king in danger to haue beene loſt: his nauie within fiue daies after, being driuen by force of wind, he landed in Northumberland, with a few ſuch ſhips as kept together with him.

A tempeſt.

Guilthdacus landed in Northumberland.

Beline being then in that countrie, pretending for defenſe againſt his brother, vpon knowledge of the king of Denmarks arriuall, cauſed him to be ſlaine. Shortlie after, Brenne hauing recouered and gotten togither the moſt part of his ſhips that were diſperſed by the diſcomfiture, and them newlie rigged and furniſhed of all things neceſſarie, ſent word to his brother Beline, both to reſtore vnto him his wife wrongfullie rauiſhed by Guilthdacus, and alſo his lands iniuriouſlie by him ſeized into his poſſeſſion. Theſe requeſts being plainlie and ſhortlie denied, Brenne made no long delaie, but ſpéedilie made toward Albania, and landing with his armie in a part thereof, incountred with his brother Beline nére vnto a wood named as then Calater, where (after cruell fight, and mortall battell betwixt them) at length the victorie abode with the Britains, and the diſcomfiture diſlight ſo on the Norwegians, that the moſt of them were wounded, ſlaine, and left dead vpon the ground.

Calater wood is in Scotland.

Hereby Brenne being forced to flée, made ſhift, and got ouer into Gallia, where after he had ſued to this prince, at length he abode, and was well receiued of one Seguinus or Segonus duke of the people called then Allobrogs (as Galfrid of Monmouth ſaith) or rather Armorica, which now is called Britaine, as Polychronicon, and the engliſh hiſtorie printed by Caxton, more trulie maie ſeeme to affirme. But Beline hauing got the vpper hand of his enimies, aſſembling his councell at Caerbranke, now called York, tooke aduiſe what he ſhould do with the king of Denmarke: where it was ordeined, that he ſhould be ſet at libertie, with condition and vnder couenant, to acknowledge himſelfe by doing homage, to hold his land of the king of Britaine, and to paie him a yéerlie tribute. Theſe couenants being agréed vpon, and hoſtages taken for aſſurance, he was ſet at libertie, and ſo returned into his countrie. The tribute that he couenanted to paie, was a thouſand pounds, as the Engliſh chronicle ſaith.

Seguinus or Segonus duke of the Allobrogs, now the Dolphinat or Sauoy.

The Danes tributaries to the Britains.

When Beline had thus expelled his brother, and was alone poſſeſſed of all the land of Britaine, he firſt confirmed the lawes made by his father: and for ſo much as the foure waies begun by his father were not brought to perfection, he therefore cauſed workmen to be called forth and aſſembled, whom he ſet in hand to paue the ſaid waies with ſtone, for the better paſſage and eaſe of all that ſhould trauell through the countries from place to place, as occaſion ſhould require.

The foure high waies finiſhed.

The firſt of theſe foure waies is named Foſſe, and ſtretcheth from the ſouth into the north, beginning at the corner of Totneſſe in Cornewall, and ſo paſſing forth by Deuonſhire, and Somerſetſhire, by Tutberie, on Cotteſwold, and then forward beſide Couentrie vnto Leiceſter, and from thence by wild plaines towards Newarke, and endeth at the citie of Lincolne. The ſecond waie was named Watling ſtréete, the which ſtretcheth ouerthwart the Foſſe, out of the ſoutheaſt into the northeaſt, beginning at Douer, and paſſing by the middle of Kent ouer Thames beſide London, by-weſt of Weſtminſter, as ſome haue thought, and ſo forth by S. Albons, and by the weſt ſide of Dunſtable, Stratford, Touceſter, and Wedon by-ſouth of Lilleborne, by Atherſton, Gilberts hill, that now is called the Wreken, and ſo forth by Seuerne, paſſing beſide Worceſter, vnto Stratton to the middle of Wales, and ſo vnto a

The Foſſe.

Watling ſtreat

place

Erming ſtrét

place called Cardigan, at the Iriſh ſea. The third way was named Ermingſtrét, which ſtretched out of the weſt northweſt, vnto the eaſt ſoutheaſt, and beginneth at Meneuia, the which is in Saint Dauids land in weſt Wales, and ſo vnto Southampton. The

Ykenelſtrét.

fourth and laſt waie hight Ykenelſtrete, which leadeth by Worceſter, Winchcombe, Birmingham, Lichfield, Darbie, Chelterfield, and by Yorke, and ſo forth vnto Tinmouth. After he had cauſed theſe waies to be well and ſufficientlie raiſed and made, he confirmed vnto them all ſuch priuileges as were granted by his father.

Priuileges granted to the Welſh.

Brennus marrieth with the duke of Allobrogs daughter, groweth into great honour, commeth into Britaine with an armie againſt his brother Beline, their mother reconcileth them, they ioine might & munition and haue great conqueſts, conflicts betweene the Galles and the Romans, the two brethren take Rome.

The third Chapter.

IN the meane time that Beline was thus occupied about the neceſſarie affaires of his realme and kingdome, his brother Brenne that was fled into Gallia vnelip with 12. perſons, becauſe he was a lewdlie gentleman, and ſéemed to vnderſtand whatappertained to honour, grew ſhortlie into fauour with Seginus the duke afore mentioned, and declaring vnto him his aduerſitie, and the whole circumſtance of his miſhap, at length was ſo highlie cheriſhed of the ſaid Seginus, delting in ſuch worthie qualities as he ſaw in him dailie appearing, that he gaue to him his daughter in mariage, with condition, that if he died without iſſue male, then ſhould he inherit his eſtate & dukedome: and if it happened him to leaue anie heire male behind him, then ſhould he yet helpe him to recouer his land and dominion in Britaine, béereft from him by his brother.

Brenne marieth the duke of Allobrogs daughter.

These conditions well and ſurelie vpon the dukes part by the aſſent of the nobles of his land concluded, ratified, and aſſured, the ſaid duke within the ſpace of one yéere after died. And then after a certeine time, being knowne that the duches was not with child, all the lords of that countrie did homage to Brenne, receiuing him as their lord and ſupreme gouernour, vpon whome he likewiſe for his part in recompenſe of their curteſie, beſtowed a great portion of his treaſure.

Brenne with an armie returneth into Britaine.

Shortlie after alſo, with their aſſent he gathered an armie, and with the ſame eſſoines came ouer into Britaine, to make new warre vpon his brother Beline. Of whoſe landing when Beline was informed, he aſſembled his people, and made himſelfe readie to méete him: but as they were at point to haue ioined battell, by the interceſſion of their mother that came betwixt them, and demeaned hirſelfe in all motherlie order, and moſt louing maner towards them both, they fell to an agréement, and were made friends or euer they parted aſunder.

Brenne and Beline made friends by interceſſion of their mother.

After this they repaired to London, and there taking aduice togither with their peéres and councellors, for the good order and quieting of the land, at length they accorded to paſſe with both their armies into Gallia, to ſubdue that whole countrie, and ſo following this determination, they toke ſhipping and ſailed ouer into Gallia, where beginning the warre with fire and ſword, they wrought ſuch maiſteries, that within a ſhort time (as ſaith Geffrey of Monmouth) they conquered a great part of Gallia, Italie, and Germanie, and brought it to their ſubiection. In the end they toke Rome by this occaſion (as writers report) if theſe be the ſame that had the leading of thoſe Galles, which in this ſeaſon did ſo much hurt in Italie and other parts of the world.

They it nade Gallia and Italie.

After they had paſſed the mountaines, & were entred into Tuſcan, they beſieged the citie of Cluſium, the citizens whereof being in great danger, ſent to Rome for aid againſt their enimies. Wherevpon the Romanes, conſidering with themſelues that although they were not in anie league of ſocietie with the Cluſians, yet if they were ouercome the danger of the nert brunt were like to be theirs: with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours to intreat betwixt the parties for ſome peace to be had.

Now Cluſi.

Ambaſſadours ſent from Rome.

They that were ſent, required the capteines of the Galles, in the name of the ſenat and citizens of Rome, not to moleſt the friends of the Romans. Wherevnto anſwere was made by Brennus, that for his part he could be content to haue peace, if it were ſo that the Cluſians would be agréeable that the Galles might haue part of the countrie which they held, being more than they did alreadie well occupie, for otherwiſe (ſaid he) there could be no peace granted.

Brennus anſwere.

The Romane ambaſſadours being offended with theſe words, demanded what the Galles had to do in Tuſcan, by reaſon of which and other the like ouerthwart words, the parties began to kindle in diſpleaſure ſo farre, that their communication brake off, and ſo they from treating fell againe to trie the matter by dint of ſword.

The treatie of peace breaketh off.

The Romane ambaſſadours alſo to ſhew of what proweſſe the Romans were, contrarie to the law of nations (forbidding ſuch as came in ambaſſage about anie treatie of peace to take either one part or other) toke weapon in hand, and ioined themſelues with the Cluſians, wherewith the Galles were ſo much diſpleaſed, that incontinentlie with one voice, they required to haue the ſiege raiſed from Cluſium, that they might go to Rome. But Brennus thought good firſt to ſend meſſengers thither, to require the deliuerie of ſuch as had broken the law, that puniſhment might be done on them accordinglie as they had deſerued. This was done, and knowledge brought againe, that the ambaſſadors were not onelie not puniſhed, but alſo choſen to be tribunes for the nert yeare.

The Galles then became in ſuch a rage (becauſe they ſaw there was nothing to be loked for at the hands of the Romans, but warre, iniurious wrongs, and deceitfull traines) that they turned all their force againſt them, marching ſtreight towardes Rome, and by the waie deſtroied all that ſtood before them.

The Galles make towards Rome.

The Romans aduertiſed thereof, aſſembled themſelues togither to the number of 40. thouſand, and encountring with Beline and Brenne, neare to the riuer Allia, about 11. miles on this ſide Rome, were ſlaine and quite diſcomfited.

The Romans incountring with the Galles are ouerthrowne.

The Galles could ſcarſe beléeue that they had got the victorie with ſo ſmall reſiſtance: but when they perceiued that the Romans were quite ouerthrowne and that the field was clearelie rid of them, they got togither the ſpoile, and made towards Rome it ſelfe, where ſuch feare and terror was ſtriken into the hearts of the people, that all men were in deſpaire to defend the citie: and therefore the ſenate with all the warlike youth of the citizens got them into the capitoll, which they furniſhed with victuals and all things neceſſarie for the maintenance of the

The Romans in deſpaire withdraw into the capitoll.

same against a long siege. The honorable fathers and all the multitude of other people not apt for warres, remained still in the citie, as it were to perish with their countrie if hap so befell.

The Galles enter into Rome.

In the meane time came the Galles to the citie, and entring by the gate Collina, they passed forth the right way vnto the market place, marueiling to see the houses of the power sort to be shut against them, and those of the richer to remaine wide open; wherefore being doubtfull of some deceitfull traines, they were not ouer rash to enter the same; but after they had espied the ancient fathers sit in their chaires apparelled in their rich robes, as if they had bin in the senat, they reuerenced them as gods, so honorable was their port, grauenesse in countenance, and shew of apparell.

The reuerend aspect of the senators.

Marcus Papirius.

In the meane time it chanced, that Marcus Papirius stroke one of the Galles on the head with his staffe, because he presumed to stroke his beard: with which iniurie the Gall being prouoked, slue Papirius (as he sat) with his sword, and therewith the slaughter being begun with one, all the residue of those ancient fatherlie men as they sat in their chaires were slaine and cruellie murthered. After this all the people found in the citie without respect or difference at all, were put to the sword, and their houses sacked. And thus was Rome taken by the two brethren, Beline and Brenne, 365 yeares after the first building thereof. Besides this, the Galles attempted in the night season to haue entred the capitoll; and in deed ordered their enterprise so secretlie, that they had atchiued their purpose, if a sort of ganders had not with their crie and noise disclosed them, in wakening the Romans that were asléepe: so by that meanes were the Galles beaten backe and repelled.

Rome sacked.

365

The capitoll defended.

Camillus reuoked from exile, made *dictator*, *and receiueth peremptorie au*thoritie, he ouerthroweth the Galles in a *pitcht field, controuersie betweene wri*ters touching Brennus and Belinus left *vndetermined; of diuers foundations, erections and reparations* doone and atchiued *by Belinus, the burning of his bodie in stead of his burieng.*

The fourth Chapter.

THe Romans being thus put to their extreame shift, deuised among themselues how to reuoke Furius Camillus from exile, whom not long before they had vniustlie banished out of the citie. In the end they did not onelie send for him home, but also created him dictator, committing into his handes (so long as his office lasted) an absolute power ouer all men, both of life and death. Camillus forgetfull of the iniurie done to him, and mindfull of his dutie towards his countrie, and lamenting the state thereof, without delay gathered such an armie as the present time permitted.

In the meane time those that kept the capitoll (being almost famished for lacke of vittels) compounded with Brenne and Beline, that for a thousand pounds weight in gold, the Romans should redéeme their liberties, and the said Brenne and Beline depart with their armie out of the citie and all the territories of Rome. But at the deliuerie of the monie, and by a certeine kind of hap, the Romans

A composition

name was preserued at that time from such dishonor and ignominie as was likelie to haue insued. For some of the couetous sort of the Galles, not contented with the iust weight of the gold, did cast their swords also into the balance where the weights lay, thereby to haue ouer weight: whereupon the Romans refused to make paiment after that weight.

And thus whilest they were in altercation about this matter, the one importunate to haue, the other not willing to grant, the time passed, till in the meane season Camillus came in amongst them with his power, commanding that the gold should be had away, and affirming that without consent of the dictator, no composition or agreement might be concluded by the meaner magistrate. He gaue a signe to the Galles to prepare themselues to battell, whervnto they lightlie agréed, and togither they went. The battell being once begun, the Galles that looked earst for gold, and not for battell, were easilie ouercome, such as stood to the brunt were slaine, and the rest by flight constreined to depart the citie.

Camillus vic appointeth the Galles of their paiment.

The Galles ouerthrowne.

Polybius writeth, that the Galles were turned from the siege of the citie, through wars which chanced amongst their owne people at home, and therefore they concluded a peace with the Romans, and leauing them in libertie returned home againe.

But howsoeuer the matter passed, thus much haue we kept from our purpose, to shew somwhat of that noble and most famous captéine Brennus, who (as not onelie our histories, but also Giouan Villani the Florentine doth report) was a Britaine, and brother to Beline (as before is mentioned) although I know that manie other writers are not of that mind, affirming him to be a Gall, and likewise that after this present time of the taking of Rome by this Brennus 110 yeares, or there abouts, there was another Brennus a Gall by nation (say they) vnder whose conduct an other armie of the Gals inuaded Grecia, which Brennus had a brother that hight Belgius, although Humfrey Lhoyd and sir John Prise doo flatlie denie the same, by reason of some discordance in writers, namelie in the computation of the yeares set downe by them that haue recorded the doings of those times, whereof the error is growen. Howbeit I doubt not but that the truth of this matter shall be more fullie sifted out in time by the learned and studious of such antiquities. But now to our purpose.

This is also to be noted, that where our histories make mention, that Beline was abroad with Brennus in the most part of his victories, both in Gallia, Germanie, and Italie; Titus Liuius speaketh but onlie of Brennus: whereupon some write, that after the two brethren were by their mothers intreatance made friends, Brennus onlie went ouer to Gallia, and there through proofe of his worthie prowesse, atteined to such estimation amongst the people called *Galli Senones*, that he was chosen to be their generall captéine at their going ouer the mountaines into Italie. But whether Beline went ouer with his brother, and finallie returned backe againe, leauing Brennus behind him, as some write, or that he went not at all, but remained still at home whilest his brother was abroad, we can affirme no certeintie.

Titus Liu. Polydor.

Matth. West.

Most part of all our writers make report of manie worthie deeds accomplished by Beline, in repairing of cities decaied, & erecting of other new buildings, to the adorning and beautifieng of his realme and kingdome. And amongst other works which were by him erected, he builded a citie in the south part of Wales, neare to the place where the riuer of Uske falleth into Seuerne, fast by Glamorgan, which citie hight Caerleon, or Caerlegion Ar Wiske. This Caerleon was the principall citie in time past of all Demetia, now called Southwales. Manie notable

Polychr. Gal. M. Caerleon. Wiske built by Beline.

monu-

monuments are remaining there till this day, teſtifieng the great magnificence and roiall buildings of that citie in old time. In which citie alſo ſith the time of Chriſt were three churches, one of ſaint Iulius the martyr, an other of ſaint Aron, and the third was the mother church of all Demetia, and the cheefe ſee: but after, the ſame ſee was tranſlated vnto Menevia, (that is to ſay) ſaint Dauid in Weſtwales. In this Caerleon was Amphibulus borne, who taught and inſtructed ſaint Alban.

This Beline alſo builded an hauen, with a gate ouer the ſame, within the citie of Troinouant now called London, in the ſummitie or higheſt part whereof afterwards was ſet a veſſell of braſſe, in the which were put the aſhes of his bodie, which bodie after his deceaſſe was burnt, as the maner of burieng in thoſe daies did require. This gate was long after called Belins gate, and at length by corruption of language Billings gate. He builded alſo a caſtell eaſtward from this gate (as ſome haue written) which was long time after likewiſe called Belins caſtell, and is the ſame which now we call the tower of London. Thus Beline ſtudieng dailie to beautifie this land with goodlie buildings and famous workes, at length departed this life, after he had reigned with his brother iointlie and alone the ſpace of 26 yeres.

Fabian. 19

John Leland.

The tower of London built by Beline.

Of Gurguintus, Guintolinus, and Sicilius, three kings of Britaine ſucceeding each other by lineall deſcent in the regiment, and of their acts and deeds, with a notable commendation of Queene Martia.

The fift Chapter.

Gurguintus.

GUrguintus the ſonne of Beline began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeare of the world 1596, after the building of Rome 380, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 164 compleet, which was about the 33 yeare of Artaxerxes Mnemon, ſurnamed Magnus, the ſeuenth king of the Perſians. This Gurguint in the Engliſh chronicle is named Cozinbzatus, and by Matthew Weſtmin. he is ſurnamed Barbiruc, the which bicauſe the tribute granted by Guilthdag king of Denmarke in perpetuitie vnto the kings of Britaine was denied, he ſailed with a mightie nauie and armie of men into Denmarke, where he made ſuch warre with fire and ſword, that the king of Denmarke with the aſſent of his barons was conſtreined to grant eſtſones to continue the paiment of the aforeſaid tribute.

Matth. Weſt. Gal. Mon.

Gurguint conſtrained the Danes by force to pay their tribute.

After he had thus atchiued his deſire in Denmarke, as he returned backe towards Britaine, he encountred with a nauie of 30 ſhips beſide the Iles of Orkenies. Theſe ſhips were fraught with men and women, and had to their capteine one called Bartholin or Partholin, who being brought to the preſence of king Gurguint, declared that he with his people were baniſhed out of Spaine, and were named Balenſes or Baſelenſes, and had ſailed long on the ſea, to the end to find ſome prince that would aſſigne them a place to inhabit, to whom they would become ſubiects, & hold of him as of their ſouereigne gouernor. Therefore he beſought the king to conſider their eſtate, and of his great benignitie to appoint ſome void quarter where they might ſettle. The king with the aduice of his barons granted to them the Ile of Ireland, which as then (by report of ſome authors) lay waſte and without habitation. But it ſhould appeare by other writers, that it was inhabited long before thoſe daies, by the people called Hibernenſes, of Hiberus their capteine that brought them alſo out of Spaine.

Vaſques.

See more hereof in Ireland.

Polychron.

After that Gurguintus was returned into his countrie, he ordeined that the laws made by his anceſtors ſhould be dulie kept and obſerued. And thus adminiſtring iuſtice to his ſubiects for the tearme of 19 yeares, he finallie departed this life, and was buried at London, or as ſome haue at Caerleon. In his daies was the towne of Cambridge with the vniuerſitie firſt founded by Cantaber, brother to the aforeſaid Bartholin (according to ſome writers) as after ſhall appeare.

Caius.

Guintolinus.

GUintolinus or Quintellius the ſonne of Gurguintus was admitted king of Britaine in the yere of the world 3614, after the building of the citie of Rome 389, and ſecond yere of the 206 Olimpiad. This Guintolinus was a wiſe prince, graue in counſell, and ſober in behauior. He had alſo a wife named Martia, a woman of perfect beautie, & wiſedome incomparable, as by hir prudent gouernement and equall adminiſtration of iuſtice after hir huſbands deceaſſe, during hir ſonnes minoritie, it moſt manifeſtlie appeared.

It is thought that in an happie time this Guintoline came to the gouernement of this kingdome, being ſhaken and brought out of order with ciuill diſſentions, to the end he might reduce it to the former eſtate, which he earneſtlie accompliſhed: for hauing once got the place, he ſtudied with great diligence to reforme anew, and to adorne with iuſtice, lawes and good orders, the Britiſh common wealth, by other kings not ſo framed as ſtood with the quietneſſe thereof. But afore all things he vtterlie remoued and appeaſed ſuch ciuill diſcord, as ſeemed yet to remaine after the maner of a remnant of thoſe ſeditious factions and partakings, which had ſo long time reigned in this land. But as he was buſie in hand herewith, death tooke him out of this life, after he had reigned 27 yeares, and then was he buried at London.

Sicilius.

SIcilius the ſonne of Guintoline, being not paſt ſeuen yeares of age when his father died, was admitted king, in the yeare 3659, after the building of Rome 430, & after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 218, & in the firſt after the death of Alexander. By reaſon that Sicilius was not of age ſufficient of himſelfe to guide the kingdome of the Britains, his mother that worthie ladie called Martia, had the gouernance both of his realme and perſon committed to hir charge.

Queene Martia gouerneth in hir ſonnes roome.

She was a woman expert and ſkilfull in diuers ſciences, but chiefelie being admitted to the gouernance of the realme, ſhe ſtudied to preſerue the common wealth in good quiet and wholſome order, and therefore deuiſed and eſtabliſhed profitable and conuenient lawes, the which after were called Martian lawes, of hir name that firſt made them. Theſe lawes, as thoſe that were thought good and neceſſarie for the preſeruation of the common wealth, Alfred, or Alured, that was long after king of England, tranſlated alſo out of the Britiſh tong, into the Engliſh Saxon ſpeech, and then were they called after that tranſlation Marchenelagh, that is to meane, the lawes of Martia. To conclude, this worthie woman guided the land during the minoritie of hir ſonne right politikelie; and highlie to hir perpetuall renowme and commendation. And when hir ſonne came to lawfull age, ſhe deliuered vp the gouernance into his handes. How long he reigned writers varie, ſome anouch but ſeuen yeares, though other

She maketh lawes.

Matth. Weſt.

Matt. Weſtm.

other affirme 15. which agréeth not ſo well with the accord of other hiſtories and times. He was buried at London.

Of Kimarus and his ſudden end; of Elanius and his ſhort regiment, of Morindus and his beaſtlie crueltie, all three immediatlie ſucceeding each other in the monarchie of Britaine, with the explois of the laſt.

The ſixt Chapter.

Kimarus. KImarus the ſonne of Scilius began to reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yeare of the world 3657, and after the building of Rome 443, & in the firſt yeare of the 117. Olimpiad. This Kimarus being a wilde yong man, and giuen to follow his luſts and pleaſures, was ſlaine by ſome that were his enimies, as he was abroad in hunting, when he had reigned ſcarſelie three yeares.

Fabian.

Elanius. ELanius the ſonne of Kimarus, or (as other haue) his brother, began to rule the Britaines in the yeare after the creation of the world 3361, after the building of Rome 445, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 229, and in the fourth yeare of the Seleuciens, after which account the bookes of Machabees do reckon, which began in the 14. after the death of Alexander. This Elanius in the Engliſh chronicle is named alſo Haran; by Mat. Weſtm. Danius; and by an old chronicle which Fabian much followed, Elanius and Kimarus ſhould ſeeme to be one perſon: but other hold the contrarie, and ſaie that he reigned fullie 8. yeares.

Math. Weſt.

Morindus. MOrindus the baſtard ſonne of Elanius was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3667, after the building of Rome 451, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 236, and in the tenth yeare of Caſſander K. of Macedonia, which hauing diſpatched Olimpias the mother of Alexander the great, and gotten Roxanes with Alexanders ſonne into his hands, vſurped the kingdome of the Macedonians, and held it 15 yeares. This Morindus in the Engliſh chronicle is called Marwith, and was a man of worthie fame in chiualtie and martiall dooings, but ſo cruell withall, that his vnmerciſull nature could ſcarſe be ſatiſfied with the torments of them that had offended him, although oftentimes with his owne hands he cruellie put them to torture and execution. He was alſo beautifull and comelie of perſonage, liberall and bounteous, and of a maruellous ſtrength.

G. Mon.

In his daies, a certeine king of the people called Moriani, with a great armie landed in Northumberland, and began to make cruell warre vpon the inhabitants. But Morindus aduertiſed hereof, aſſembled his Britains, came againſt the enimies, and in battell putting them to flight, chaſed them to their ſhips, and toke a great number of them priſoners, whome to the ſatiſfieng of his cruell nature he cauſed to be ſlaine euen in his preſence. Some of them were headed, ſome ſtrangled, ſome panched, and ſome he cauſed to be ſlaine quicke.

The like may be thought of thoſe Murreis or Moranians of whom H.B. ſpeaketh. Fabian.

¶ Theſe people (whome Gal. Mon. nameth Moriani) I take to be either thoſe that inhabited about Terrouane and Calice, called Morini, or ſome other people of the Galles or Germaines, and not as ſome eſteeme them, Moranians, or Merhenners, which were not known to the world (as Humfrey Llhoyd hath verie well noted) till about the daies of the emperour Mauricius, which miſconſtruction of names hath brought the Britiſh hiſtorie further out of credit than reaſon requireth, if the circumſtances be dulie conſidered.

But now to end with Morindus. At length this bloudie prince heard of a monſter that was come a land out of the Iriſh ſea, with the which when he would néeds fight, he was deuoured of the ſame, after he had reigned the terme of 8 yeeres, leauing behind him fiue ſonnes, Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Eliburus, Vigenius or Pigenius, and Peredarus.

Of Gorbonianus, Archigallus, Eliburus, *Vigenius, and Peredurus, the fiue* ſons of Morindus, the building of Cambridge; the reſtitution of Archigallus to the regiment after his depriuation, Eliburus three times admitted king, his death and place of interrement.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

Gorbomen or Gorbonianus. GOrbonianus the firſt ſon of Morindus ſucceeded his father in the kingdome of Britain, in the yeere of the world 3676, after the building of Rome 461, and fourth yeere of the 121. Olimpiad. This Gorbonianus in the Engliſh chronicle is named Granbodian, and was a righteous prince in his gouernment, and verie deuout (according to ſuch deuotion as he had) towards the aduancing of the religion of his gods: and therupon he repaired all the old temples through his kingdome, and erected ſome new.

A righteous and religious prince.

He alſo builded the townes of Cambridge and Grantham (as Caxton writeth) and was beloued both of the rich and poore, for he honoured the rich, and relieued the poore in time of their neceſſities. In his time was more plentie of all things neceſſarie for the wealthfull ſtate of man, than had béene before in anie of his predeceſſors daies. He died without iſſue, after he had reigned (by the accord of moſt writers) about the terme of ten yeares.

Cambridge by whome it was built.

Some write that this Gorbonian built the townes of Caergrant, now called Cambridge, & alſo Grantham, but ſome thinke that thoſe which haue ſo written are deceiued, in miſtaking the name; for that Cambridge was at the firſt called Granta: and by that meanes it might be that Gorbonian built onlie Grantham, and not Cambridge, namelie becauſe other write how that Cambridge (as before is ſaid) was built in the daies of Gurguntius the ſonne of Beline, by one Cantaber a Spaniard, brother to Partholoin, which Partholoin by the aduice of the ſame Gurguntius, got ſeates for himſelfe and his companie in Ireland (as before ye haue heard.)

The ſaid Cantaber alſo obteining licence of Gurguntius, builded a towne vpon the ſide of the riuer called Canta, which he cloſed with walles, and fortified with a ſtrong tower or caſtell, and after procuring philoſophers to come hither from Athens (where in his youth he had bene a ſtudent) he placed them there, and ſo euen then was that place furniſhed (as they ſaie) with learned men, and ſuch as were readie to inſtruct others in knowledge of letters and philoſophicall doctrine. But by whome or in what time ſoeuer it was built, certeine it is that there was a citie or towne walled in that place before the comming of the Saxons, called by the Britaines

taines, Caergrant, and by the Saxons Granchester.

This towne fell ſo to ruine by the inuaſion of the Saxons, that at length it was in maner left deſolate, and at this day remaineth as a village. But nere thereunto vnder the Saxon kings, an other towne was built, now called Cambridge, where by the fauour of king Sigebert and Felix Burgundian, that was biſhop of Dunwich, a ſchole was erected, as in place conuenient ſhall appeare.

Archigallus.

ARchigallus, the ſecond ſonne of Mozindus, and brother vnto Gorbonianus, was admitted king of Britaine, in the yeare 3686, after the building of the citie of Rome 470, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites out of captiuitie 253, and in the firſt yeare of Oſthenes king of Macedonia. This Archigallus (in the Engliſh chronicle called Artogaill) followed not the ſteppes of his brother, but giuing himſelfe to diſſention and ſtriſe, imagined cauſes againſt his nobles, that he might diſplace them, and ſet ſuch in their roomes as were men of baſe birth and of euill conditions. Alſo he ſought by vnlawfull meanes to bereaue his wealthie ſubiects of their goods and riches, ſo to inrich himſelfe and impouriſh his people. For the which his inordinate doings, his nobles conſpired againſt him, and finallie depriued him of all his honor and kinglie dignitie, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeare.

He is giuen to nouriſh diſſention.

Elidurus.

ELidurus the third ſonne of Mozindus, and brother to Archigallus, was by one conſent of the Britains choſen to reigne ouer them in his brothers ſtead, after the creation of the world 3687, and after the building of the citie of Rome 471, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 256, & in the firſt yeare of Oſthenes king of Macedonia. This Elidurus in the Engliſh chronicle named Yelider, or Elider, proued a moſt righteous prince, and doubting leaſt he ſhould do otherwiſe than became him, if he did not take care for his brother Archigallus eſtate, a man might wonder what diligence he ſhewed in trauelling with the nobles of the realme to haue his brother reſtored to the crowne againe.

By this it ſhould ſeeme that Acluid ſhould not be in Scotland, contrarie to the Scottiſh authors.

Now as it chanced one day (being abroad on hunting in the wood called Calater) neare vnto Yorke, he found his brother Archigall wandering there in the thickeſt of that wilderneſſe, whom in moſt louing maner he ſecretlie conueied home to his houſe, being as then in the citie of Alduid, otherwiſe called Acliud. Shortlie after he feined himſelfe ſicke, and in all haſt ſent meſſengers about to aſſemble his barons, who being come at the day appointed, he called them one after another into his priuie chamber, and there handled them in ſuch effectuous ſort with wiſe and diſcreet words, that he got their good wils to further him to their powers, for the reducing of the kingdome eſtſoones into the hands of his brother Archigallus.

In example of brotherlie loue.

After this he aſſembled a councell at Yorke, where he ſo vſed the matter with the commons, that in concluſion, when the ſaid Elidurus had gouerned the land well and honourablie the ſpace of three yeares, he reſigned wholie his crowne and kinglie title vnto his brother Archigallo, who was receiued of the Britaines againe as king by mediation of his brother in manner as before is ſaid. ¶ A rare example of brotherlie loue, if a man ſhall reuolue in his mind what an inordinate deſire remaineth amongſt mortall men to atteine to the ſupreme ſouereintie of ruling, and to keepe the ſame when they haue it once in poſſeſſion. He had well learned this leſſon (as may appeare by his contentation and reſignation) namelie, that

Non abnuendum ſi dat imperium Deus,
Nec appetendum, *Sen. in Thieſt.*

otherwiſe he would not haue beene led with ſuch an equabilitie of mind. For this great good will and brotherlie loue by him ſhewed thus toward his brother, he was ſurnamed the godlie and vertuous.

Archigallus again.

WHen Archigallus was thus reſtored to the kingdome, and hauing learned by due correction that he muſt turne the leafe, and take out a new leſſon, by changing his former trade of liuing into better, if he would reigne in ſuertie: he became a new man, vſing himſelfe vprightlie in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, and behauing himſelfe ſo worthilie in all his doings, both toward the nobles & commons of his realme, that he was both beloued and dread of all his ſubiects. And ſo continuing the whole tearme of his life, finallie departed out of this world, after he had reigned this ſecond time the ſpace of ten yeares, and was buried at Yorke.

Elidurus againe.

ELidurus brother to this Archigallus was then againe admitted king by conſent of all the Britaines, 3700 of the world. But his two yonger brethren, Vigenius and Peredurus, enuieng the happie ſtate of this worthie prince, ſo highlie for his vertue and good gouernance eſteemed of the Britains, of a grounded malice conſpired againſt him, and aſſembling an armie, leuied warre againſt him, and in a pitcht field toke him priſoner, and put him in the tower of London, there to be kept cloſe priſoner, after he had reigned now this laſt time the ſpace of one yeare. Matt. Weſt. *Brother againſt brother.* *Elidure committed to priſon.*

Vigenius and Peredurus.

VIgenius and Peredurus, the yongeſt ſonnes of Mozindus, and brethren to Elidurus, began to reigne ſointlie as kings of Britaine, in the yeare of the world 3701, after the building of Rome 485, after the deliuerance of the Iſraelites 266 complet, and in the 12 yeare of Antigonus Gonatas, the ſonne of Demetrius king of the Macedonians. Theſe two brethren in the Engliſh chronicles are named Higanius and Petitur, who (as Gal. Mon. teſtifieth) diuided the realme betwixt them, ſo that all the land from Humber weſtward fell to Vigenius, or Higanius, the other part beyond Humber northward Peredure held. But other affirme, that Peredurus onelie reigned, and held his brother Elidurus in priſon by his owne conſent, forſomuch as he was not willing to gouerne. *Britaine diuided into two realmes.*

But Gal. Mon. ſaith, that Vigenius died after he had reigned 7 yeares, and then Peredurus ſeized all the land into his owne rule, and gouerned it with ſuch ſobrietie and wiſedome, that he was praiſed aboue all his brethren, ſo that Elidurus was quite forgotten of the Britains. But others write that he was a verie tyrant, and vſed himſelfe verie cruellie towards the lords of his land, whereupon they rebelled and ſlue him. But whether by violent hand, or by naturall ſickneſſe, he finallie departed this life, after the conſent of moſt writers, when he had reigned eight yeares, leauing no iſſue behind him to ſucceed in the gouernance of the kingdome. He builded the towne of Pikering, where his bodie was buried. *Varietie in writers.* Caxton. Eth. Bur.

Elidurus the third time.

ELidurus then, as ſone as his brother Peredurus was dead, for as much as he was next heire to the crowne, was deliuered out of priſon, and now the third time admitted king of Britaine, who vſed himſelfe (as before) verie orderlie in miniſtring to all perſons right and iuſtice all the daies of his life, and laſtlie being growne to great age died, when he had reigned now this third time (after moſt concordance of writers) the tearme of foure yeares: and was buried at Caerleil. *He is buried at Caerleil.*

A Chapter of digreſsion, ſhewing the *diuerſitie of writers in opinion, touching* the computation of yeares from the beginning *of the British kings of this Iland downewards*; ſince Gurguintus time, till the death of Elidurus; *and likewiſe till king Lud reigned in his roialtie*, with the names of ſuch kings as ruled betweene the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the firſt of Lud.

The eight Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that euen from the beginning of the Britiſh kings, which reigned here in this land, there is great diuerſitie amongeſt writers, both touching the names, and alſo the times of their reignes, ſpeciallie till they come to the death of the laſt mentioned king Elidurus. Inſomuch that Polydor Virgil in his hiſtorie of England, finding a manifeſt error (as he taketh it) in thoſe writers whome he followeth touching the account, from the comming of Brute, vnto the ſacking of Rome by Brennus, whome our hiſtories affirme to be the brother of Beline, that to fill vp the number which is wanting in the reckoning of the yeares of thoſe kings which reigned after Brute, till the daies of the ſame Brenne & Beline, he thought good to change the order, leaſt one error ſhould follow an other, and ſo of one error making manie, he hath placed thoſe kings which after other writers ſhould ſeeme to follow Brenne and Beline, betwixt Dunuallo and Pulmucius, father to the ſaid Beline and Brenne, and thoſe fiue kings which ſtroue for the gouernement after the deceaſſe of the two brethren, Ferrer and Porrex, putting Guintoline to ſucceed after the fiue kings or rulers, and after Guintoline his wife Martia, during the minoritie of hir ſonne, then hir ſaid ſonne named Sicilius.

Polydor.

After him ſucceeded theſe whoſe names follow in order, Chimarius, Danius, Porindus, Gorbonianus, Archigallo, who being depoſed, Elidurus was made king, and ſo continued till he reſtored the gouernement (as ye haue heard) to Archigallo againe, and after his death Elidurus was eſtſoones admitted, and within a while againe depoſed by Vigenius and Peredurus, and after their deceaſſes the third time reſtored. Then after his deceaſſe followed ſucceſſiuelie Veginus, Morganus, Ennanus, Idunallo, Rimo, Geruntius, Catellus, Coilus, Porrex the ſecond of that name, Cherinus, Fulgentius, Eldalus, Androgeus, Urianus and Eliud, after whom ſhould follow Dunuallo Molmucius, as in his proper place, if the order of things done, & the courſe of time ſhould be obſerued, as Polydor gathereth by the account of yeares attributed to thoſe kings that reigned before and after Dunuallo, according to thoſe authours whom (as I ſaid) he followeth, if they will that Brennus which led the Galles to Rome be the ſame that was ſonne to the ſaid Dunuallo Molmucius, and brother to Beline.

But ſith other haue in better order brought out a perfect agréement in the account of yeares, and ſucceſſion of thoſe kings, which reigned and gouerned in this land before the ſacking of Rome; and alſo another ſuch as it is after the ſame, and before the Romans had anie perfect knowledge thereof; we haue thought good to follow them therein, leauing to euerie man his libertie to iudge as his knowledge ſhall ſerue him in a thing ſo doubtfull and vncertaine, by reaſon of variance amongſt the ancient writers in that behalfe.

And euen as there is great difference in writers ſince Gurguintus, till the death of Elidurus, ſo is there as great or rather greater after his deceaſſe, ſpeciallie till king Lud atteined the kingdome. But as maie be gathered by that which Fabian and other whome he followeth do write, there paſſed aboue 185 yeares betwixt the laſt yeare of Elidurus, and the beginning of king Lud his reigne, in the which time there reigned 32, or 33, kings, as ſome writers haue mentioned, whoſe names (as Gal. Mon. hath recorded) are theſe immediatlie here named; Regin the ſonne of Gorbolian or Gorbonian, a worthie prince, who iuſtlie and mercifullie gouerned his people; Margan the ſonne of Archigallo a noble prince likewiſe, and guiding his ſubiects in good quiet; Emerian brother to the ſame Margan, but far vnlike to him in maners, ſo that he was depoſed in the firſt yeare of his reigne; Idwallo ſonne to Vigenius; Kimo the ſonne of Peredurus; Geruntius the ſonne of Elidurus; Catell that was buried at Wincheſter; Coill that was buried at Nottingham; Porrex a vertuous and moſt gentle prince; Cherinus a drunkard; Fulginius, Eldad, and Androgeus; theſe three were ſonnes to Cherinus, and reigned ſucceſſiuelie one after another; after them a ſonne of Androgeus; then Eliud, Dedaicus, Clotinius, Gurguntius, Merianus, Bledius, Cap, Owen, Sicilius, Bledgabredus an excellent muſician: after him his brother Archemall; then Eldol, Red, Rodiecke, Samuill, Peniſell, Pir, Capoir; after him his ſonne Gligweil an vpright dealing prince, and a good iuſticiarie; whom ſucceeded his ſonne Helie, which reigned 60 yeares, as the ſaid Gal. Mon. writeth, where other affirme that he reigned 40 yeares, and ſome againe ſay that he reigned but 7 moneths.

Fabian.

Vrianus.

There is great diuerſitie in writers touching the reignes of theſe kings, and not onlie for the number of yéeres which they ſhould continue in their reignes but alſo in their names: ſo that to ſhew the diuerſitie of all the writers, were but to ſmall purpoſe, ſith the doings of the ſame kings were not great by report made thereof by any approued author. But this maie ſuffice to aduertiſe you, that by conferring the yéeres attributed to the other kings which reigned before them, ſince the comming of Brute, who ſhould enter this land (as by the beſt writers is gathered) about the yéere before the building of Rome 367, which was in the yéere after the creation of the world 2850 (as is ſaid) with their time, there remaineth 182 yéeres to be dealt amongſt theſe 33 kings, which reigned betwixt the ſaid Elidure & Lud, which Lud alſo began his reigne after the building of the citie of Rome (as writers affirme) about 679 yéeres, and in the yéere of the world 3895, as ſome that will ſeeme the preciſeſt calculators do gather.

Lud.

Polydor Virgil changing (as I haue ſhewed) the order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh kings, in bringing diuerſe of thoſe kings, which after other writers followed Beline and Brenne, to preceed them ſo ſucceſſiuelie after Beline and Brenne, reherſeth thoſe that by his coniecture did by likelihood ſucceed, as thus. After the deceaſſe of Beline, his ſonne Gurguntius, being the ſecond of that name, ſucceeded in gouernment of the land, and then theſe in order as they follow: Merianus, Bladanus, Capeus, Duinus, Sicilius, Bledgabredus, Archemallus, Eldorus, Rodianus, Redargius, Samulius, Peniſellus, Pyrrhus, Caporus, Dinellus, and Helie, who had iſſue, Lud, Caſſibellane, and Nenrius.

Of

Of king Helie who gaue the name to the Ile of Elie, of king Lud, and what memorable edifices he made, London sometimes called Lud's towne, his bountifulnes, and buriall.

The ninth Chapter.

HEre note by the waie a thing not to be forgotten, that of the foresaid Helie the last of the said 33 kings, the Ile of Elie toke the name, bicause that he most commonlie did there inhabit, building in the same a goodly palace, and making great reparations of the sluces, ditches & causies about that Ile, for conueiance awaie of the water, that els would sore haue indamaged the countrie. There be that haue mainteined, that this Ile should rather take name of the great abundance of eles that are found in these waters and fennes wherwith this Ile is inuironed. But Humfrey Llhoyd holdeth, that it toke name of this British word Helig, which signifieth willowes, wherwith those fennes abound.

whereof the Ile of Elie toke name.

Lud.

After the decesse of the same Helie, his eldest son Lud began his reigne, in the yere after the creation of the world 3895, after the building of the citie of Rome 679, before the comming of Christ 72, and before the Romanes entred Britaine 19 yeres.

Lud's prince.

This Lud proued a right worthie prince, amending the lawes of the realme that were defectiue, abolishing euill customs and maners vsed amongst his people, and repairing old cities and townes which were decaied: but speciallie he delited most to beautifie and inlarge with buildings the citie of Troinouant, which he compalled with a strong wall made of lime and stone, in the best maner fortified with diuerse faire towers: and in the west part of the same wall he erected a strong gate, which he commanded to be called after his name, Luds gate, and so vnto this daie it is called Ludgate, (S) onelie drowned in pronuntiation of the word.

London inclosed with a wal lohn Hard.

In the same citie also he solorned for the more part, by reason whereof the inhabitants increased, and manie habitations were builded to receiue them, and he himselfe caused buildings to be made betwixt London stone and Ludgate, and builded for himselfe not farre from the said gate a faire palace, which is the bishop of Londons palace beside Paules at this daie, as some thinke; yet Harison supposeth it to haue bin Bainards castell, where the blacke friers now standeth. He also builded a faire temple nere to his said palace, which temple (as some take it) was after turned to a church, and at this daie called Paules. By reason that king Lud so much esteemed that citie before all other of his realme, inlarging it so greatlie as he did, and continuallie in manner remained there, the name was changed, so that it was called Caerlud, that is to saie, Luds towne: and after by corruption of speech it was named London.

Fabian. Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

The bishops palace.

The name of Troinouant changed and called London

Beside the princelie dooings of this Lud touching the aduancement of the common wealth by studies apperteining to the time of peace, he was also strong & valiant in armes, in subduing his enimies, bountious and liberall both in gifts and keeping a plentifull house, so that he was greatlie beloued of all the Britaines. Finallie, when he had reigned with great honour for the space of 11 yeres, he died, and was buried nere Ludgate, leauing after him two sons, Androgeus and Theomancius or Tenancius.

Of Cassibellane and his noble mind, Julius Cæsar sendeth Caius Volusenus to viuey the coasts of this Iland, he lieth with his fleet at Calice, purposing to inuade the countrie, his attempt is bewraied and withstood by the Britains.

The tenth Chapter.

Cassibellane.

CAssibellane the brother of Lud was admitted king of Britaine, in the yere of the world 3908, after the building of Rome 692, and before the comming of Christ 58 complet. For sith the two sonnes of Lud were not of age able to gouerne, the rule of the land was committed to Cassibellane: but yet (as some haue written) he was not created king, but rather appointed ruler & protector of the land, during the nonage of his nephewes. Now after he was admitted (by whatsoeuer order) to the administration of the common wealth, he became so noble a prince and so bountious, that his name spred farre and nere, and by his vpright dealing in seeing iustice executed he grew in such estimation, that the Britaines made small account of his nephewes, in comparison of the fauour which they bare towards him. But Cassibellane hauing respect to his honour, least it might be thought that his nephewes were expelled by him out of their rightfull possessions, brought them vp verie honourablie; assigning to Androgeus, London and Kent; and to Theomantius the countrie of Cornwall. Thus farre out of the British histories, whereby it maie be gathered, that the yeres assigned to these kings that reigned before Cassibellane, amount to the summe of 1058.

Gal. Mon. Matt. West. Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Matt. West.

But whether these gouernors (whose names we haue recited) were kings, or rather rulers of the common wealth, or tyrants and vsurpers of the gouernment by force, it is vncerteine: for not one ancient writer of anie approued authoritie maketh anie remembrance of them: and by that which Julius Cesar writeth, it maie and doth appeare, that diuerse cities in his daies were gouerned of themselues, as hereafter it shall more plainlie appeare. Neither doth he make mention of those townes which the British histoie affirmeth to be built by the same kings. In deed both he and other Latine writers speake of diuerse people that inhabited diuers portions of this land, as of the Brigantes, Trinobantes, Icent, Silures, and such other like, but in what parts most of the said people did certeinlie inhabit, it is hard to auouch for certeine truth.

Polydor.

But what Iohn Leland thinketh hereof, being one in our time that curiouslie searched out old antiquities, you shall after heare as occasion serueth: and likewise the opinions of other, as of Hector Boetius, who coueting to haue all such valiant acts as were atchiued by the Britains to be ascribed to his countriemen the Scots, draweth both the Silures and Brigantes, with other of the Britains so farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of the Scotish countries. And what particular names soeuer they had, yet were they all Scots with him, and knowne by that generall name (as he would persuade vs to beleeue) saieng that they entred into Britaine out of Ireland 330 yeres before the incarnation of our Sauiour.

Hector Boetius his fault.

Neuertheles, how generall soeuer the name of Scots then was, sure it is, that no speciall mention

tion of them is made by anie writer, till about 300 yeares after the birth of our ſauiour. And yet the Romans, which ruled this land, and had ſo much adoo with the people thereof, make mention of diuerſe other people, nothing ſo famous as Boetius would make his Scotiſh men euen then to be. But to leaue to the Scots the antiquitie of their originall beginning, as they and other muſt doo vnto vs our deſcent from Brute and the other Troians, ſith the contrarie doth not plainelie appeare, vnleſſe we ſhall leane vnto preſumptions: now are we come to the time in the which what acts were atchiued, there remaineth more certeine record, and therefore may we the more boldlie proceed in this our hiſtorie.

More certeintie from hence forth appeareth in the hiſtorie.

In this ſeaſon that Caſſibellane had roiall gouernment heere in Britaine, Caius Julius Ceſar being appointed by the ſenat of Rome to conquer Gallia, was for that purpoſe created conſull, and ſent with a mightie armie into the countrie, where after he had brought the Galles vnto ſome frame, he determined to aſſaie the winning of Britaine, which as yet the Romans knew not otherwiſe than by report. The cheefeſt cauſe that moued him to take in hand that enterpriſe, was for that he did vnderſtand, that there dailie came great ſuccours out of that Ile to thoſe Galles that were enimies vnto the Romans. And though the ſeaſon of that yeere to make warre was farre ſpent (for ſummer was almoſt at an end) yet he thought it would be to good purpoſe, if he might but paſſe ouer thither, and learne what maner of people did inhabit there, and diſcouer the places, hauens, and entries apperteining to that Ile.

Julius Ceſar

Ceſar de bello Gall. lib. 4.

Britains vnknowne to the Romans.

Ceſar de bello Gal. lib. 4.

Cauſes of the warre.

Ceſars purpoſe.

Hereupon calling togither ſuch merchants as he knew to haue had traffike thither with ſome trade of wares, he diligentlie inquired of them the ſtate of the Ile: but he could not be throughlie ſatiſfied in anie of thoſe things that he coueted to know. Therefore thinking it good to vnderſtand all things by view that might apperteine to the vſe of that warre which he purpoſed to follow: before he attempted the ſame, he ſent one Caius Voluſenus with a gallie or light pineſſe to ſurucie the coaſts of the Ile, commanding him (after diligent ſearch made) to returne with ſpeed to him againe. He him ſelfe alſo drew downewards towards Bullenois, from whence the ſhortеſt cut lieth to paſſe ouer into Britaine.

Caius Voluſenus ſent ouer into Britaine.

John Leland. Polydor.

In that part of Gallia there was in thoſe daies an hauen called *Itius Portus* (which ſome take to be Calice) and ſo the word importeth, an harbourgh as then able to receiue a great number of ſhips. Vnto this hauen got Ceſar all the ſhips he could out of the next borders & parties, and thoſe ſpeciallie which he had prouided and put in a readineſſe the laſt yeare for the warres (againſt them of Vannes in Armorica, now called Britaine in France) he cauſed to be brought thither, there to lie till they ſhould heare further. In the meane time (his indeuour being knowne, and by merchants reported in Britaine) all ſuch as were able to beare armour, were commanded and appointed to repaire to the ſea ſide, that they might be readie to defend their countrie in time of ſo great danger of inuaſion.

Vannes in Britaine.

¶ Ceſar in his commentaries agreeth not with our hiſtoriographers: for he writeth that immediatlie vpon knowledge had that he would inuade Britaine, there came to him ambaſſadours from diuers cities of the Ile to offer themſelues to be ſubiects to the Romans, and to deliuer hoſtages. Whome after he had exhorted to continue in their good mind, he ſent home againe, and with them alſo one Comius gouernor of Artois, commanding him to repaire vnto as manie cities in Britaine as he might, and to exhort them to ſubmit themſelues to the Romans. He maketh no mention of Caſſibellane, till the ſecond iournie that he made into the Ile, at what time the ſaid Caſſibelane was choſen (as ye ſhall heare) to be the generall capteine of the Britains, and to haue the whole adminiſtration of the warre for defenſe of the countrie: but he nameth him not to be a king. Howbeit in the Britiſh hiſtorie it is conteined, that Ceſar required tribute of Caſſibelane, and that he anſwered how he had not learned as yet to liue in ſeruage, but to defend the libertie of his countrie, and that with weapon in hand (if neede were) as he ſhould well perceiue, if (blinded through couetouſneſſe) he ſhould aduenture to ſeeke to diſquiet the Britains.

Comius.

Which is more likelie as this behalf, as appeareth by the ſequel.

Caius Voluſenus diſcouereth to Cæſar *his obſeruations in the Ile of Britaine*, he maketh haſte to conquere it, the Britains defend *their countrie againſt him, Cæſar after* conſultation had changeth his landing place, *the Romans are put to hard ſhifts, the Britains* begin to giue backe, the courage of a Roman enſigne-bearer, a ſharpe encounter betweene both armies.

The eleuenth Chapter.

CAius Voluſenus within fiue daies after his departure from Ceſar, returned vnto him with his gallie, and declared what he had ſeene touching the view which he had taken of the coaſts of Britan. Ceſar hauing got togither ſo manie ſaile as he thought ſufficient for the tranſporting of two legions of ſouldiers, after he had ordered his buſineſſe as he thought expedient, and gotten a conuenient wind for his purpoſe, did embarke himſelfe and his people, and departed from Calice in the night about the third watch (which is about three or foure of the clocke after midnight) giuing order that the horſſemen ſhould take ſhip at an other place 8 miles aboue Calice, and follow him. Howbeit when they ſomewhat ſlacked the time, about ten of the clocke in the next day, hauing the wind at will, he touched on the coaſt of Britaine, where he might behold all the ſhore ſet and couered with men of warre. For the Britains hearing that Ceſar ment verie ſhortlie to come againſt them, were aſſembled in armour to reſiſt him: and now being aduertiſed of his approch to the land, they prepared themſelues to withſtand him.

Voluſenus returneth.

Ceſar with two legions of ſouldiers paſſeth ouer into Britan.

The Britons readie to defend their countrie.

Ceſar perceiuing this, determined to ſtaie till the other ſhips were come, and ſo he lay at anchor till about 11 of the clocke, and then called a councell of the marſhals and cheefe capteines, vnto whome he declared both what he had learned of Voluſenus, and alſo further what he would haue done, willing them that all things might be ordered as the reaſon of warre required. And becauſe he perceiued that this place where he firſt caſt anchor was not meete for the landing of his people, ſith (from the height of the cliffes that cloſed on ech ſide the narrow creeke into the which he had thruſt) the Britains might annoy his people with their bowes and dartes, before they could ſet foote on land, hauing now the wind and tide with him, he diſanchored from thence, and drew alongſt the coaſt vnder the downes, the ſpace of 7 or 8 miles, and there finding the ſhore more flat and plaine, he approched neere to the land, determining to come to the ſhore.

Ceſar calleth a councell.

This was about day.

The Britains perceiuing Ceſars intent, with all ſpeed cauſed their horſſemen and charets or wagons, which

which Ceſar calleth Eſſeda, out of the which in thoſe daies they vſed to fight, to march forth toward the place whither they ſaw Ceſar drew, and after followed with their maine armie. Wherefore Ceſar being thus preuented, inforced yet to land with his people, though he ſaw that he ſhould haue much adoo. For as the Britains were in readineſſe to reſiſt him, ſo his great and huge ſhips could not come neere the ſhore, but were forced to keepe the deepe, ſo that the Romane ſoldiers were put to verie hard ſhift; to wit, both to leape forth of their ſhips, and being peſtered with their heauie armour and weapons, to fight in the water with their enimies, who knowing the flats and ſhelues, ſtood either vpon the drie ground, or elſe but a little waie in the ſhallow places of the water; and being not otherwiſe encumbred either with armour or weapon, but ſo as they might beſtir themſelues at will, they laid load vpon the Romans with their arrowes and darts, and forced their horſſes (being thereto inured) to enter the water the more eaſilie, ſo to annoy and diſtreſſe the Romans, who wanting experience in ſuch kind of fight, were not well able to helpe themſelues, nor to keepe order as they vſed to doo on land: wherfore they fought nothing ſo luſtilie as they were wont to doo. Ceſar perceiuing this, commanded the gallies to depart from the great ſhips, and to row hard to the ſhore, that being placed ouer againſt the open ſides of the Britains, they might with their ſhot of arrows, darts, and ſlings, remoue the Britains, and cauſe them to withdraw further off from the water ſide.

The Romans put to their ſhifts.

The Britans aſtonied.

This thing being put in execution (according to his commandement) the Britains were not a little aſtonied at the ſtrange ſight of thoſe gallies, for that they were driuen with oares, which earſt they had not ſeene, and ſhrewdlie were they galled alſo with the artillerie which the Romans diſcharged vpon them, ſo that they began to ſhrinke and retire ſomewhat backe. Herewith one that bare the enſigne of the legion ſurnamed Decima, wherein the eagle was figured, as in that which was the chiefe enſigne of the legion, when he ſaw his fellowes nothing eager to make forward, firſt beſeeching the gods that his enterpriſe might turne to the weale, profit, and honor of the legion, he ſpake with a lowd voice theſe words to his fellowes that were about him; Leape forth now euen you worthie ſouldiers (ſaith he) if you will not betraie your enſigne to the enimies: for ſurelie I will acquit my ſelfe according to my duetie both towards the common wealth, and my generall: and therewith leaping forth into the water, he marched with his enſigne ſtreight vpon the enimies. The Romans douting to loſe their enſigne, which ſhould haue turned them to great reproch, leapt out of their ſhips ſo faſt as they might, and followed their ſtandard, ſo that there enſued a ſore rencounter: and that which troubled the Romans moſt, was becauſe they could not keepe their order, neither find anie ſure footing, nor yet follow euerie man his owne enſigne, but to put themſelues vnder that enſigne which he firſt met withall after their firſt comming forth of the ſhip.

The ſhe valiant courage of an enſigne bearer.

The Britains that were inured with the ſhelues and ſhallow places of the water, when they ſaw the Romans thus diſorderlie come out of their ſhips, ran vpon them with their horſſes, and fiercelie aſſailed them, and now and then a great multitude of the Britains would compaſſe in and incloſe ſome one companie of them: and other alſo from the moſt open places of the ſhore beſtowed great plentie of darts vpon the whole number of the Romans, and ſo troubled them verie ſore.

The fiercenelle of the Britains.

The Romans get to land on the Engliſh coaſt, the Britains ſend to Cæſar for a treatie of peace, they ſtaie the Romane ambaſſadour as priſoner, Cæſar demandeth hoſtages of the Britains, the Romane nauie is driuen diuers waies in a great tempeſt, the Britiſh princes ſteale out of Cæſars campe and gather a freſh power againſt the Romans, their two armies haue a ſharpe encounter.

The twelfe Chapter.

CEſar perceiuing the manner of this fight, cauſed his men of warre to enter into boates and other ſmall veſſels, which he commanded to go to ſuch places where moſt need appeared. And relieuing them that fought with new ſupplies, at length the Romans got to land, and aſſembling togither, they aſſailed the Britains a freſh, and ſo at laſt did put them all to flight. But the Romans could not follow the Britains farre, becauſe they wanted their horſſemen which were yet behind, & through ſlacking of time could not come to land. And this one thing ſeemed onelie to diſappoint the luckie fortune that was accuſtomed to follow Ceſar in all his other enterpriſes.

The Romans get to land.

The want of horſſemen.

The Britans ſend to Ceſar.

The Britains after this flight were no ſooner got togither, but that with all ſpeed they ſent ambaſſadours vnto Ceſar to treat with him of peace, offering to deliuer hoſtages, and further to ſtand vnto that order that Ceſar ſhould take with them in anie reaſonable ſort. With theſe ambaſſadours came alſo Comius, whome Ceſar (as you haue heard) had ſent before into Britaine, whome notwithſtanding that he was an ambaſſadour, and ſent from Ceſar with commiſſion and inſtructions ſufficientlie furniſhed, yet had they ſtaied him as a priſoner. But now after the battell was ended, they ſet him at libertie, and ſent him backe with their ambaſſadours, who excuſed the matter, laieng the blame on the people of the countrie, which had impriſoned him through lacke of vnderſtanding what apperteined to the law of armes and nations in that behalfe.

Comius of Arras.

Ceſar found great fault with their miſdemenor, not onelie for impriſoning his ambaſſador, but alſo for that contrarie to their promiſe made by ſuch as they had ſent to him into Gallia to deliuer hoſtages, in lieu thereof they had receiued him with warre: yet in the end he ſaid he would pardon them, and not ſeeke anie further reuenge of their follies. And herewith required of them hoſtages, of which, part were deliuered out of hand, and made promiſe that the reſidue ſhould likewiſe be ſent after, craning ſome reſpit for performance of the ſame, becauſe they were to be fetched farre off within the countrie.

Ceſar demandeth hoſtages.

Peace being thus eſtabliſhed after the fourth day of the Romans arriuall in Britaine, the 18 ſhips which (as ye haue heard) were appointed to conuey the horſſemen ouer, loſed from the further hauen with a ſoft wind. Which when they approched ſo neere the ſhore of Britaine, that the Romans which were in Ceſars campe might ſee them, ſuddenlie there aroſe ſo great a tempeſt, that none of them was able to keepe his courſe, ſo that they were not onelie driuen in ſunder (ſome being caried againe into Gallia, and ſome weſtward) but alſo the other ſhips that lay at anchor, and had brought ouer the armie, were ſo pitifullie beaten, tolled and ſhaken, that a great number of them did not onelie loſe their tackle, but alſo were caried by force of wind into the high ſea; the

the reſt being likewiſe ſo filled with water, that they were in danger by ſinking to periſh and to be quite loſt. For the mone in the ſame night was at the full, & therefore cauſed a ſpring tide, which furthered the force of the tempeſt, to the greater perill of thoſe ſhips and gallies that lay at anchor. There was no way for the Romans to helpe the matter: wherefore a great number of thoſe ſhips were ſo bruiſed, rent and weather-beaten, that without new reparation they would ſerue to no vſe of ſailing. This was a great diſcomfort to the Romans that had brought ouer no proviſion to liue by in the winter ſeaſon, nor ſaw anie hope how they ſhould repaſſe againe into Gallia.

In the meane time the Britiſh princes that were in the Romane armie, perceiuing how greatlie this miſhap had diſcouraged the Romans, and again by the ſmall circuit of their campe, gelling that they could be no great number, and that lacke of vittels ſore oppreſſed them, they ſtale priuilie away one after another out of the campe, purpoſing to aſſemble their powers againe, and to foreſtall the Romans from vittels, and ſo to driue the matter off till winter: which if they might dow (vanquiſhing theſe or cloſing them from returning) they truſted that none of the Romans from thenceforth would attempt excſſones to come into Britaine. Ceſar miſtruſting their dealings, becauſe they ſtaid to deliuer the reſidue of their hoſtages, commanded vittels to be brought out of the parties adioining, and not hauing other ſtuffe to repaire his ſhips, he cauſed 12 of thoſe that were vtterlie paſt recouerie by the hurts receiued through violence of the tempeſt, to be broken, wherewith the other (in which ſome recouerie was perceiued) might be repaired and amended.

The maner of the Britains fighting in *charets, the Romans giue a freſh ſallie to* the Britains and put them to flight, they ſue to *Cæſar for peace; what kings and their powers* were aſſiſtants to Caſſibellane in the battell *againſt Cæſar, and the maner of both peoples* encounters by the report of diuers Chronologers.

The xiij. Chapter.

WHileſt theſe things were a dowing, it chanced that as one of the Romane legions named the ſeuenth, was ſent to fetch in corne out of the countrie adioining (as their cuſtome was) no warre at that time being ſuſpected, or once loked for, when part of the people remained abroad in the field, and part repaired to the campe: thoſe that warded before the campe, informed Ceſar, that there appeared a duſt greater than was accuſtomed from that quarter, into the which the legion was gone to fetch in corne. Ceſar iudging therof what the matter might meane, commanded thoſe bands that warded to go with him that way forth, and appointed other two bands to come into their romes, and the reſidue of his people to get them to armor, and to follow quicklie after him.

He was not gone anie great way from the campe, when he might ſee where his people were ouermatched by the enimies, and had much a dow to beare out the brunt: for the legion being thronged together, the Britains pelted them ſore with arrowes and darts on ech ſide: for ſithens there was no forrage left in anie part of the countrie about, but onelie in this place, the Britains iudged that the Romans would come thither for it: therefore hauing lodged themſelues within the woods in ambuſhes the night before; on the morrowe after when they ſaw the Romans diſperſed here & there, and buſie to cut downe the corne, they ſet vpon them on a ſudden, and ſlaing ſome few of them, brought the reſidue out of order, compaſſing them about with their horſſemen and charets, ſo that they were in great diſtreſſe.

The maner of fight with theſe charets was ſuch, that in the beginning of a battell they would ride about the ſides and skirts of the enimies hoſt, and beſtow their darts as they ſate in thoſe charets, ſo that oftentimes with the braieng of the horſſes, and craking noiſe of the charet wheles they diſordered their enimies, and after that they had wond themſelues in amongſt the trops of horſſemen, they would leape out of the charets and fight on foot. In the meane time thoſe that guided the charets would withdraw themſelues out of the battell, placing themſelues ſo, that if their people were ouermatched with the multitude of enimies, they might eaſilie withdraw to their charets, and mount vpon the ſame againe, by meanes wherof they were as readie to remoue as the horſſemen, and as ſtedfaſt to ſtand in the battell as the footmen, and ſo to ſupplie both duties in one. And thoſe charetmen by exerciſe and cuſtome were ſo cunning in their feat, that although their horſſes were put to run and gallop, yet could they ſtay them and hold them backe at their pleaſures, and turne and wind them to and fro in a moment, notwithſtanding that the place were verie ſteepe and dangerous: and againe they would run vp and downe verie nimblie vpon the cops, and ſtand vpon the beame, and conuey themſelues quicklie againe into the charet.

Ceſar thus finding his people in great diſtreſſe and readie to be deſtroied, came in good time, and deliuered them out of that danger: for the Britains vpon his approch with new ſucceſs, gaue ouer to aſſaile their enimies any further, & the Romans were deliuered out of the feare wherein they ſtood before his comming. Furthermore, Ceſar conſidering the time ſerued not to aſſaile his enimies, kept his ground, and ſhortlie after brought backe his legions into the campe.

While theſe things were thus a doing, & all the Romans occupied, the reſt that were abroad in the fields got them away. After this there followed a ſore ſeaſon of raine and fowle weather, which kept the Romans within their campe, and ſtaid the Britains from offering battell. But in the meane time they ſent meſſengers abroad into all parts of the countrie, to giue knowledge of the ſmall number of the Romans, and what hope there was both of great ſpoile to be gotten, and occaſion to deliuer themſelues from further danger for euer, if they might once expell the Romans out of their campe. Hereupon a great multitude both of horſſemen and footmen of the Britains were ſpedilie got togither, and approched the Romane campe.

Ceſar although he ſaw that the ſame would come to paſſe which had chanced before, that if the enimies were put to the repulſe, they would eaſilie eſcape the danger with ſwiftneſſe of foot; yet hauing now with him thirtie horſſemen (which Comius of Arras had brought ouer with him, when he was ſent from Ceſar as an ambaſſador vnto the Britains) he placed his legions in order of battell before his campe, and ſo comming to ioine with the Britains, they were not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the armed men, and ſo fled. The Romans purſued them ſo farre as they were able to ouertake anie of them, and ſo ſlaieng manie of them, & burning vp all their houſes

Cæſar de bel Gallico lib. 4.

He ſtor

houſes all about, came backe againe to their campe. Immediatlie whereupon, euen the ſame day, they ſent ambaſſadors to Ceſar to ſue for peace, who gladlie accepting their offer, commanded them to send ouer into Gallia, after he ſhould be returned thither, hoſtages in number duble to thoſe that were agréed vpon at the firſt. After that theſe things were thus ordered, Ceſar becauſe the moneth of September was well-neare halfe ſpent, and that winter haſted on (a ſeaſon not méet for his weake and bruiſed ſhips to brooke the ſeas) determined not to ſtaie anie longer, but hauing wind and weather for his purpoſe, got himſelfe aboord with his people, and returned into Gallia.

Ceſar de bello Gallico lib. 4.

¶ Thus writeth Ceſar touching his firſt iournie made into Britaine. But the Britiſh hiſtorie (which Polydor calleth the new hiſtorie) declareth that Ceſar in a pitcht field was vanquiſhed at the firſt encounter, and ſo withdrew backe into France. Beda alſo writeth, that Ceſar comming into the countrie of Gallia, where the people then called Morini inhabited (which are at this day the ſame that inhabit the dioceſſe of Terwine) from whence lieth the ſhorteſt paſſage ouer into Britaine, now called England, got togither 80 ſaile of great ſhips and row galles, wherewith he paſſed ouer into Britaine, & there at the firſt being wearied with ſharpe and ſore fight, and after taken with a grieuous tempeſt, he loſt the greater part of his nauie, with no ſmall number of his ſouldiers, and almoſt all his horſſemen: and therwith being returned into Gallia, placed his ſouldiors in ſtéeds to ſoiourne there for the winter ſeaſon. Thus ſaith Bede. The Britiſh hiſtorie moreouer maketh mention of three vnder-kings that aided Caſſibellane in this firſt battell fought with Ceſar, as Cridiorus *alias* Ederus, king of Albania, now called Scotland: Guitelinus king of Venedocia, that is Northwales: and Britaell king of Demetia, at this day called Southwales.

The ſame hiſtorie alſo maketh mention of one Belinus that was generall of Caſſibellanes armie, and likewiſe of Nenius brother to Caſſibellane, who in fight happened to get Ceſars ſword faſtened in his ſhield by a blow which Ceſar ſtroke at him. Androgeus alſo and Tenancius were at the battell in aid of Caſſibellane. But Nenius died within 15 daies after the battell of the hurt receiued at Ceſars hand, although after he was ſo hurt, he ſlue Labienus one of the Romane tribunes: all which may well be true, ſith Ceſar either maketh the beſt of things for his owne honour, or elſe coueting to write but commentaries, maketh no account to declare the néedeles circumſtances, or anie more of the matter, than the chiefe points of his dealing.

Hector Boet.

Againe, the Scotiſh hiſtoriographers write, that when it was firſt knowne to the Britains, that Ceſar would inuade them, there came from Caſſibellane king of Britaine an ambaſſador vnto Ederus king of Scots, who in the name of king Caſſibellane required aid againſt the common enimies the Romains, which requeſt was granted, and 10 thouſand Scots ſent to the aid of Caſſibellane. At their comming to London, they were moſt ioifullie receiued of Caſſibellane, who at the ſame time had knowledge that the Romans were come on land, and had beaten ſuch Britains backe as were appointed to reſiſt their landing. Whereupon Caſſibellane with all his whole puiſſance mightilie augmented, not onlie with the ſuccours of the Scots, but alſo of the Picts (which in that common cauſe had ſent alſo of their people to aid the Britains) ſet forward towards the place where he vnderſtood the enimies to be.

At their firſt approch togither, Caſſibellane ſent forth his horſſemen and charets called Eſſeda, by the which he thought to diſorder the araie of the enimies. Twice they incountred togither with doubtfull victorie. At length they ioined puiſſance againſt puiſſance, and fought a verie ſore and cruell battell, till finally at the ſudden comming of the Welſhmen and Corniſhmen, ſo huge a noiſe was raiſed by the ſound of bels hanging at their trappers and charets, that the Romans aſtonied therewith, were more eaſilie put to flight. The Britains, Scots, and Picts following the chaſe without order or araie, ſo that by reaſon the Romans kept themſelues cloſe togither, the Britains, Scots, & Picts did ſcarſe ſo much harme to the enimies as they themſelues receiued. But yet they followed on ſtill vpon the Romans till it was darke night.

Ceſar after he had perceiued them once withdrawne, did what he could to aſſemble his companies togither, minding the next morning to ſéeke his reuenge of the former daies diſaduantage. But for ſo much as knowledge was giuen him that his ſhips (by reaſon of a ſore tempeſt) were ſo beaten and rent, that manie of them were paſt ſeruice, he doubted leaſt ſuch newes would incourage his enimies, and bring his people into deſpaire. Wherfore he determined not to fight till time more conuenient, ſending all his wounded folks vnto the ſhips, which he commanded to be newlie rigged and trimmed. After this, kéeping his armie for a time within the place where he was incamped without iſſuing forth, he ſhortlie drew to the ſea ſide, where his ſhips laie at anchor, and there within a ſtrong place fortified for the purpoſe he lodged his hoſt, and finallie without hope to atchieue anie other exploit auaileable for that time, he tooke the ſea with ſuch ſhips as were apt for ſailing, and ſo repaſſed into Gallia, leauing behind him all the ſpoile and baggage for want of veſſels and leiſure to conuete it ouer. ¶ Thus haue the Scots in their chronicles framed the matter, more to the conformitie of the Romane hiſtories, than according to the report of our Britiſh and Engliſh writers: and therefore we haue thought good to ſhew it héere, that the diuerſitie of writers and their affections may the better appéere.

Of this ſudden departing alſo, or rather fléeing of Julius Ceſar out of Britaine, Lucanus the poet maketh mention, reciting the ſaieng of Pompetus in an oration made by him vnto his ſouldiers, wherin he reprochfullie and diſdainfullie repreued the doings of Ceſar in Britaine, ſaieng:

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

Cæſar taketh a new occaſion to make warre againſt the Britains, he arriueth on the coaſt without reſiſtance, the number of his ſhips, both armies incounter, why Cæſar forbad the Romans to purſue the diſcomfited Britains, he repaireth his nauie, the Britains chooſe Caſſibellane their cheefe gouernour, and skirmiſh afreſh with their enimies, but haue the repulſe in the end.

The xiiij. Chapter.

NOw will we returne to the ſequele of the matter, as Ceſar himſelfe reporteth. After his comming into Gallia, there were but two cities of all Britaine that ſent ouer their hoſtages according to their couenant, which gaue occaſion to Ceſar to picke a new quarrell againſt them, which if it had wanted, he would yet (I doubt not)

Dion Caſius.

not) haue found ſome other: for his full meaning was to make a more full conqueſt of that Ile. Wherefore purpoſing to paſſe againe thither, as he that had a great deſire to bring the Britains vnder the obedience of the Romane eſtate, he cauſed a great number of ſhips to be prouided in the winter ſeaſon and put in a readineſſe, ſo that againſt the next ſpring there were found to be readie rigged ſix hundred ſhips, beſide 28 gallies. Hereupon hauing taken order for the gouernance of Gallia in his abſence, about the beginning of the ſpring he came to the hauen of Calice, whither (according to order by him preſcribed) all his ſhips were come, except 40 which by tempeſt were driuen backe, and could not as yet come to him.

Cæſar *de bello Gallic.* 5.

After he had ſtaied at Calice (as well for a conuenient wind, as for other incidents) certeine daies, at length when the weather ſo changed that it ſerued his purpoſe, he toke the ſea, & hauing with him fiue legions of ſouldiers, and about two thouſand horſſemen, he departed out of Calice hauen about ſun ſetting with a ſoft ſouthweſt wind, directing his courſe forward: about midnight the wind fell, & ſo by a calme he was carried alongſt with the tide, ſo that in the morning when the day appéred, he might behold Britaine vpon his left hand. Then following the ſtreame as the courſe of the tide changed, he forced with oares to fetch the ſhore vpon that part of the coaſt, which he had diſcouered, and tried the laſt yeere to be the beſt landing place for the armie. The diligence of the ſouldiers was ſhewed héere to be great, who with continuall toile droue forth the heauie ſhips, to kéepe courſe with the gallies, & ſo at length they landed in Britaine about none on the next day, finding not one to reſiſt his comming athore: for as he learned by certeine priſoners which were taken after his comming to land, the Britains being aſſembled in purpoſe to haue reſiſted him, through feare ſtriken into their harts, at the diſcouering of ſuch an huge number of ſhips, they forſoke the ſhore and got them vnto the mountaines. There were indéed of veſſels one and other, what with victellers, & thoſe which priuat men had prouided and furniſhed forth for their owne vſe, being ioined to the ordinarie number, at the leaſt eight hundred ſaile, which appéring in ſight all at one time, made a wonderfull muſter, and right terrible in the eies of the Britains.

But to proceed: Cæſar being got to land, incamped his armie in a place conuenient: and after learning by the priſoners, into what part the enimies were withdrawne, he appointed one Quintus Atrius to remaine vpon the ſafegard of the nauie, with ten companies or cohorts of footmen, and three hundred horſſemen: and anon after midnight marched forth himſelfe with the reſidue of his people toward the Britains, and hauing made 12 miles of way, he got ſight of his enimies hoſt, who ſending downe their horſſemen and charets vnto the riuer ſide, ſkirmiſhed with the Romans, meaning to beate them backe from the higher ground: but being aſſailed of the Romane horſſemen, they were repelled, & toke the woods for their refuge, wherein they had got a place verie ſtrong, both by nature and helpe of hand, which (as was to be thought) had béene fortified before, in time of ſome ciuill warre amongſt them: for all the entries were cloſed with trées which had béene cut downe for that purpoſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers of the 7 legion caſting a trench before them, found meanes to put backe the Britains from their defenſes, and ſo entring vpon them, droue them out of the woods. But Cæſar would not ſuffer the Romans to follow the Britains, becauſe the nature of the countrie was not knowne vnto them: and againe the day was farre ſpent, ſo that he would haue the reſt due thereof beſtowed in fortifieng his campe.

The next day, as he had ſent forth ſuch as ſhould haue purſued the Britains, word came to him from Quintus Atrius, that his nauie by rigour of a ſore and hideous tempeſt was grieuouſlie moleſted, and throwne vpon the ſhore, ſo that the cabels and tackle being broken and deſtroied with force of the vnmerciſull rage of wind, the maiſters and mariners were not able to helpe the matter. Cæſar calling backe thoſe which he had ſent forth, returned to his ſhips, and finding them in ſuch ſtate as he had heard, toke order for the repairing of thoſe that were not vtterlie deſtroied, and cauſed them ſo to be drawne vp to the land, that with a trench he might ſo compaſſe in a plot of ground, that might ſerue both for defenſe of his ſhips, and alſo for the incamping of thoſe men of warre, which he ſhould leaue to attend vpon the ſafegard of the ſame. And becauſe there were at the leaſt a fortie ſhips loſt by violence of this tempeſt, ſo as there was no hope of recouerie in them, he ſaw yet how the reſt with great labour and coſt might be repaired: wherefore he choſe out wrights among the legions, ſent for other into Gallia, and wrote ouer to ſuch as he had left there in charge with the gouernment of the countrie, to prouide ſo manie ſhips as they could, and to ſend them ouer vnto him. He ſpent a ten daies about the repairing of his nauie, and in fortifieng the campe for defenſe thereof, which done, he left thoſe within it that were appointed there before, and then returned towards his enimies.

At his comming backe to the place where he had before incamped, he found them there readie to reſiſt him, hauing their numbers hugelie increaſed: for the Britains hearing that he was returned with ſuch a mightie number of ſhips aſſembled out of all parts of the land, and had by general conſent appointed the whole rule and order of all things touching the warre vnto Caſſiuellane or Caſſibelane, whoſe dominion was diuided from the cities ſituat néere to the ſea coaſt, by the riuer of Thames, 80 miles diſtant from the ſea coaſt. This Caſſibellane before time had bin at continuall warre with other rulers, and cities of the land: but now the Britains moued with the comming of the Romans, choſe him to be chiefe gouernour of all their armie, permitting the order and rule of all things touching the defenſe of their countrie againſt the Romans onelie to him. Their horſſemen and charets ſkirmiſhed by the waie with the Romans, but ſo as they were put backe oftentimes into the woods and hills adioining: yet the Britains ſlue diuers of the Romans as they followed anie thing egerlie in the purſute.

Caſſibellane as ſhould ſéeme, ruled in the parties of Oxfordſhire, Barkſhire, Buckinghamſhire, and Bedfordſhire.

Alſo within a while after, as the Romans were buſie in fortifieng their campe, the Britains ſuddenlie iſſued out of the woods, and fierſelie aſſailed thoſe that warded before the campe, vnto whoſe aid Cæſar ſent two of the chiefeſt cohorts of two legions, the which being placed but a litle diſtance one from another, when the Romans began to be diſcouraged with this kind of fight, the Britains therewith burſt through their enimies, and came backe from thence in ſafetie. That daie Quintus Laberius Durus a tribune was ſlaine. At length Cæſar ſending ſundrie other cohorts to the ſuccour of his people that were in fight, and throwlie handled as it appéred, the Britains in the end were put backe. Neuertheleſſe, that repulſe was but at the pleaſure of fortune; for they quited themſelues afterwards like men, defending their territories with ſuch munition as they had, vntill ſuch time as either by policie or inequalitie of power they were vanquiſhed; as you ſhall ſée after in the courſe of the hiſtorie. Howbeit in fine they were ouer-run and vtterlie ſubdued, but not without much bloudſhed and ſlaughter.

The

The Romans heauie armor their great *hinderance, the maner of the Britains* fighting in warre, their incounter with their *enimies, their diſcomfiture, the worthie ſtra-* tagems or martiall exploits of Caſſibellane, *the Troinouants ſubmiſſion to Cæſar, and* their ſute touching Mandubratius, manie of the Britains are taken and ſlaine of the Romans.

The xv. Chapter.

IN all this maner of ſkirmiſhing and fight which chanced before the campe, euen in the ſight and view of all men, it was perceiued that the Romans, by reaſon of their heauie armour (being not able either to follow the Britains as they retired, or ſo bold as to depart from their enſignes, except they would runne into danger of caſting themſelues awaie) were nothing meete to match with ſuch kind of enimies: and as for their horſſemen, they fought likewiſe in great hazard, becauſe the Britains would oftentimes of purpoſe retire, and when they had trained the Romane horſſemen a litle from their legions of footmen, they would leape out of their charrets and incounter with them on foot. And ſo the battell of horſſemen was dangerous, and like in all points whether they purſued or retired.

The Romans heauie armour

This alſo was the maner of the Britains: they fought not cloſe togither, but in ſunder, and diuided into companies one ſeparated from another by a good diſtance, and had their troopes ſtanding in places conuenient, to the which they might retire, and ſo releeue one another with ſending new freſh men to ſupplie the roomes of them that were hurt or wearie. The next day after they had thus fought before the campe of the Romans, they ſhewed themſelues aloft on the hills, and began to ſkirmiſh with the Romane horſſemen, but not ſo hotlie as they had done the day before. But about noone, when Cæſar had ſent forth three legions of footmen and all his horſſemen vnder the leading of his lieutenant Caius Trebonius to fetch in forrage, they ſuddenlie braake out on euerie ſide, and ſet vpon the forragers. The Romans ſo far forth as they might, not breaking their arraie, nor going from their enſignes or guidons, gaue the charge on them, and fiercelie repelled them, ſo that the horſſemen hauing the legions of footmen at their backs, followed the Britains ſo long as they might haue the ſaid legions in ſight readie to ſuccour them if need were: by reaſon whereof, they ſlue a great number of the Britains, not giuing them leaſure to recouer themſelues, nor to ſtaie that they might haue time to get out of their charrets. After this chaſe and diſcomfiture, all ſuch as were come from other parties to the aid of their fellowes departed home, & after that day the Britains aduentured to fight againſt Cæſar with their maine power, and withdrawing beyond the riuer of *Thames, determined to ſtop the enimies from paſſing the ſame, if by anie meanes they might: and whereas there was but one ford by the which they might come ouer, Caſſibellane cauſed the ſame to be ſet full of ſharpe ſtakes, not onlie in the middeſt of the water, but alſo at the comming forth on that ſide where he was lodged with his armie in good order, readie to defend the paſſage. Cæſar learning by relation of priſoners which he tooke, what the Britains intended to do, marched forth to the riuer ſide, where the ford was, by the which his armie might paſſe the ſame on foot though verie hardlie. At his comming thither, he might perceiue how the Britains were readie on the further ſide to impeach his paſſage, and how that the banke at the comming forth of the water was pight full of ſharpe ſtakes, and ſo likewiſe was the chanell of the riuer ſet with piles which were couered with the water.

The manner of the Britains in the warres.

Caius Trebonius.

Dion Caſsius ſaith, that the Britains vanquiſhed the Roman footmen at this time, but were put to the worſt by the horſſemen.

*(which is to be ſuppoſed was at Kingſton) or not far from thence.

Theſe things yet ſtaied not Cæſar, who appointing his horſſemen to paſſe on before, commanded the footmen to follow. The ſouldiers entring the water, waded through with ſuch ſpeed and violence (nothing appearing of them aboue water but their heads) that the Britains were conſtreined to giue place, being not able to ſuſteine the brunt of the Romane horſſemen, and the legions of their footmen, and ſo abandoning the place betooke them to flight. Caſſibellane not minding to trie the matter anie more by battell, ſent awaie the moſt part of his people, but yet kept with him about a foure thouſand charretmen or waggoners, and ſtill watched what waie the Romans tooke, coaſting them euer as they marched, and kept ſomewhat aſide within the couert of woods, and other comberſome places. And out of thoſe quarters through which he vnderſtood the Romans would paſſe, he gathered both men and cattell into the woods & thicke forreſts, leauing nothing of value abroad in the champion countrie. And when the Roman horſſemen did come abroad into the countrie to ſeeke booties, he ſent out his charrets vnto the knowne waies and paſſages to ſkirmiſh with the ſame horſſemen, ſo much to the diſaduantage of the Romans, that they durſt not ſtraie farre from their maine armie. Neither would Cæſar permit them (leaſt they might haue beene vtterlie diſtreſſed by the Britains) to depart further than the maine battels of the footmen kept pace with them, by reaſon whereof the countrie was not indamaged by fire and ſpoile, but onlie where the armie marched.

Troinouants where they inhabited.

In the meane time, the Troinouants which ſome take to be Middleſex & Eſſex men, whoſe citie was the beſt ſenſed of all thoſe parties, and thought to be the ſame that now is called London, ſent ambaſſadours vnto Cæſar, offering to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, and to obeie his ordinances, and further beſought him to defend Mandubratius from the iniuries of K. Caſſibellane, which Mandubratius had fled vnto Cæſar into France, after that Caſſibellane had ſlaine his father named Imanuentius, that was chiefe lord and king of the Troinouants, and ſo now by their ambaſſadors the ſame Troinouants requeſted Cæſar, not onelie to receiue Mandubratius into his protection, but alſo to ſend him vnto them, that he might take the gouernment and rule of their citie into his hands. Cæſar commanded them to deliuer vnto him 40 hoſtages, and graine for his armie, and therewith ſent Mandubratius vnto them. The Troinouants accompliſhed his commandements with all ſpeed, ſending both the appointed number of hoſtages, and alſo graine for the armie. And being thus defended and preſerued from iniurie of the ſouldiers, the people called Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Caſſi, ſubmitted themſelues vnto Cæſar, by whom he vnderſtood that the towne of Caſſibellane was not far from the place where he was then incamped fenſed with woodes and mariſhes, into the which a great number of people with their cattell and other ſubſtance was withdrawne. The Britains in thoſe daies (as Cæſar writeth) called that a towne or hold, which they had fortified with anie thicke comberſome wood, with trench and rampire, into the which they vſed to get themſelues for the auoiding of inuaſion.

Imanuentius.

Some take the Troinouants to be Londoners.

Cæſar with his legions of ſouldiers therfore marched thither, and finding the place verie ſtrong both

by nature and helpe of hand, aſſaulted it on two partes. The Britains defending their ſtrength a while, at length not able longer to endure the impreſſion of the Romans, fled out on the contrarie ſide of the towne where the enimies were not. Within this place a great number of cattell was found, and manie of the Britains taken by the Romans that followed them in chaſe, and manie alſo ſlaine.

Caſſibellane dooth ſend vnto the foure *kings of Kent for aid againſt Cæſars hoſt*, he offereth ſubmiſsion to Cæſar, the Britains *become his tributaries, he returneth into Gallia* with the remnant of his armie: the differing report *of Cæſars commentaries and our hiſtoriographers touching* theſe warlike affaires; of a ſore fray with bloudſhed and manſlaughter vpon a light occaſion; Cæſar taketh oportunitie to get the conqueſt of the land by the diuiſion betweene Caſſibellane and Androgeus, the time of the Britains ſubiection to the Romans.

The xvj. Chapter.

Foure kings in Kent.

NOw whileſt theſe thinges paſſed on this ſort in thoſe parts, Caſſibellane ſent meſſengers into Kent vnto foure kings (which ruled that ſide of the land in thoſe daies) Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, commanding them, that aſſembling togither their whole puiſſance, they ſhould aſſaile the campe of the Romans by the ſea ſide where certeine bands lay (as ye haue heard) for ſafegard of the naute. They according to his appointment came ſuddenlie thither, and by the Romans that ſailed forth vpon them were ſharplie fought with, and loſt diuers of their men that were ſlaine and taken, and amongſt the priſoners that the Romans toke, Cingetorix was one. When Caſſibellane heard theſe newes, being ſore troubled for theſe loſſes thus chancing one in the necke of an other, but namelie moſt diſcouraged, for that diuers cities had yelded vnto the Romans: he ſent ambaſſadours by means of Romius of Arras vnto Cæſar, offering to ſubmit himſelfe.

Cæſar meaning to winter in Gallia, and therefore becauſe ſummer drew towards an end, willing to diſpatch in Britaine, commanded that hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, and appointed what tribute the Britains ſhould yerelie ſend vnto the Romans. He alſo forbad and commanded Caſſibellane, that he ſhould not in anie wiſe trouble or indamage Madubratius or the Londoners. After this, when he had receiued the hoſtages, he brought his armie to the ſea, and there found his ſhips well repaired, decked, and in good point: therefore he commanded that they ſhould be had downe to the ſea. And becauſe he had a great number of priſoners, and diuers of his ſhips were loſt in the tempeſt, he appointed to tranſport his armie ouer into Gallia at two conueies, which was done with good ſucceſſe about the middeſt of September, though the ſhips returning for the reſidue of the armie, after the firſt conueie, were driuen ſo with force of weather, that a great number of them could not come to land at the place appointed: ſo that Cæſar was conſtreined to fraught thoſe that he could get with a greater burden, and ſo departed from the coaſt of Britaine, and ſafelie landed with the remnant of his people in Gallia with as good ſpéd as he could haue deſired. He thought not good to leaue anie of his people behind him, knowing that if he ſhould ſo do, they were in danger to be caſt awaie. And ſo becauſe he could not well remaine there all the winter ſeaſon for doubt of rebellion in Gallia, he was contented to take vp, and returne thither, ſith he had done ſufficientlie for the time, leaſt in coueting the more, he might haue come in perill to loſe that which he had alreadie obteined.

Dion Caſſius.

Thus according to that which Cæſar himſelfe and other autentike authors haue written, was Britaine made tributarie to the Romans by the conduct of the ſame Cæſar. ¶ But our hiſtories farre differ from this, affirming that Cæſar comming the ſecond time, was by the Britains with valiancie and martiall proweſſe beaten and repelled, as he was at the firſt, and ſpeciallie by meanes that Caſſibellane had pight in the Thames great piles of trées piked with yron, through which his ſhips being entred the riuer, were periſhed and loſt. And after his comming a land, he was vanquiſhed in battell, and conſtrained to flée into Gallia with thoſe ſhips that remained. For ioy of this ſecond victorie (ſaith Galfrid) Caſſibellane made a great feaſt at London, and there did ſacrifice to the gods.

Gal. Mon. Matt. Weſt.

At this feaſt there fell variance betwixt two yong gentlemen, the one named Hirilda, nephew to Caſſibellane, and the other Euelie or Eweline, being of aliance to Androgeus earle of London. They fell at diſcord about wreſtling, and after multiplieng of words, they came to dealing of blowes, by meanes whereof parts were taken, ſo that there enſued a ſore fraie, in the which diuerſe were wounded and hurt, and amongſt other Hirilda the kings nephew was ſlaine by the hands of Eweline. The king ſore diſpleaſed herewith, meant to punith Eweline according to the order of his lawes, ſo that he was ſummoned to appeare in due forme to make anſwer to the murder: but Eweline by the comfort of Androgeus diſobeied the ſummons, & departed the court with Androgeus, in contempt of the king and his lawes. The king to be reuenged vpon Androgeus, gathered a power, and began to make warre vpon him.

Androgeus perceiuing himſelfe not able to withſtand the kings puiſſance, ſent letters to Julius Cæſar, exhorting him to returne into Britaine, and declaring the whole matter concerning the variance betwixt him and the king, promiſſing to aid the Romans in all that he might. Julius Cæſar toſſull of this meſſage, prepared his naute, and with all ſpéd with a mightie hoſt imbarked in the ſame, came toward Britaine: but yer he would land, doubting ſome treaſon in Androgeus, he receiued from him in hoſtage his ſonne named Scena, and thirtie other of the beſt and moſt noble perſonages of all his dominion. After this he landed, and ioining with Androgeus, came into a vallie néere to Canturburie, and there incamped. Shortlie after came Caſſibellane with all his power of Britains, and gaue battell to the Romans. But after the Britains had long fought and knightlie borne themſelues in that battell, Androgeus came with his people on a wing, and ſo ſharplie aſſailed them, that the Britains were conſtrained to forſake the field, and toke themſelues to flight. The which flight ſo diſcomforted them, that finallie they all fled, and gaue place to the Romans, the which purſued and ſlue them without mercie, ſo that Caſſibellane with the reſidue of his people withdrew to a place of ſuertie, but being enuironed about with the puiſſance of the Romans, and of Androgeus, who had with him ſeuen thouſand men there in the aid of the Romans, Caſſibellane in the end was forced to fall to a compoſition, in couenanting to pate a yearelie tribute

of

So ſaith Campion, but Galfrid Monu. ſaith fiue thouſand.

of three thouſand pounds. When Ceſar had ordered his buſineſſe as he thought conuenient, he returned, and with him went Androgeus, fearing the diſpleaſure of Caſſibellane.

The reuerend father Bede writing of this matter, ſaith thus: After that Ceſar being returned into Gallia, had placed his ſouldiors abroad in the countrie to ſoiorne for the winter ſeaſon, he cauſed ſhips to be made readie, to the number of 600, with the which repaſſing into Britaine, whileſt he marched forth with a mightie armie againſt the enimies, his ſhips that lay at anchor being taken with a ſore tempeſt, were either beaten one againſt another, or elſe caſt vpon the flats and ſands, and ſo broken; ſo that fortie of them were vtterlie periſhed, and the reſidue with great difficultie were repaired. The horſſemen of the Romans at the firſt encounter were put to the worſſe, and Labienus the tribune ſlaine. In the ſecond conflict he vanquiſhed the Britains, not without great danger of his people. After this, he marched to the riuer of Thames, which as then was paſſable by foord onelie in one place and not elſe, as the report goeth. On the further banke of that riuer, Caſſibellane was incamped with an huge multitude of enimies, and had pitcht and ſet the banke, and almoſt all the foord vnder the water full of ſharpe ſtakes, the tokens of which vnto this day are to be ſeene, and it ſeemeth to the beholders that euerie of theſe ſtakes are as big as a mans thigh, ſticking faſt in the bottome of the riuer cloſed with lead. This being perceiued of the Romans, and auoided, the Britains not able to ſuſteine the violent impreſſion of the Roman legions, hid themſelues in the woods, out of the which by often iſſues, they greeuouſlie and manie times aſſailed the Romans, and did them great damage. In the meane time the ſtrong citie of Troinouant with hir duke Androgeus deliuering fortie hoſtages, yeelded vnto Ceſar, whoſe example manie other cities following, allied themſelues with the Romans, by whoſe information Ceſar with ſore fight tooke at length the towne of Caſſibellane, ſituat betwixt two marches, fenſed alſo with the couert of woods, & hauing within it great plentie of all things. After this Ceſar returned into France, and beſtowed his armie in places to ſoiorne there for the winter ſeaſon.

The ſtakes remained to be ſeene in Bedes daies.

The Scotiſh writers report, that the Britains, after the Romans were the firſt time repelled (as before ye haue heard) refuſed to receiue the aid of the Scotiſh men the ſecond time, and ſo were vanquiſhed, as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may ſee more at length expreſſed. Thus much touching the war which Julius Ceſar made againſt the Britains, in bringing them vnder tribute to the Romans. But this tributarie ſubiection was hardlie mainteined for a ſeaſon.

¶ Now here is to be noted, that Ceſar did not vanquiſh all the Britains: for he came not amongſt the northerne men, onlie diſcouering and ſubduing that part which lieth towards the French ſeas: ſo that ſith other of the Roman emperors did moſt earneſtlie trauell to bring the Britains vnder their ſubiection (which were euer redie to rebell ſo manie ſundrie times) Ceſar might ſeeme rather to haue ſhewed Britaine to the Romans, than to haue deliuered the poſſeſſion of the ſame. This ſubiection, to the which he brought this Ile (what maner of one ſoeuer it was) chanced about the yeare of the world 3913, after the building of Rome 698, before the birth of our ſauior 53, the firſt and ſecond yeare of the 181 Olympiad, after the comming of Brute 1060, before the conqueſt made by William duke of Normandie 1120, and 1638 yeres before this preſent yere of our Lord 1585, after Hariſons account.

Cornelius Tacitus. In vit. Agr.

Dion Caſſius.

The ſtate of Britaine when Cæſar offered to conquer it, and the maner of their gouernement, as diuerſe authors report the ſame in their bookes: where the contrarietie of their opinions is to be obſerued.

The xvij. Chapter.

After that Julius Ceſar had thus made the Britains tributaries to the Romans, and was returned into Gallia, Caſſibellane reigned 7 yeares, and was vanquiſhed in the ninth or tenth yeare after he began firſt to reigne ſo that he reigned in the whole about 15 or as ſome haue 17 yeares, and then died, leauing no iſſue behind him. There hath bin an old chronicle (as Fabian recordeth) which he ſaw and followeth much in his booke, wherein is conteined, that this Caſſibellane was not brother to Lud, but eldeſt ſonne to him: for otherwiſe as may be thought (ſaith he) Ceſar hauing the vpper hand, would haue diſplaced him from the gouernement, and ſet vp Androgeus the right heire to the crowne, as ſonne to the ſaid Lud. But whatſoeuer our chronicles or the Britiſh hiſtories report of this matter, it ſhould apere by that which Ceſar writeth (as partlie ye haue heard) that Britaine in thoſe daies was not gouerned by one ſole prince, but by diuers, and that diuers cities were eſtates of themſelues, ſo that the land was diuided into ſundrie gouernements, much after the forme and maner as Germanie and Italie are in our time, where ſome cities are gouerned by one onelie prince, ſome by the nobilitie, and ſome by the people. And whereas diuers of the rulers in thoſe daies here in this land were called kings, thoſe had more large ſeigniories than the other, as Caſſibellane, who was therefore called a king.

Fabian.

Cæſar.

Caſſibellane a king.

And though we doo admit this to be true, yet may it be, that in the beginning, after Brute entered the land, there was ordeined by him a monarchie, as before is mentioned, which might continue in his poſſeritie manie yeares after, and yet at length before the comming of Ceſar, through ciuill diſſention, might happilie be broken, and diuided into parts, and ſo remained not onelie in the time of this Caſſibellane, but alſo long after, whileſt they liued as tributaries to the Romans, till finallie they were ſubdued by the Saxons. In which meane time, through the diſcord, negligence, or rather vnaduiſed raſhnes of writers, hard it is to iudge what may be affirmed and receiued in their writings for a truth; namelie, concerning the ſucceſſion of the kings that are ſaid to haue reigned betwixt the daies of Caſſibellane, and the comming of the Saxons. The Roman writers (and namelie Tacitus) report, that the Britains in times paſt were vnder the rule of kings, and after being made tributaries, were drawne ſo by princes into ſundrie factions, that to defend and keepe off a common ieopardie, ſcarſelie would two or three cities agree togither, and take weapon in hand with one accord, ſo that while they fought by parts, the whole was ouercome. And after this ſort they ſay that Britaine was brought into the forme of a prouince by the Romans, from whom gouernors vnder the name of legats and procurators were ſent that had the rule of it.

Cor. Tacitus in vit. Iu. Agr.

But yet the ſame authors make mention of certeine kings (as hereafter ſhall appeare) who while the

the Romane emperors had the moſt part of the earth in ſubiection, reigned in Britaine. The ſame witneſſeth Gildas, ſaieng: Britaine hath kings, but they are tyrants: iudges it hath, but the ſame are wicked, oftentimes ſpoiling and tormenting the innocent people. And Ceſar (as ye haue heard) ſpeaketh of foure kings that ruled in Kent, and thereabouts. Cornelius Tacitus maketh mention of Prasutagus, and Cogidunus, that were kings in Britaine: and Iuuenal ſpeaketh of Aruiragus: and all the late writers, of Lucius. Hereby it appeareth, that whether one or mo, yet kings there were in Britain, bearing rule vnder the Romane emperors.

Gildas *in epiſt.*

Some take Prasutagus and Aruiragus to be one man.

Gal. Mon.

On the other part, the common opinion of our chronicle-writers is, that the chiefe gouernment remained euer with the Britains, & that the Romane ſenat receiuing a yearelie tribute, ſent at certeine times (*Ex officio*) their emperors and lieutenants into this Ile, to repreſſe the rebellious tumults therein begun, or to beat backe the inuaſion of the enimies that went about to inuade it. And thus would theſe writers inferre, that the Britains euer obeied their king, till at length they were put beſide the gouernement by the Saxons. But whereas in the common hiſtorie of England, the ſucceſſion of kings ought to be kept, ſo oft as it chanceth in the ſame that there is not anie to fill the place, then one while the Romane emperors are placed in their ſteads, and another while their lieutenants, and are ſaid to be created kings of the Britains, as though the emperors were inferiors vnto the kings of Britaine, and that the Romane lieutenants at their apointments, and not by preſcript of the ſenat or emperours, adminiſtred the prouince.

This may ſuffice here to aduertiſe you of the contrarietie in writers. Now we will go forth in following our hiſtorie, as we haue done heretofore, ſauing that where the Romane hiſtories write of things done here by emperors, or their lieutenants, it ſhall be ſhewed as reaſon requireth, ſith there is a great appearance of truth oftentimes in the ſame, as thoſe that be authoriſed and allowed in the opinion of the learned.

Of Theomantius, the tearme of yeares *that he reigned, and where he was interred*; of Kymbeline, within the time of whoſe *gouernment Chriſt Ieſus our ſauiour was borne*, all nations content to obeie the Romane emperors *and conſequentlie Britaine, the cuſtomes that* the Britaines paie the Romans as Strabo reporteth.

The xviij. Chapter.

Theomãtius.

After the death of Caſſibellane, Theomantius or Temantius the yongeſt ſonne of Lud was made king of Britaine in the yeare of the world 3921, after the building of Rome 706, & before the comming of Chriſt 45. He is named alſo in one of the Engliſh chronicles Tormace: in the ſame chronicle it is conteined, that not he, but his brother Androgeus was king, where Geffrey of Monmouth & others teſtifie, that Androgeus abandoned the land clerelie, & continued ſtill at Rome, becauſe he knew the Britains hated him for treaſon he had committed in aiding Iulius Ceſar againſt Caſſibellane. Theomantius ruled the land in good quiet, and paid the tribute to the Romans which Caſſibellane had granted, and finallie departed this life after he had reigned 22 yeares, and was buried at London.

Fabian.

Gal. Mon.

Kymbeline.

Kymbeline or Cimbeline the ſonne of Theomantius was of the Britains made king after the deceaſſe of his father, in the yeare of the world 3944, after the building of Rome 728, and before the birth of our Sauiour 33. This man (as ſome write) was brought vp at Rome, and there made knight by Auguſtus Ceſar, vnder whome he ſerued in the warres, and was in ſuch fauour with him, that he was at libertie to pay his tribute or not. Little other mention is made of his doings, except that during his reigne, the Sauiour of the world our Lord Ieſus Chriſt the onelie ſonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, & in the 42 yeare of the emperour Octauius Auguſtus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the world 3966, in the ſecond yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the vniuerſall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Iſraelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captiuitie of Babylon 535, from the building of the temple by Salomon 1034, & from the arriuall of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbelines reigne, ſome writers do varie, but the beſt approued affirme, that he reigned 35 years and then died, & was buried at London, leauing behind him two ſonnes, Guiderius and Aruiragus.

Fabian out of Guido de Columna.

Chriſt our ſauiour borne.

3966

¶ But here is to be noted, that although our hiſtories do affirme, that as well this Kymbeline, as alſo his father Theomantius liued in quiet with the Romans, and continuallie to them paied the tributes which the Britains had couenanted with Iulius Ceſar to pay, yet we find in the Romane writers, that after Iulius Ceſars death, when Auguſtus had taken vpon him the rule of the empire, the Britains refuſed to paie that tribute: whereat as Cornelius Tacitus reporteth, Auguſtus (being otherwiſe occupied) was contented to winke; howbeit, though earneſt calling vpon to recouer his right by ſuch as were deſirous to ſee the vttermoſt of the Britiſh kingdome; at length, to wit, in the tenth yeare after the death of Iulius Ceſar, which was about the thirteenth yeare of the ſaid Theomantius, Auguſtus made proviſion to paſſe with an armie ouer into Britaine, & was come forward vpon his iournie into Gallia Celtica: or as we maie ſaie, into theſe hither parts of France.

Cor. Tacitus *in vita Iu. Agr.*

Dion Caſſius.

But here receiuing aduertiſements that the Pannonians, which inhabited the countrie now called Hungarie, and the Dalmatians whome now we call Slauons had rebelled, he thought it beſt firſt to ſubdue thoſe rebells nære home, rather than to ſeeke new countries, and leaue ſuch in hazard whereof he had preſent poſſeſſion, and ſo turning his power againſt the Pannonians and Dalmatians, he left off for a time the warres of Britaine, whereby the land remained without feare of anie inuaſion to be made by the Romans, till the yeare after the building of the citie of Rome 725, and about the 19 yeare of king Theomantius reigne, that Auguſtus with an armie departed once againe from Rome to paſſe ouer into Britaine, there to make warre. But after his comming into Gallia, when the Britains ſent to him certeine ambaſſadours to treat with him of peace, he ſtaied there to ſettle the ſtate of things among the Galles, for that they were not in verie good order. And hauing finiſhed there, he went into Spaine, and ſo his iournie into Britaine was put off till the next yeare, that is, the 726 after the building of Rome, which fell before the birth of our ſauiour 25, about which time Auguſtus eſteemed meant the third time to haue made a voiage into Britaine, becauſe

because they could not agrée vpon couenants. But as the Pannonians and Dalmatians had afore time staied him, when (as before is said) he meant to haue gone against the Britans: so euen now the Salassians (a people inhabiting about Italie and Switzerland) the Cantabrians and Asturians by such rebellious sturrs as they raised, withdrew him from his purposed iournie. But whether this controuersie which appeareth to fall forth betwixt the Britans and Augustus, was occasioned by Kymbeline, or some other prince of the Britains, I haue not to auouch: for that by our writers it is reported, that Kymbeline being brought vp in Rome, & knighted in the court of Augustus, euer shewed himselfe a friend to the Romans, & chiefly was loth to breake with them, because the youth of the Britaine nation should not be depriued of the benefit to be trained and brought vp among the Romans, whereby they might learne both to behaue themselues like ciuill men, and to atteine to the knowledge of feats of warre.

He kept not promise with the Romans.

Those of Calice and Bilkate.

But whether for this respect, or for that it pleased the almightie God so to dispose the minds of men at that present, not onlie the Britains, but in manner all other nations were contented to be obedient to the Romane empire. That this was true in the Britains, it is euident enough by Strabos words, which are in effect as followeth. At this present (saith he) certeine princes of Britaine, procuring by ambassadors and dutifull demeanors the amitie of the emperour Augustus, haue offered in the capitoll vnto the gods presents or gifts, and haue ordeined the whole Ile in a manner to be appertinent, proper, and familiar to the Romans. They are burdened with sore customs which they paie for wares, either to be sent forth into Gallia, or brought from thence, which are commonlie pourle vessels, theres, ouches, or eare rings, and other conceits made of amber & glasses, and such like manner of merchandize: so that now there is no need of anie armie or garrison of men of warre to keepe the Ile, for there needeth not past one legion of footmen, or some wing of horsemen, to gather vp and receiue the tribute: for the charges are rated according to the quantitie of the tributes: for otherwise it should be needfull to abate the customs, if the tributes were also raised: and if anie violence should be vsed, it were dangerous least they might be prouoked to rebellion. Thus farre Strabo.

Strab. Geog.

Of Guiderius, who denied to paie tribute to the Romans, preparation for war on both sides, of the ridiculous voiage of the Emperour Caligula against the Britains, his vanitie and delight in mischiefe: Aulus Plautius a Romane senator accompanied with souldiers arriue on the British coasts without resistance, the Britains take flight and hide themselues.

The xix. Chapter.

Guiderius.

GUiderius the first sonne of Kymbeline (of whom Harison saieth nothing) began his reigne in the seuentenih yeare after th'incarnation of Christ. This Guiderius being a man of stout courage, gaue occasion of breach of peace betwixt the Britains and Romans, denieng to paie them tribute, and procuring the people to new insurrections, which by one meane or other made open rebellion, as Gyldas saith. Wherevpon the emperour Caligula (as some thinke) tooke occasion to leaue a power, and as one vtterlie misliking the negligence (as he called it) of Augustus and Tiberius his predecessors, he ment not onlie to reduce the Iland vnto the former subiection, but also to search out the vttermost bounds thereof, to the behoofe of himselfe, and of the Romane monarchie.

Caligula.

Great prouision therefore was made by the said Caligula to performe that noble enterprise, and this was in the fourth yeare of his reigne. The like preparation was made on the other side by Guiderius, to resist the forren enimies, so that hauing all things in a readinesse, he ceassed not dailie to looke for the comming of the emperour, whome he ment to receiue with hard enterteinment if he durst aduenture to set toward Britaine. But see the sequele: the maine armie being thus in a readinesse, departed from Rome in the 79 yeare after the building of the citie, and marching forth, at length came vnto the Belgike shore, from whence they might looke ouer, and behold the cliffes and coast of Britaine, which Caligula and his men stood gazing vpon with great admiration and wonder.

Dion Cassius lib. 59.

Furthermore he caused them to stand in battell arraie vpon the coast, where he heard how the Britains were in a readinesse to withstand his entrance. But entring into his gallie, as nothing discouraged with these newes, he rowed a flight shot or two from the shore, and forthwith returned, and then going vp into an high place like a pulpit, framed and set vp there for the nonce, he gaue the token to fight vnto his souldiers by sound of trumpet, and therewith was ech man charged to gather cockle shells vpon the shore, which he called the spoile of the Ocean, and caused them to be laid vp vntill a time conuenient. With the atchiuing of this exploit (as hauing none other wherewith to beautifie his triumph) he seemed greatlie exalted, thinking that now he had subdued the whole Ocean, and therefore highlie rewarded his souldiers for their paines sustained in that collection of cockle shells, as if they had done him some notable peece of seruice. He also caried of the same shells with him to Rome, to the end he might there boast of his voyage, and brag how well he had sped: and required therefore verie earnestlie of haue a triumph decreed vnto him for the accomplishment of this enterprise.

The spoile of the Ocean.

But when he saw the senat grudge at the free & liberall granting of a grace in that behalfe, and perceiued how they refused to attribute diuine honors vnto him, in recompense of so solish an enterprise, it wanted little that he had not slaine them euerie one. From thence therefore he went vp into a throne or royall seate, and calling therewith the common people about him, he told them a long tale what aduentures had chanced to him in his conquest of the Ocean. And when he had perceiued them to shout and crie, as if they had consented that he should haue beene a god for this his great trauell and valiant prowesse, he to increase their clamour, caused great quantities of gold & siluer to be scattered amongst them, in the gathering whereof, manie were pressed to death, and diuers also slaine with the inuenomed caltrops of iron, which he did cast out with the same monie, of purpose to doo mischiefe, the same caltrops being in forme small & sharp, so that by reason of the preasse of people, much hurt was done by them yer they were perceiued. And this was the end of the ridiculous voiage of Caligula attempted against the Britains.

But after the death of this Caligula, the emperour Claudius (as Suetonius saith) moued warre against the Britains, because of a sturre and rebellion raised in that land, for that such fugitiues as were

Suetonius.

were fled from thence, were not againe reſtored when requeſt was made for the ſame.

Dion Caſſius. Dion Caſſius writeth, that one Bericus, being expelled out of Britaine, perſuaded the emperour Claudius to take the warre in hand at this time againſt the Britains, ſo that one Aulus Plautius a ſenatour, and as then prætor, was appointed to take the armie that ſoiourned in France then called Gallia, and to paſſe ouer with the ſame into Britaine. The ſouldiers hearing of this voiage, were loth to go with him, as men not willing to make warre in another world: and therefore delaied time, till at length one Narciſſus was ſent from Claudius, as it were to appeaſe the ſouldiers, & procure them to ſet forward. But when this Narciſſus went vp into the tribunall throne of Plautius, to declare the cauſe of his comming, the ſouldiers taking great indignation therewith cried, *o Saturnalia*, as if they ſhould haue celebrated their feaſt daie ſo called.

When the ſeruants apparelled in their maiſters robes, repreſented the rome of their maiſters, and were ſerued by them, as if they had béene their ſeruants, and thus at length conſtreined, through verie ſhame, they agréed to follow Plautius. Herevpon being embarked, he diuided his nauie into three parts, to the end that if they were kept off from arriuing in one place, yet they might take land in another. The ſhips ſuffered ſome impeachment in their paſſage by a contrarie wind that droue them backe againe: but yet the marriners and men of warre taking good courage vnto them, the rather becauſe there was ſéene a fierie leame to ſhoot out of the eaſt towards the weſt, which way their courſe lay, made forwards againe with their ſhips, and landed without finding anie reſiſtance. For the Britains loked not for their comming: wherefore, when they heard how their enimies were on land, they got them into the woods and mariſhes, truſting that by lingering of time the Romans would be conſtreined to depart, as it had chanced in time paſt to Julius Ceſar aforeſaid.

The end of the third booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

The Britains diſcomfited, ſore *wounded, ſlaine, and diſabled by* Plautius and his power, Claudius the *Romane taketh the chiefe citie of Cymbe-* beline the king of Britaine, he bereaueth *the Britains of their armour, and by* vertue of his conqueſt ouer part *of the land is ſurnamed* Britannicus.

The firſt Chapter.

NOw Plautius had much adoo to find out the Britains in their lurking holes and couerts; howbeit when he had traced them out, firſt he vanquiſhed Cataratacus, and after Togodumnus the ſonnes of Cynobellinus: for their father was dead not verie long before. Theſe therefore fléeing their waies, Plautus receiued part of the people called Bodunni (which were ſubiects vnto them that were Bodunni. called Catuellani) into the obeiſance of the Romans: and ſo leauing there a garriſon of ſouldiors, paſſed further till he came to a riuer which could not well be paſſed without a bridge: wherevpon the Britains toke ſmall regard to defend the paſſage, as though they had béene ſure inough. But Plautius appointed a certeine number of Germans which he had there with him (being vſed to ſwim ouer riuers, although neuer ſo ſwift) to get ouer, which they did, ſleaing and wounding the Britains horſes, which were faſtened to their wagons or chariots, ſo that the Britains were not able to doo anie péece of their accuſtomed ſeruice with the ſame. Catuellani

Herewithall was Flauius Veſpaſianus (that afterwards was emperour) with his brother Sabinus ſent ouer that riuer, which being got to the further ſide, ſlue a great number of the enimies. The reſidue of the Britains fled, but the next daie proffered a new battell, in the which they fought ſo ſtoutlie, that the victorie depended long in doubtfull balance, till Caius Sidius Geta being almoſt at point to be taken, did ſo handle the matter, that the Britains finallie were put to flight: for the which his valiant doings, triumphant honors were beſtowed vpon him, although he was no conſull.

The Britains after this battell, withdrew to the riuer of Thames, néere to the place where it falleth into the ſea, and knowing the ſhallowes and firme places thereof, eaſilie paſſed ouer to the further ſide, whom the Romans following, through lacke of knowledge in the nature of the places, they fell into the mariſh grounds, and ſo came to loſe manie of their

their men, namelie of the Germans, which were the first that passed ouer the riuer to followe the Britains, partlie by a bridge which lay within the countrie ouer the said riuer, and partlie by swimming, and other such shift as they presentlie made.

Togodumnus. The Britains hauing lost one of their rulers, namelie Togodumnus (of whom ye haue heard before) were nothing discouraged, but rather more egerlie set on reuenge. Plautius perceiuing their fiercenesse, went no further, but staid and placed garrisons in steeds where need required, to keepe those places which he had gotten, and with all speed sent aduertisement vnto Claudius, according to that he had in commandement, if anie vrgent necessitie should so moue him. Claudius therefore hauing all things before hand in a readinesse, straightwaies vpon the receiuing of the aduertisement, departed from Rome, and came by water vnto Massilia, and from thence vnto Paulilia, and so through France sped his iournies till he came to the side of the Ocean sea, and then imbarking himselfe with his people, passed ouer into Britaine, and came to his armie which abode his comming neere the Thames side, where being ioined, they passed the riuer againe, fought with the Britains in a pitcht field, and getting the victorie, tooke the towne of Camelodunum (which some count to be Colchester) being the chiefest citie apperteining vnto Cynobelinus. He reduced also manie other people into his subiection, some by force, and some by surrender, whereof he was called oftentimes by the name of emperour, which was against the ordinance of the Romans: for it was not lawfull for anie to take that name vpon him oftener than once in anie one voiage. Moreouer, Claudius tooke from the Britains their armor and weapons, and committed the gouernment of them vnto Plautius, commanding him to endeuour himselfe to subdue the residue.

Dion Cassius. Thus hauing brought vnder a part of Britaine, and hauing made his abode therin not past a fortene daies, he departed and came backe againe to Rome with victorie in the first month after his setting forth from thence, giuing after his returne, to his sonne, the surname of Britannicus. This warre he finished in maner as before is said, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, which fell in the yeere of the world 4011, after the birth of our Sauiour 44, and after the building of Rome 79.

Suetonius.

The diuerse opinions and variable reports of writers touching the partile conquest of this Iland by the Romans, the death of Guiderius.

The second Chapter.

THere be that write, how Claudius subdued and added to the Romane empire, the Iles of Orknie situate in the north Ocean beyond Britaine: which might well be accomplished either by Plautius, or some other his lieutenant: for Plautius indeed for his noble prowesse and valiant acts atchiued in Britaine, afterwards triumphed. Titus the sonne of Uespasian also wan no small praise for deliuering his father out of danger in his time, being beset with a companie of Britains, which the said Titus bare downe, and put to flight with great slaughter. Beda following the authoritie of Suetonius, writeth breefelie of this matter, and saith, that Claudius passing ouer into this Ile, to the which neither before Iulius Cesar, neither after him anie stranger durst come, within fewe daies receiued the most part of the countrie into his subiection without battell or bloudshed.

Gyldas also writing of this reuolting of the Britains, saith thus: When information therof was giuen to the senate, and that hast was made with a speedie armie to reuenge the same, there was no warlike nauie prepared in the sea to fight valiantlie for the defense of the countrie, no square battell, no right wing, nor anie other prouision appointed on the shore to be seene, but the backes of the Britains in stead of a shield are shewed to the persecutors, and their necks readie to be cut off with the sword through cold feare running through their bones, which stretched forth their hands to be bound like womanlie creatures; so that a common prouerbe followed thereof, to wit, That the Britains were neither valiant in warre, nor faithfull in peace: and so the Romans fleaing manie of the rebels, reseruing some, and bringing them to bondage, that the land should not lie altogither vntilled and desert, returned into Italie out of that land which was void of wine and oile, leauing some of their men there for gouernors to chastise the people, not so much with an armie of men, as with scourge and whip, and if the matter so required, to aplie the naked sword vnto their sides: so that it might be accounted Rome and not Britaine. And what coine either of brasse, siluer or gold there was, the same to be stamped with the image of the emperour. Thus farre Gildas.

In the British historie we find other report as thus, that Claudius at his comming aland at Portchester, besieged that towne, to the rescue whereof came Guiderius, and giuing battell to the Romans, put them to the worse, till at length one Hamo, being on the Romans side, changed his shield and armour, apparelling himselfe like a Britaine, and so entring into the thickest prease of the British host, came at length where the king was, and there slue him. But Aruiragus perceiuing this mischiefe, to the end the Britains should not be discouraged therewith, caused himselfe to be adorned with the kings cote-armor, and other abiliments, and so as king continued the fight with such manhod, that the Romans were put to flight. Claudius retired backe to his ships, and Hamo to the next woods, whom Aruiragus pursued, and at length droue him vnto the sea side, and there slue him yer he could take the hauen which was there at hand; so that the same tooke name of him, and was called a long time after, Hamons hauen, and at length by corruption of speach it was called Hampton, and so continueth vnto this day, commonlie called by the name of Southhampton. Thus haue you heard how Guiderius or Guinderius (whether you will) came to his end, which chanced (as some write) in the 28 yeere of his reigne.

Gal. Mon. Matth. West.

Hampton, why so called.

Aruiragus the Britaine & Claudius the Romane with their armies doo incounter, a composition concerning mariage concluded betweene them, Claudius returneth to Rome.

The third Chapter.

ARuiragus the yongest son of Kymbeline, and brother to Guinderius (because the same Guinderius left no issue to succeed him) was admitted king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 45, or rather 46.

Aruiragus. Hector Boet.

This

This Aruiragus, otherwiſe called by the Britains Meuricus or Mauus, of Tacitus Paluntius, is alſo named Armiger in the Engliſh chronicle, by which chronicle (as appeereth) he bare himſelfe right manfullie againſt Claudius and his Romans in the warre which they made againſt him: in ſo much that when Claudius had renewed his force and woone Pozcheſter, and after came to beſiege Wincheſter (in the which Aruiragus as then was incloſed) Aruiragus aſſembling his power, was readie to come forth and giue Claudius battell: wherevpon Claudius doubting the ſequele of the thing, ſent meſſengers vnto Aruiragus to treat of concord, and ſo by compoſition the matter was taken vp, with condition, that Claudius ſhould giue his daughter Genilla in marriage vnto Aruiragus, & Aruiragus ſhould acknowledge to hold his kingdome of the Romans.

Caxton.

Gal. Mon.

Some write that Claudius in fauour of the valiant proweſſe which he ſaw & found in Aruiragus, honored not onlie him with the mariage of his daughter the ſaid Genilla, but alſo to the end to make the towne more famous where this marriage was ſolemnized, he therefore called it Claudiocaſtria, after his name, the which in the Britiſh tong was called before that daie Caerleon, and after Glouernia, of a duke that ruled in Demetia that hight Glunie, but now it is called Glocester.

Ranulfus Ceſtrenſis.

Other there be that write, how Claudius being vanquiſhed in battell by Aruiragus, was compelled by the ſaid Aruiragus to giue vnto him his ſaid daughter to wife, with condition as before is mentioned: and that then Aruiragus was crowned king of Britaine. But Suetonius maie ſeeme to reproue this part of the Britiſh hiſtorie, which in the life of Claudius witneſſeth, that he had by three wiues onlie three daughters, that is to ſaie, Claudia, Antonia, and Octauia: and further, that reputing Claudia not to be his, cauſed hir to be caſt downe at the doore of his wife Herculanilla, whome he had forſaken by waie of diuorcement: & that he beſtowed his daughter Antonia firſt on C. Pompeius Magnus, and after on Fauſtus Silla, verie noble yong gentlemen; and Octauia he matched with Nero his wiues ſon. Whereby it ſhould appeere, that this ſuppoſed marriage betwixt Aruiragus and the daughter of Claudius is but a feined tale.

Sueton.

¶ And heere to ſpeake my fanſie alſo what I thinke of this Aruiragus, and other the kings (whome Galfrid and ſuch as haue followed him do regiſter in order, to ſucceed one after another) I will not denie but ſuch perſons there were, and the ſame happilie bearing verie great rule in the land, but that they reigned as abſolute kings ouer the whole, or that they ſucceeded one after another in manner as is auouched by the ſame writers, it ſeemeth moſt vnlike to be true: for rather it maie be geſſed by that, which as well Gyldas as the old approued Romane writers haue written, that diuerſe of theſe kings liued about one time, or in times greatlie differing from thoſe times which in our writers we find noted. As for example, Iuuenal maketh this Aruiragus of whom we now intreat, to reigne about Domitians time. For my part therefore, ſith this order of the Britiſh kinglie ſucceſſion in this place is more eaſie to be flatlie denied and vtterlie reproued, than either wiſelie defended or trulie amended, I will referre the reforming therof vnto thoſe that haue perhaps ſeene more than I haue, or more deepelie conſidered the thing, to trie out an vndoubted truth: in the meane time, I haue thought good, both to ſhew what I find in our hiſtories, and likewiſe in forren writers, to the which we thinke (namelie in this behalfe, whileſt the Romans gouerned there) we maie ſafelie giue moſt credit, do we otherwiſe neuer ſo much content our ſelues with other vaine and fond conceits.

To proceed yet with the hiſtorie as we find it by our writers ſet forth: it is reported, that after the ſolemnization of this marriage, which was done with all honour that might be deuiſed, Claudius ſent certeine legions of ſouldiers forth to go into Ireland to ſubdue that countrie, and returned himſelfe to Rome.

Legions of ſouldiers ſent into Ireland.

Gal. Mon.

Aruiragus denieth ſubiection to the *Romans, Veſpaſian is ſent to repreſſe him* and his power, the Romane hoſt is kept backe *from landing, queene Geniſſa pacifieth them* after a ſharpe conflict: & what the Ro*mane writers ſay of Veſpaſians being in* Britaine, the end of Aruiragus.

The fourth Chapter.

THen did king Aruiragus ride about to view the ſtate of his realme, repairing cities and townes decaied by the warre of the Romans, and ſaw his people gouerned with ſuch iuſtice and good order, that he was both feared and greatlie beloued: ſo that in tract of time he grew verie welthie, and by reaſon thereof fell into pride, ſo that he denied his ſubiection to the Romans. Wherevpon Claudius appointed Veſpaſian with an armie to go as lieutenant into Britaine. This iournie was to him the beginning of his aduancement to that honour, which after to him moſt luckilie befell. But if we ſhall credit our Britaine writers, he gained not much at Aruiragus hands, for where he would haue landed at Sandwich or Richborough, Aruiragus was readie to reſiſt him, ſo as he durſt not once enter the hauen: for Aruiragus had there ſuch a puiſſant number of armed men, that the Romans were afraid to approch the land.

Veſpaſian in Britaine. Cornel. Tacit. *in vit. Agr. lib. 3. & li. 6.* Gal. Mon. Rutupium.

Veſpaſian therefore withdrew from thence, and coaſting weſtward, landed at Totneſſe, and coming to Exceſter, beſieged that citie: but about the ſeuenth day after he had planted his ſiege, came Aruiragus, and gaue him battell, in the which both the armies ſuſteined great loſſe of men, and neither part got anie aduantage of the other. On the morrow after queene Geniſſa made them friends, and ſo the warres ceaſſed for that time, by hir good mediation.

Polydorus.

¶ But ſeeing (as before I haue ſaid) the truth of this hiſtorie maie be greatlie miſtruſted, ye ſhall heare what the Romane writers ſaie of Veſpaſianus being heere in Britaine, beſide that which we haue alreadie recited out of Dion in the life of Guiderius.

In the daies of the emperor Claudius, through fauour of Narciſſus (one that might do all with Claudius) the ſaid Veſpaſian was ſent as coronell or lieutenant of a legion of ſouldiers into Germanie, and being remoued from thence into Britaine, he fought thirtie ſeuerall times with the enimies, and brought vnto the Romane obeiſance two moſt mightie nations, and aboue twentie townes, togither with the Ile of Wight; and theſe exploits he atchiued, partlie vnder the conduct of Aulus Plautius ruler of Britaine for the emperor Claudius, and partlie vnder the ſame emperor himſelfe. For as it is euident by writers of good credit, he came firſt ouer into Britaine with the ſaid Aulus Plautius, and ſerued verie valiantlie vnder him, as before in place we haue partlie touched. By Tacitus it appeereth, that he was called to be partener in the gouernment of things in Britaine

Veſpaſian. Suetonius. Sabellicus.

Britaine with Claudius, and had such successe, as it appeered to what estate of honour he was predestinate, hauing conquered nations, and taken kings prisoners. But now to make an end with Aruiragus: when he perceiued that his force was too weake to preuaile against the Romane empire, and that he should striue but in vaine to shake the yoke of subiection from the necks of the Britains, he made a finall peace with them in his old age, and so continued in quiet the residue of his reigne, which he lastlie ended by death, after he had gouerned the land by the space of thirtie yeres, or but eight and twentie, as some other imagine. He died in the yeere of Grace 73, as one author affirmeth, and was buried at Glocester.

Cal. Mon.

Ioseph of Arimathia came into Britane *and Simon Zelotes, the antiquitie of christian religion*, Britaine gouerned by Lieute*nants and treasurers of the Romane emperors, the* exploits of Ostorius Scapula and the men of Ox*fordshire, he vanquisheth the Welshmen, appeaseth* the Yorkshiremen, and brideleth the rage of the Silures.

The fift Chapter.

IN the daies of the said Aruiragus, about the yeare of Christ 53, Ioseph of Arimathia, who buried the bodie of our sauiour, being sent by Philip the Apostle (as Iohn Bale following the authoritie of Gildas and other British writers reciteth) after that the Christians were dispersed out of Gallia, came into Britaine with diuers other godlie christian men, & preaching the gospell there amongst the Britains, & instructing them in the faith and lawes of Christ, conuerted manie to the true beliefe, and baptised them in the wholsome water of regeneration, & there continued all the residue of his life, obteining of the king a plot of ground where to inhabit, not past a foure miles from Wells, and there with his fellowes began to laie the first foundation of the true and perfect religion, in which place (or neere thereunto) was afterward erected the abbeie of Glastenburie.

Polydorus.

Nicephorus writeth in his second booke and fourth chapter, that one Simon Zelotes came likewise into Britaine. And Theodoretus in his 9. booke *De curandis Græcorum affectibus*, sheweth that Paule being released of his second imprisonment, and suffered to depart from Rome, preached the gospell to the Britains and to other nations in the west. The same thing in manner doth Sophronius the patriarch of Ierusalem witnesse. Tertullian also maie be a witnesse of the ancientnes of the faith receiued here in Britaine, where he writing of these times saith: Those places of the Britains, to the which the Romans could not approch, were subiect vnto Christ, as were also the countries of Sarmatia, Dacia, Germania, Scithia, and others. ¶ Thus it maie appeare, that the christian religion was planted here in this land shortlie after Christes time, although it certeinlie appeareth not who were the first that preached the gospell to the Britains, nor whether they were Greeks or Latins.

Treasurers or receiuers.

Cornelius Tacitus writeth, that the Romane emperours in this season gouerned this land by lieutenants and treasurers, the which were called by the name of legats and procurators, thereby to keepe the vnrulie inhabitants the better in order.

And Aulus Plautius a noble man of Rome of the order of consuls, was sent hither as the first legat or lieutenant (in maner as before ye haue heard) & after him Ostorius Scapula, who at his comming found the Ile in trouble, the enimies hauing made inuasion into the countrie of those that were friends to the Romans, the more presumptuouslie, for that they thought a new lieutenant, with an armie to him vnacquainted and come ouer now in the beginning of winter, would not be hastie to march forth against them. But Ostorius vnderstanding that by the first successe and chance of warre, feare or hope is bred and augmented, hasted forward to encounter with them, and such as he found abroad in the countrie he slue out right on euerie side, and pursued such as fled, to the end they should not come togither againe. Now for that a displeasing and a doubtfull peace was not like to bring quietnesse either to him or to his armie, he tooke from such as he suspected, their armour. And after this, he went about to defend the riuers of Auon & Seuerne, with placing his souldiers in campes fortified neere to the same. But the Orfordshire men and other of those parties would not suffer him to accomplish his purpose in anie quiet sort, being a puissant kind of people, and not hitherto weakened by warres: for they willinglie at the first had ioined in amitie with the Romans. The countries adioining also being induced by their procurement, came to them, & so they chose forth a plot of ground, fenced with a mightie ditch, vnto the which there was no waie to enter but one, & the same verie narrow, so as the horsemen could not haue anie easie passage to breake in vpon them. Ostorius, although he had no legionarie souldiers, but certeine bands of aids, marched forth towards the place within the which the Britains were lodged, and assaulting them in the same, brake through into their campe, where the Britains being impeached with their owne inclosures which they had raised for defense of the place, knowing how that for their rebellion they were like to find small mercie at the Romans hands, when they saw now no waie to escape, laid about them manfullie, and shewed great proofe of their valiant stomachs.

Aulus Plautius.

Ostorius Scapula.

Cor. Tacitus lib. 12.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12.

In this battell, the sonne of Ostorius the lieutenant deserued the price and commendation of preseruing a citizen out of the cruell enimies hands. But now with this slaughter of the Orfordshire men, diuers of the Britains that stood doubtfull what waie to take, either to rest in quiet, or to moue warres, were contented to be conformable vnto a reasonable order of peace, in so much that Ostorius lead his armie against the people called Cangi, who inhabited that part of Wales now called Denbighshire, which countrie he spoiled on euerie side, no enimie once daring to encounter him: & if anie of them aduentured priuilie to set vpon those which they found behind, or on the outsides of his armie, they were cut short yer they could escape out of danger. Whereupon he marched straight to their campe and giuing them battell, vanquished them: and vsing the victorie as reason moued him, he lead his armie against those that inhabited the inner parts of Wales, spoiling the countrie on euerie side. And thus sharplie pursuing the rebels, he approched neere vnto the sea side, which lieth ouer against Ireland. While this Romane capteine was thus occupied, he was called backe by the rebellion of the Yorkshire men, whome forthwith vpon his comming vnto them, he appeased, punishing the first authors of that tumult with death.

which was a certaine crowne, to be set on his head called *ciuica corona*.

Cangi.

In the meane time, the people called Silures, being a verie fierce kind of men, and valiant, prepared

Cor. Tacitus. lib. 12.

pared to make warre againſt the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughneſſe, nor yet with anie courteous handling, ſo that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie ſouldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to reſtraine the furious rage of thoſe people and their neighbours, Oſtorius peopled a towne nére to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old ſouldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to ſuch maner as was vſed in like caſes of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more ſuertie and defenſe of the ſame. Here alſo was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddeſſe Victoria, and an other of Claudius himſelfe.

The coniectures of writers touching *the ſituation of Camelodunum ſuppoſed to* be Colcheſter, of the Silures a people ſpoken *of in the former chapter, a foughten field betwene* Caratacus the Britiſh prince, and Oſtorius *the Romaine, in the confines of Shropſhire; the Britains* go miſerablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken priſoners, his brethren yeeld themſelues to their enimies.

The ſixt Chapter.

BVt now there reſteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did ſtand, of ſome (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduiſed conſideration of the circumſtances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colcheſter. But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather ſeeme to be ſome other towne, ſituat more weſtward than Colcheſter, ſith a colonie of Romane ſouldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repreſſing of the vnquiet Silures, which by conſent of moſt writers inhabited in Southwales, or nére the Welſh marches.

Camelodunum, Colcheſter.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a caſtell of great fame in times paſt that hight Camaletum, or in Britiſh Caermalet, which ſtood in the marches of Summerſetſhire: but ſith there is none that hath ſo written before this time, I will not ſaie that happilie ſome error hath growne by miſtaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by ſuch as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet ſo it might be doon by ſuch as found it ſhort or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by ſuch ſtrangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer ſéene nor heard of. As for example, an Engliſhman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Werford, might in taking forth a copie of ſome writing eaſilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention alſo of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithſtanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing the one to be Colcheſter in déed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaſter or Pontfret. Leland eſteeming it to be certeinelie Colcheſter taketh the Iceni men alſo to be the Northfolke men. But howſoeuer we ſhall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum ſtood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to ſéeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil ſo far as Doncaſter or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter ſo doubtfull, we will proceed with the hiſtorie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, againſt whome (truſting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but alſo vpon the high proweſſe & valiancie of Caratacus) Oſtorius ſet forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie proſperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: ſo in power of ſouldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropſhire, Chethire, and Lancaſhire, which people together with other that miſliked of the Romane gouernment, he ioined in one, and choſe a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermoſt hazard of battell. Cornelius Tacitus lib. Annal. Hu. Lhoyd.

The place which he thus choſe was ſuch, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole ſituation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romans, as incloſed among high hils. And if there were anie eaſie paſſage to enter it vpon anie ſide, the ſame was ſhut vp with mightie huge ſtones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to paſſe ouer it. This place is ſuppoſed to lie in the confines of Shropſhire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one againſt an other, but aſlope. It is alſo (they ſaie) compaſſed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three ſides thereof the clime is verie ſteepe and headlong, and no waie eaſie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himſelfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to ſhew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the ſame wherein ſhould appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or elſe of perpetuall bondage for euer to be ſuſteined. He reherſed alſo ſpeciallie by name thoſe their elders, which had reſiſted Julius Ceſar, by whoſe high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children ſafe and vndefiled. Thus diſcourſing of manie things with them, in ſuch hope of aſſured victorie, that they began to raiſe their cries, ech one for him ſelfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to ſhrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This chéerefulneſſe of the Britains greatlie aſtoniſhed the Romane lieutenant. The hideous courſe alſo of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all ſet full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he ſaw afore him, but that which ſéemed dreadfull to thoſe that ſhould aſſaile. But the ſouldiers yet ſéemed to be verie deſirous of battell, requeſting him to bring them to it, proteſting that nothing was able to reſiſt the force of noble prowes. Herewith the captains and tribunes diſcourſing the like, pricked forward the earneſt willes which their ſouldiers

soldiers had to fight.

Ostorius perceiuing such courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well souldiers as captains, began to preferre himselfe, and left nothing vndone that might serue to set forward their earnest desire at hand. And hauing aduisedlie considered which waies were hard and vnpossible to be entered vpon, and which were most easie for his people to find passage by, he let them forth, being most earnestlie bent to grow with the enimie.

Soone hauing passed the water without any great difficultie, and comming to the rampire, he lost manie of his people, so long as the fight was continued with shot and casting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themselues with their targets, came once close together, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the stones which the Britains had roughlie couched together, and so came to worke with them at handstrokes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and tooke in assaieng them. In so the Britains could not turne them selues to escape, for the light armed men with shot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, fought to make slaughter and wracke of them on euerie side. In that this was a verie doleful day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken prisoners, and his brethren also yeelded themselues. He himselfe escaped, and committing his person vnto the assurance of a trust of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine first began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his allies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his cou*rage and manlie speech to the emperour Claudius*, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: *the Britains vndertake a new reuenge* against the Romans; the cause why the Silures hated the Romans, Ostorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

The seuenth Chapter.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie spred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were desirous to see what maner of man he was that had so manie yéres set at naught the puissant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much spoken of, insomuch that the emperour whilest he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him also that was vanquished: for the people were called forth as vnto some great notable sight or spectacle. The pretorian bands stood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake shuld come. Then passed by the traine of his friends and seruants; and such armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had béene gotten in those warres, were borne forwards, and openlie shewed, that all men might behold the same.

After these followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and last of all came Caratacus himselfe, whose countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing punishment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words shewed anie token of a discouraged mind, but being presented before the emperour Claudius sitting in his tribunall seat, he vttered this speach as followeth.

If there had beene in me so much moderation in time of prosperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puissance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a captaine: neither should I haue thought scorne, being borne of most noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by waie of coming with you in league. My present estate as it is to me reprochfull, so to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horsses, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the same? For if you shall take to gouerne all men, it must néeds follow that all men must be your slaues. If I had at the first yeelded my selfe, neither my power nor your glorie had beene set forth to the world. So vpon mine execution I should straight haue beene forgotten. But if you now graunt me life, I shall be a witnesse for euer of your mercie and clemencie.

The emperour with these words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and also to his wife and brethren, who being losed from their bands, went also to the place where the empresse Agrippina sate, and fell off in a chaire of estate, whom they reuerenced with the like praise and thanks as they had donne before to the emperour. After this the senat was called togither, who discoursed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchiued by the taking of Caratake, esteeming the same no lesse glorious, than when P. Scipio shewed in triumph Syphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perses, or other Romane captains anie such king whom they had vanquished.

Scipio. L. Paulus.

Heerevpon it was determined, that Ostorius should enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for such prosperous successe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not so luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or because the Romans as though the warres had beene finished, slaked negligentlie to themselues, either elles for that the Britains taking compassion of the miserable state of Caratake, being so worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aspect cast into miserie, were more earnestlie set to reuenge his quarrell. Heerevpon they incompassed the maister of the campe, and those legionarie bands of souldiers which were left amongst the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if succour had not come out of the next townes and castels, the Romans had beene vtterlie ouerthrowen by siege. The head captaine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one elles of the companies being most forward, were slaine. Shortlie after they set vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and also such companies of horssemen as were appointed to gard them. Heerevpon Ostorius set forth certeine bands of light horssemen, but neither could he staie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whose force they were staid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains escaped by flight without great losse, by reason the date was spent.

Cornelius Tacitus lib. 12. Caratakes name renowned.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, for sometimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vse to rob by the high waies, than of those that make open warre, taking their enimies at some aduantage

ſouldiers had to fight.

Oſtorius perceiuing ſuch courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well ſouldiers as capteins, began to beſtirre himſelfe, and left nothing vndone that might ſerue to ſet forward their earneſt deſire to battell. And hauing aduiſedlie conſidered which waies were hard and vnpoſſible to be entered vpon, and which were moſt eaſie for his people to find paſſage by, he led them forth, being moſt earneſtlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing paſſed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he loſt manie of his people, ſo long as the fight was continued with ſhot and caſting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themſelues with their targets, came once cloſe togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the ſtones which the Britains had roughlie couched togither, and ſo came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, ſo as the Britains could not turne them anie way to eſcape, for the light armed men with ſhot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, ſought to make ſlaughter and wracke of them on ech ſide, ſo that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken priſoners, and his brethren alſo yelded themſelues. He himſelfe eſcaped, and committing his perſon vnto the aſſurance & truſt of Cartemandua queene of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine firſt began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his alies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his courage *and manlie ſpeech to the emperour Claudius*, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: *the Britains vndertake a new reuenge* againſt the Romans; the cauſe why the Silures hated the Romans, Oſtorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Chester builded.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie ſpred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Wherefore were deſirous to ſee what maner of man he was that had ſo manie yeres ſet at naught the puiſſant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much ſpoken of, inſomuch that the emperour whileſt he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him alſo that was vanquiſhed: for the people were called forth as vnto ſome great notable fight or ſpectacle. The pretorian bands ſtood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake ſhuld come. Then paſſed by the traine of his friends and ſeruants; and ſuch armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had beene gotten in thoſe warres, were borne forward, and openlie ſhewed, that all men might behold the ſame.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowmed.

After theſe followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and laſt of all came Caratacus himſelfe, whoſe countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing puniſhment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words ſhewed anie token of a diſcouraged mind, but being preſented before the emperour Claudius ſitting in his tribunall ſeat, he vttered this ſpeach as followeth.

„ If there had beene in me ſo much moderation in
„ time of proſperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth
„ and puiſſance, I had come to this citie rather as a
„ friend than as a capteine: neither ſhould I haue
„ thought ſcorne, being borne of moſt noble parents,
„ and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace
„ by waie of ioining with you in league. My preſent
„ eſtate as it is to me reprochfull, ſo to you it is hono-
„ rable. I had at commandement, horſſes, men, ar-
„ mor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were
„ loth to forgo the ſame? For if you ſhall looke to go-
„ uerne all men, it muſt needs follow that all men
„ muſt be your ſlaues. If I had at the firſt yelded my
„ ſelfe, neither my power nor your glorie had beene ſet
„ forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I ſhould
„ ſtraight haue beene forgotten. But if you now grant
„ me life, I ſhall be a witneſſe for euer of your merci-
„ full clemencie.

The emperour with theſe words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and alſo to his wife and brethren, who being loſed from their bands, went alſo to the place where the empreſſe Agrippina ſat (not farre off) in a chaire of eſtate, whom they reuerenced with the like praiſe and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the ſenat was called togither, who diſcourſed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchined by the taking of Caratake, eſteeming the ſame no leſſe glorious, than when P. Scipio ſhewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perſes, or other Romane capteins anie ſuch king whom they had vanquiſhed.

Siphax. L. Paulus.

Hereupon it was determined, that Oſtorius ſhould enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe as hitherto had followed him: but afterwards his proceedings were not ſo luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or becauſe the Romans (as though the warre had beene finiſhed) looked negligentlie to themſelues, either elſe for that the Britains taking compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of Caratake, being ſo worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aſpect caſt into miſerie, were more earneſtlie ſet to reuenge his quarrell. Hereupon they incompaſſed the maiſter of the campe, and thoſe legionarie bands of ſouldiers which were left amongſt the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if ſuccour had not come out of the next townes and caſtels, the Romans had beene deſtroied by ſiege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one elſe of the companies being moſt forward, were ſlaine. Shortlie after they ſet vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and alſo ſuch companies of horſſemen as were appointed to gard them. Hereupon Oſtorius ſet forth certeine bands of light horſſemen, but neither could he ſtaie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whoſe force they were ſtaid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains eſcaped by flight without great loſſe, by reaſon the daie was ſpent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, ſometimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vſe to rob by the high waies, than of thoſe that make open warre, taking their enimies at ſome aduantage

pared to make warre againſt the Romans, for they might not be bowed neither with roughneſſe, nor yet with anie courteous handling, ſo that they were to be tamed by an armie of legionarie ſouldiers to be brought among them.

Therefore to reſtraine the furious rage of thoſe people and their neighbours, Oſtorius peopled a towne nere to their borders, called Camelodunum with certeine bands of old ſouldiers, there to inhabit with their wiues and children, according to ſuch maner as was vſed in like caſes of placing naturall Romans in anie towne or citie, for the more ſuertie and defenſe of the ſame. Here alſo was a temple builded in the honor of Claudius the emperour, where were two images erected, one of the goddeſſe Victoria, and an other of Claudius himſelfe.

The coniectures of writers touching *the ſituation of Camelodunum ſuppoſed to* be Colcheſter, of the Silures a people ſpoken *of in the former chapter, a fought en field betwene* Caratacus the Britiſh prince, and Oſtorius *the Romaine, in the confines of Shropſhire; the Bri*tains go miſerablie to wracke, Caratacus is deliuered to the Romans, his wife and daughter are taken priſoners, his brethren yeeld themſelues to their enimies.

The ſixt Chapter.

BVt now there reſteth a great doubt among writers, where this citie or towne called Camelodunum did ſtand, of ſome (and not without good ground of probable coniectures gathered vpon the aduiſed conſideration of the circumſtances of that which in old authors is found written of this place) it is thought to be Colcheſter.

Camelodunum, Colcheſter.

But verelie by this place of Tacitus it maie rather ſeeme to be ſome other towne, ſituat more weſtward than Colcheſter, ſith a colonie of Romane ſouldiers were planted there to be at hand, for the repreſſing of the vnquiet Silures, which by conſent of moſt writers inhabited in Southwales, or nere the Welſh marches.

Silures where they inhabited.

There was a caſtell of great fame in times paſt that hight Camaletum, or in Britiſh Caermalet, which ſtood in the marches of Summerſetſhire: but ſith there is none that hath ſo written before this time, I will not ſaie that happilie ſome error hath growne by miſtaking the name of Camelodunum for this Camaletum, by ſuch as haue copied out the booke of Cornelius Tacitus; and yet ſo it might be doon by ſuch as found it ſhort or vnperfectlie written, namelie, by ſuch ſtrangers or others, to whom onelie the name of Camelodunum was onelie knowne, and Camaletum peraduenture neuer ſeene nor heard of. As for example, an Engliſhman that hath heard of Waterford in Ireland, and not of Weſford, might in taking forth a copie of ſome writing eaſilie commit a fault in noting the one for the other. We find in Ptolomie Camedolon to be a citie belonging to the Trinobants, and he maketh mention alſo of Camelodunum, but Humfrey Lhoyd thinketh that he meaneth all one citie.

Notwithſtanding Polydor Virgil is of a contrarie opinion, ſuppoſing the one to be Colcheſter in deed, and the other that is Camelodunum to be Doncaſter or Pontfret. Leland eſteeming it to be certeinelie Colcheſter taketh the Iceni men alſo to be the Northfolke men. But howſoeuer we ſhall take this place of Tacitus, it is euident inough that Camelodunum ſtood not farre from the Thames. And therefore to ſeeke it with Hector Boetius in Scotland, or with Polydor Virgil ſo far as Doncaſter or Pontfret, it maie be thought a plaine error.

But to leaue each man to his owne iudgement in a matter ſo doubtfull, we will proceed with the hiſtorie as touching the warres betwixt the Romans and the Silurians, againſt whome (truſting not onelie vpon their owne manhood, but alſo vpon the high proweſſe & valiancie of Caratacus) Oſtorius ſet forward. Caratacus excelled in fame aboue all other the princes of Britaine, aduanced thereto by manie doubtfull aduentures and manie proſperous exploits, which in his time he had atchiued: but as he was in policie and aduantage of place better prouided than the Romans: ſo in power of ſouldiers he was ouermatched. And therefore he remoued the battell into the parts of that countrie where the Ordouices inhabited, which are thought to haue dwelled in the borders of Shropſhire, Cheſhire, and Lancaſhire, which people together with other that miſliked of the Romane gouernment, he ioined in one, and choſe a plot of ground for his aduantage, determining there to trie the vttermoſt hazard of battell.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. Cornelius Tacitus lib. Annal. Hu. Lhoyd.

The place which he thus choſe was ſuch, as the entries, the backwaies, and the whole ſituation thereof made for the Britains aduantage, and cleane contrarie to the Romains, as incloſed among high hils. And if there were anie eaſie paſſage to enter it vpon anie ſide, the ſame was ſhut vp with mightie huge ſtones in manner of a rampire, and afore it there ran a riuer without anie certeine ford to paſſe ouer it. This place is ſuppoſed to lie in the confines of Shropſhire aloft vpon the top of an high hill there, enuironed with a triple rampire and ditch of great depth, hauing three entries into it, not directlie one againſt an other, but aſlope. It is alſo (they ſaie) compaſſed about with two riuers, to wit, on the left hand with the riuer called Clun, & on the right hand with an other called Teuid. On three ſides thereof the clime is verie ſteepe and headlong, and no waie eaſie to come or reach vnto it, but onelie one.

Caratac hauing thus fortified himſelfe within this place, and brought his armie into it: to encourage his people, he exhorted them to ſhew their manhood, affirming that to be the day, and that armie to be the ſame wherein ſhould appeare the beginning either of libertie then to be recouered, or elſe of perpetuall bondage for euer to be ſuſteined. He reherſed alſo ſpeciallie by name thoſe their elders, which had reſiſted Julius Ceſar, by whoſe high valiancie they liued free from the bloudie thraldome and tributes of the Romans, and enioied their wiues and children ſafe and vndefiled. Thus diſcourſing of manie things with them, in ſuch hope of aſſured victorie, that they began to raiſe their cries, ech one for himſelfe, declaring that he was bound by the dutie he owght to the gods of his countrie, not to ſhrinke for feare of anie wounds or hurts that might chance vnto them by the enimies weapon.

This cheerefulneſſe of the Britains greatlie aſtoniſhed the Romane lieutenant. The hideous courſe alſo of the riuer before his face, the fortifications and craggie higth of the hils, all ſet full of enimies readie to beat him backe, put him in great feare: for nothing he ſaw afore him, but that which ſeemed dreadfull to thoſe that ſhould aſſaile. But the ſouldiers yet ſeemed to be verie deſirous of battell, requeſting him to bring them to it, proteſting that nothing was able to reſiſt the force of noble prowes. Herewith the capteins and tribunes diſcourſing the like, pricked forward the earneſt willes which their

ſouldiers

ſouldiers had to fight.

Oſtorius perceiuing ſuch courage and readie wils in the men of warre, as well ſouldiers as capteins, began to beſtirre himſelfe, and left nothing vndone that might ſerue to ſet forward their earneſt deſire to battell. And hauing aduiſedlie conſidered which waies were hard and vnpoſſible to be entered vpon, and which were moſt eaſie for his people to find paſſage by, he led them forth, being moſt earneſtlie bent to cope with the enimie.

Cornelius Tacitus Annal. lib. 12.

Now hauing paſſed the water without any great difficultie, but comming to the rampire, he loſt manie of his people, ſo long as the fight was continued with ſhot and caſting of darts: but after that the Romans couering themſelues with their targets, came once cloſe togither, and approched vnder the rampire, they remoued away the ſtones which the Britains had roughlie couched togither, and ſo came to ioine with them at handblowes. The Britains being vnarmed, and not able to abide the force of the armed men, withdrew to the top of the hilles, but as well their enimies that were light armed, as the other with heauie armour, followed and brake in among them, ſo as the Britains could not turne them anie way to eſcape, for the light armed men with ſhot a farre off, and the heauie armed with weapons at hand, ſought to make ſlaughter and wracke of them on ech ſide, ſo that this was a verie dolefull day to the Britains.

The wife and daughter of Caratake were taken priſoners, and his brethren alſo yelded themſelues. He himſelfe eſcaped, and committing his perſon vnto the aſſurance & truſt of Cartemandua quæne of the Brigants, was by hir deliuered into the hands of the Romans. All this happened about nine yeres after the warres in Britaine firſt began.

The name of Caratacus famous in Italie, *the maner how he and his alies were led* captiues by the Romans in triumph, his cou*rage and manlie ſpeech to the emperour Claudius*, whereby he and his obteine mercie and pardon: *the Britains vndertake a new reuenge* againſt the Romans; the cauſe why the Silures hated the Romans, Oſtorius Scapula dieth, the citie of Cheſter builded.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

Cornelius Tacit. lib. 12. Caratakes name renowmed.

THe name of Caratacus being brought out of the Iles was alreadie ſpred ouer the prouinces adioining, and began now to grow famous through Italie. Men therefore were deſirous to ſee what maner of man he was that had ſo manie yeres ſet at naught the puiſſant force of the empire. For in Rome the name of Caratacus was much ſpoken of, inſomuch that the emperour whileſt he went about to preferre his owne honour, aduanced the glorie of him alſo that was vanquiſhed: for the people were called forth as vnto ſome great notable ſight or ſpectacle. The pretorian bands ſtood in order of battell armed in the field that laie before their lodgings, through which field Caratake ſhuld come. Then paſſed by the traine of his friends and ſeruants; and ſuch armor, riches, iewels, and other things as had bene gotten in thoſe warres, were borne forward, and openlie ſhewed, that all men might behold the ſame.

After theſe followed his brethren, wife, and daughters: and laſt of all came Caratacus himſelfe, whoſe countenance was nothing like to theirs that went afore him. For whereas they fearing puniſhment for their rebellion with wailefull countenance craued mercie, he neither by countenance nor words ſhewed anie token of a diſcouraged mind, but being preſented before the emperour Claudius ſitting in his tribunall ſeat, he vttered this ſpeach as followeth.

„ If there had bene in me ſo much moderation in time of proſperitie, as there was nobilitie of birth and puiſſance, I had come to this citie rather as a friend than as a capteine: neither ſhould I haue thought ſcorne, being borne of moſt noble parents, and ruling ouer many people, to haue accepted peace by wate of ioining with you in league. My preſent eſtate as it is to me reprochfull, ſo to you it is honorable. I had at commandement, horſſes, men, armor, and great riches; what maruell is it if I were loth to forgo the ſame? For if you ſhall loke to gouerne all men, it muſt needs follow that all men muſt be your ſlaues. If I had at the firſt yelded my ſelfe, neither my power nor your glorie had bene ſet forth to the world, & vpon mine execution I ſhould ſtraight haue bene forgotten. But if you now grant me life, I ſhall be a witneſſe for euer of your mercifull clemencie.

The emperour with theſe words being pacified, granted life both to Caratake, and alſo to his wife and brethren, who being loſed from their bands, went alſo to the place where the empreſſe Agrippina ſat (not farre off) in a chaire of eſtate, whom they reuerenced with the like praiſe and thanks as they had done before to the emperour. After this the ſenat was called togither, who diſcourſed of manie things touching this honourable victorie atchined by the taking of Caratake, eſteeming the ſame no leſſe glorious, than when P. Scipio ſhewed in triumph Siphax king of the Numidians, or L. Paulus the Macedonian king Perſes, or other Romane capteins anie ſuch king whom they had vanquiſhed.

Siphax. L. Paulus.

Hereupon it was determined, that Oſtorius ſhould enter the citie of Rome with triumph like a conqueror, for ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe as hither to had followed him: but afterwards his procedings were not ſo luckie, either for that after Caratake was remoued out of the waie, or bicauſe the Romans (as though the warre had bene finiſhed) loked negligentlie to themſelues, either elſe for that the Britains taking compaſſion of the miſerable ſtate of Caratake, being ſo worthie a prince, through fortunes froward aſpect caſt into miſerie, were more earneſtlie ſet to reuenge his quarrell. Hereupon they incompaſſed the maiſter of the campe, and thoſe legionarie bands of ſouldiers which were left amongſt the Silures to fortifie a place there for the armie to lodge in: and if ſuccour had not come out of the next townes and caſtels, the Romans had bene deſtroied by ſiege. The head capteine yet, and eight centurions, and euerie one elſe of the companies being moſt forward, were ſlaine. Shortlie after they ſet vpon the Romane forragers, and put them to flight, and alſo ſuch companies of horſſemen as were appointed to gard them. Hereupon Oſtorius ſet forth certeine bands of light horſſemen, but neither could he ſtaie the flight by that meanes, till finallie the legions entred the battell, by whoſe force they were ſtaid, and at length the Romans obteined the better: but the Britains eſcaped by flight without great loſſe, by reaſon the daie was ſpent.

After this, manie bickerings chanced betwixt the Britains and Romans, ſometimes they wrought their feats more like the trade of them that vſe to rob by the high waies, than of thoſe that make open warre, taking their enimies at ſome aduantage

in woods and bogs, as hap or force miniſtred occaſion vpon malice conceiued, or in hope of prey, ſometimes by commandement, and ſometimes without either commandement or knowledge of capteine or officer.

At one time the Britains ſurpriſed two bands of footmen that were with the Romans in aid, and ſent forth to forreie abroad vnaduiſedlie, through couetouſneſſe of the capteins. This feat was atchiued by the Silures alſo, the which in beſtowing priſoners and part of the ſpoile vpon other of their neighbours, procured them likewiſe to rebell againſt the Romans, and to take part with them. The Silures were the more earneſtlie ſet againſt the Romans, by occaſion of words which the emperor Claudius had vttered in their diſfauour, as thus: that euen as the Sicambres were deſtroied and remoued into Gallia, ſo likewiſe muſt the Silures be dealt with, and the whole nation of them extinguiſhed. Theſe words being blowne abroad, and knowne ouer all, cauſed the Silures to conceiue a wonderfull hatred againſt the Romans, ſo that they were fullie bent, either to reteine their libertie, or to die in defenſe thereof vpon the enimies ſword.

In the meane time Oſtorius Scapula departed this life, a right noble warrior, and one who by litle & litle inſuing the ſteps of Aulus Plautius his predeceſſor, did what he could to bring the Ile into the forme of a prouince, which in part he accompliſhed.

W.H. in his chronologie.

There be ſome led by coniecture grounded vpon good aduiſed conſiderations, that ſuppoſe this Oſtorius Scapula began to build the citie of Cheſter after the ouerthrow of Caratacus: for in thoſe parties he fortified ſundrie holds, and placed a number of old ſouldiers either there in that ſelfe place, or in ſome other nére therevnto by waie of a colonie. And forſomuch (ſaie they) as we read of none other of anie name thereabouts, it is to be thought that he planted the ſame in Cheſter, where his ſucceſſors did afterwards vſe to harbour their legions for the winter ſeaſon, and in time of reſt from iournies which they haue to make againſt their common enimies.

In déed it is a common opinion among the people there vnto this daie, that the Romans built thoſe vaults or tauerns (which in that citie are vnder the ground) with ſome part of the caſtell. And verelie as Ranulfe Higden ſaith, a man that ſhall view and well conſider thoſe buildings, maie thinke the ſame to be the worke of Romans rather than of anie other people. That the Romane legions did make their abode there, no man ſéene in antiquities can doubt thereof, for the ancient name Caer leon ardour deuy, that is, The citie of legions vpon the water of Dée, proueth it ſufficientlie enough.

Ran. Hig. *alias* Ceſtrenſis.

But to returne vnto Oſtorius Scapula, we find in Corn. Tacitus, that during his time of being lieutenant in this Ile, there were certeine cities giuen vnto one Cogidune a king of the Britains, who continued faithfull to the Romans vnto the daies of the remembrance of men liuing in the time of the ſaid Cornelius Tacitus, who liued and wrote in the emperor Domitianus time. This was done after an old receiued cuſtom of the people of Rome, to haue both ſubiects and kings vnder their rule and dominion, as who ſo ſhall note the acts and déeds of the Roman emperours from C. Julius Ceſar (who chaſed Pompeie out of Italie, and was the firſt that obteined the Romane empire to himſelfe; of whom alſo the princes and emperours ſucceéding him were called Ceſars) to Octauian, Tiberius, Caligula, &c: maie eaſilie marke and obſerue. For they were a people of ſingular magnanimitie, of an ambitious ſpirit, gréedie of honour and renowme, and not vnaptlie termed *Romani rerum domini, &c.*

Corn. Tacit.

Cogidune a king in Britaine.

A. Didius is ſent to ſupplie Oſtorius *his roome in Britaine, the trecherie and le*cherie of queene Cartimanda, Venutius kee*peth the kingdome in ſpite of the Romans, by what* meanes their confines in this Ile were inlarged; *the error of Hector Boetius and others touching* the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants notified, the Britains giue the Romans a ſhamefull ouerthrow.

The eight Chapter.

A. Didius lieutenant.

After the deceaſſe of Oſtorius Scapula, one A. Didius was ſent to ſupplie his roome, but yer he could come, things were brought out of order, and the Britains had vanquiſhed the legion whereof Vanlius Valens had the conduct: this victorie was ſet forth by the Britains to the vtermoſt, that with the brute thereof they might ſtrike a feare into the lieutenants hart, now vpon his firſt comming ouer. And he himſelfe reported it by letters to the emperour after the largeſt manner, to the end that if he appeaſed the matter, he might win the more praiſe; or if he were put to the worſt, and ſhould not preuaile, that then his excuſe might ſéeme the more reaſonable and worthie of pardon. The Silures were they that had atchiued this victorie, and kept a fowle ſtur ouer all the countries about them, till by the comming of Didius againſt them, they were driuen backe and repelled.

The error of Hector Boetius.

But herewith began trouble to be raiſed in another part: for after that Caratac was taken, the chiefeſt and moſt ſkillfull capteine which the Britains had, was one Venutius, a ruler of the people named Iugants, a man that remained a long time faithfull to the Romans, and by their power was defended from his enimies, who had married with Cartimanda quéene of the Brigants or Yorkeſhire men. This Cartimanda (as ye haue heard) had deliuered Caratac into the Romans hands, thereby miniſtring matter for the emperour Claudius to triumph, by which pleaſure ſhe wed to the Romans, ſhe increaſed thorough their friendſhip in power and wealth, whereof followed riotous luſt to ſatiſfie hir wanton appetite, ſo as ſhe falling at ſquare with hir huſband, married Vellocatus, one of his eſquires, to whom ſhe gaue hir kingdome, and ſo diſhonoured hir ſelfe. Hérevpon inſued cruell warre, in ſo much that in the end Venutius became enimie alſo to the Romans. But firſt they tugged togither betwixt themſelues, & the quéene by a craftie policie found meanes to catch the brother and coſens of Venutius, but hir enimies nothing therewith diſcouraged, but kindled the more in wrath againſt hir, ceaſſed not to go forward with their purpoſe.

Venutius ruler of the Iugants.

Cartimanda.

Vellocatus.

A note to conſidered the readin Hect. Boe

Cor. Tac. annal. 15.

Panie of the Brigants diſdaining to be ſubiect vnto a womans rule that had ſo reiected hir huſband, reuolted vnto Venutius: but yet the quéenes ſenſuall luſt mixed with crueltie, mainteined the adulterer. Venutius therefore calling to him ſuch aid as he could get, and ſtrengthened now by the reuolting of the Brigants, brought Cartimanda to ſuch a narrow point, that ſhe was in great danger to fall into the hands of hir enimies: which the Romans forſéeing, vpon ſuit made, ſent certeine bands of horſſemen and footmen to helpe hir. They had diuerſe incounters with the enimies at the firſt, with doubtfull ſucceſſe: but at length they preuailed, and ſo deliuered the quéene out of perill, but the kingdome remained to Venutius: againſt whom the Romans were

Venutius keepeth the kingdome in deſpite of the Romans.

were conſtreined ſtill to mainteine warre.

About the ſame time, the legion alſo which Ceſius Naſica led, got the vpper hand of thoſe Britains againſt whom he was ſent. For Didius being aged, and by victories paſt inough renowmed, thought it ſufficient for him to make warre by his capteins, ſo to ſtaie and keepe off the enimie. Certeine caſtels and holds in deed he cauſed to be built and fortified, further within the countrie than had beene afore attempted by anie of his predeceſſors, and ſo thereby were the confines of the Romans in this Ile ſomewhat inlarged. Thus haue ye heard with what ſucceſſe the Britains mainteined warre in defenſe of their libertie againſt the Romans, whileſt Claudius ruled the empire (according to the report of the Romane writers.)

The gouernment of P. Suetonius in this Iland, he inuadeth Angleſey, and winneth it, a ſtrange kind of women, of the Druides, the Britains lament their miſerie and ſeruitude, and take aduiſe by weapon to redreſſe it againſt the Romans their enimies.

The ninth Chapter.

P. Suetonius lieutenant.

BVt now when this great rowme chanced to the Romans Paulinus Suetonius did gouerne here as lieutenant, a man moſt plentifullie furniſhed with all gifts of fortune and vertue, and therewith a right ſkilfull warrior. This Suetonius therefore wiſhing to tame ſuch of the Britains as kept out, prepared to aſſaile the Ile of Angleſey, a countrie full of inhabitants, and a place of refuge for all outlawes and rebels. He builded certeine brigantins with flat keeles to ſerue for the ebbes and ſhallow ſhelues here and there, lieng vncerteinlie in the ſtraits which he had to paſſe. The footmen ferried ouer in thoſe veſſels, the horſſemen following by the fords, and ſwimming when they came into the deepe, got likewiſe to the ſhore, where ſtood in order of battell an huge number of armed men cloſe togither, redie to beat backe the Romans, and to ſtaie them from comming to land. Amongſt the men, a number of women were alſo running vp and downe as they had beene out of their wits, in garments like to wild roges, with their haire hanging downe about their ſhoulders, and bearing firebrands in their hands. There was alſo a companie of their prieſts or philoſophers called Druides, who with ſtretched forth hands towards heauen, thundered out curſſings againſt the Romans in moſt bitter wiſe.

Angleſey inuaded.

A ſtrange maner of women.

The Druids.

The ſouldiers were ſo amazed with the ſtrangeneſſe of this ſight, that (as men benummed of their lims and ſenſes) they ſuffred themſelues to be wounded and ſlaine like ſenſeleſſe creatures, till by the calling vpon of their generall, and ech one incouraging other in no wiſe to feare a ſort of mad & diſtract women, they preaſſed forward vnder their enſignes, bearing downe ſuch as ſtood in their way, and with their owne fire ſmoldered and burnt them to aſhes.

Angleſey won by the Romans.

To conclude, the Romane lieutenant got poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, wherein he placed gariſons of men of warre to keepe the people there in ſubiection. He alſo cauſed their woods to be cut downe, that were conſecrated to their gods, within the which they were accuſtomed to ſacrifice ſuch as they tooke priſoners, and by the view of their intrailes, in diſmembring them, to learne of their gods ſome oracles and ſuch other things as ſhould come to paſſe.

woods cut downe.

But now in the meane time, whileſt Paulinus was abroad about this enterpriſe, the Britains began to conferre togither of their great and importable miſeries, of their grieuous ſtate of ſeruitude, of their iniuries and wrongs, which they dailie ſuſteined: how that by ſufferance they profited nothing, but ſtill were oppreſſed with more heauie burthens. Ech countrie in times paſt had onelie one king to rule them: now had they two, the lieutenent by his capteins and ſouldiers ſpilling their bloud, and the procurator or receiuer (as we may call him) bereauing them of their goods and ſubſtance. The concord or diſcord betwixt thoſe that were appointed to rule ouer them, was all alike hurtfull vnto the ſubiects, the lieutenant oppreſſing them by his capteins and men of warre, and the procurator or receiuer by force

Lieutenant & procurator.

The error of Hector Boetius.

¶ But here you muſt note, that Hector Boetius, following the authoritie of one Veremond a Spaniard, of Cornelius Hibernicus, & alſo of Campbell, remoueth the Silures, Brigants, and Nouants, ſo farre northward, that he maketh them inhabitants of thoſe countries which the Scots haue now in poſſeſſion, and were euen then inhabited (as he affirmeth) partlie by the Scots, and partlie by the Picts (as in the Scotiſh hiſtorie ye may ſee more at large) ſo that what notable feat ſoeuer was atchiued by the old Britains againſt the Romans, the ſame by him is aſcribed to the Scots and Picts throughout his whole hiſtorie, whereas (in verie truth) forſomuch as may be gathered by coniecture and preſumption of that which is left in writing by ancient authors, the Brigants inhabited Yorkſhire, the Silures Wales and the Marches, and the Nouants the countrie of Cumberland.

But forſomuch as he hath diligentlie gathered in what maner the warres were mainteined by thoſe people againſt the Romans, and what valiant exploits were taken in hand and finiſhed thorough their ſtoutneſſe and valiancie, ye may there read the ſame, and iudge at your pleaſure what people they were whome he ſo much praiſeth: aduertiſing you hereof by the way, that as we haue before expreſſed, none of the Romane writers mentioneth any thing of the Scots, nor once nameth them, till the Romane empire began to decay, about the time of the emperor Conſtantius, father of Conſtantine the great: ſo that if they had beene in this Ile then ſo famous both in peace and warre, as they are reported by the ſame Boetius; marueil might it ſeeme, that the Romane writers would ſo paſſe them ouer with ſilence.

A note to be conſidered in the reading of Hec. Boetius.

After the death of Claudius the emperor of Rome, Claudius Domitianus Nero ſucceeded him in gouernement of the empire. In the ſeuenth yeere of whoſe reigne, which was after the incarnation 53, the Romans receiued a great ouerthrow in Britaine, where neither the lieutenant A. Didius Gallus (whom in this place Cornelius Tacitus calleth Autus) could during the time of his rule do no more but hold that which was alreadie gotten, beſide the building of certeine caſtels (as before ye haue heard) neither his ſucceſſor Veranius, beating and forreieng the woods, could atchiue anie further enterpriſe, for he was by death preuented, ſo as he could not proceed forward with his purpoſe touching the warres which he had ment to haue followed, whoſe laſt words (in his teſtament expreſſed) detected him of manifeſt ambition: for adding manie things by way of flatterie to content Neros mind, he wiſhed to haue liued but two yeeres longer, in which ſpace he might haue ſubdued prouinces vnto his dominion, meaning therby the whole Ile of Britaine. But this was a Romans brag, ſauouring rather of ambition than of truth or likelihood.

Cor. Tac. lib. annal. 15.

and reprochfull demeanours, polling them by inſufferable exactions.

There was nothing free from the couetous extortion and filthie concupiſcence of theſe inſatiable perſons, for in theſe daies (ſay they) the greateſt ſpoiler is the valianteſt man, and moſt commonlie our houſes are robbed and ranſacked by a ſort of cowardlie raſkals that haue no knowledge of anie warlike feats at all. Our children are taken from vs, we are forced to go to the muſters, and are ſet forth to ſerue in forren parties, as thoſe that are ignorant which way to ſpend our liues in the quarell of our owne countrie. What a number of ſouldiers haue bene tranſported ouer from hence to ſerue in other lands, if a iuſt account were taken thereof? The Germans by manhod haue caſt (ſaid they) from their ſhoulders the heauie yoke of bondage, and are not defended as we are with the maine Ocean ſea, but onelie with a riuer. Where the Britains haue their countrie, their wiues and parents, as iuſt cauſes of war to fight for: the Romans haue none at all, but a couetous deſire to gaine by rapine, and to ſatiſfie their exceſſiue luſts.

They might eaſilie be compelled to depart the countrie, as Julius Ceſar was, if the Britains would ſhew ſome proofe of the noble proweſſe that was euidentlie found in their worthie anceſtors, and not ſhrinke or quaile in courage for the miſaduenture that ſhould happilie chance by fighting one battell or two. Greateſt force and conſtancie alwaies remaineth with thoſe that ſeek to deliuer themſelues from miſerie. Now appeared it that the gods had taken ſome pitie of the poore Britains, who by their diuine power did withhold the chiefe capteine of the Romans with his armie, as it were baniſhed in an other Iland. Let vs then (ſaid they) take the opportunitie of time and god occaſion offered, and forthwith proceed in our buſineſſe: for leſſe danger it is manfullie to aduenture, and to go forward with our purpoſe, than to be bewraied and taken in theſe our conſultations. Thus hauing taken aduiſe togither, and wholie miſliking their preſent ſtate, they determined to take weapon in hand, and ſo by force to ſeeke for reformation.

Occaſion not to be neglected.

A catalog of cauſes or greeuances inciting *the Britains to rebell againſt the* Romans, wherein is ſhewed what iniuries they *ſuſteined: of diuers ſtrange wonders and apparitions*; the chiefe cauſe of the Britains inſurging *againſt the Romans, they admitted as well women* as men to publike gouernement. A deſcription of queene Voadicia, hir perſonage and maner of attire.

The tenth Chapter.

Cor. Tac. lib. 14

THe Britains indeed were occaſioned to do as they purpoſed, thorough manie euill parts practiſed by the Romans greatlie to their griefs and diſpleaſures. For whereas Praſutagus (who is ſuppoſed by Hector Boetius to be Aruiragus, king of the people called Iceni) had made the emperour and two of his owne daughters his heires, ſuppoſing by that meane to haue his kingdome and familie preſerued from all iniurie: it happened quite contrarie to that his expectation. For his kingdome was ſpoiled by the Romane capteins, his wife named Voadicia beaten by the ſouldiers, his daughters rauiſhed, the peeres of the realme bereft of their goods, and the kings friends made and reputed as bondſlaues.

Praſutagus.

The Oxfordſhire and Gloceſterſhire men.

Voadicia *alias* Bunduica.

There was alſo an other great cauſe that ſtirred the Britains to this rebellion, which was the confiſcating of their goods: for whereas Claudius himſelfe had pardoned the chiefeſt perſons of the forfeitures, Decianus Catus the procurator of that Ile maintained that the ſame ought to be renewed againe. To this an other griefe was added, that where Seneca had lent to the nobilitie of the Ile, foure hundred ſeſtercies, ech hundred being 500000 pounds ſtarling, or thereabout, vpon great intereſt, he required the whole ſumme togither by great rigor and violence, although he forced them at the firſt to take this monie to vſurie.

Dion Caſſius.

Vſurie.

Alſo ſuch old ſouldiers as were placed by waie of a colonie, to inhabit the towne of Camelodunum, expelled manie of the Britains out of their houſes, droue them out of their poſſeſſions and lands, and accounted the Britains as ſlaues, and as though they had bene captiue priſoners or bondmen. Beſides this, the temple there that was built in honor of Claudius, as an altar of eternall rule and gouernment, was ſerued with prieſts, the which vnder colour of religion did ſpoile, conſume and deuoure the goods of all men.

Moreouer, ſuch ſtrange ſights and wonders as chanced about the ſame time, pricked the Britains the rather forward. For the image of the goddeſſe Victoria in the temple at Camelodunum, ſlipping downe, turned hir backe (as who ſhould ſaie the gaue place as vanquiſhed) to the enimies. Alſo in the hall where the courts of iuſtice were kept, there was a maruellous great noiſe heard, with much laughing, and a ſturre in the theatre, with great weeping and lamentable howling, at ſuch time as it was certeinlie knowne that there was no creature there to make anie noiſe. The ſea at a ſpring tide appeared of a bloudie colour, and when the tide was gone backe, there were ſeene on the ſands the ſhapes & figures of mens bodies. Women alſo as rauiſhed of their wits, and being as it were in a furie, prophecied that deſtruction was at hand, ſo that the Britains were put greatlie in hope, and the Romans in feare.

Dion Caſſius.

Strange wonders.

Dion Caſſius.

The oration of Voadicia.

But thoſe things, whether they chanced by the craft of man, or illuſion of the diuell; or whether they proceeded of ſome naturall cauſe, which the common people oftentimes taketh ſuperſtitiouſlie, in place of ſtrange wonders ſignifieng things to follow, we would let paſſe, leaſt we might be thought to offend religion; the which teaching all things to be done by the prouidence of God, deſpiſeth the vaine predictions of haps to come, if the order of an hiſtorie (ſaith Polydor Virgil) would ſo permit, the which requireth all things to be written in maner as they fall out and come to paſſe.

Polydor.

But the Britains were chiefelie moued to rebellion by the iuſt complaint of Voadicia, declaring how vnſeemelie ſhe had bene vſed and intreated at the hands of the Romans: and becauſe ſhe was moſt earneſtlie bent to ſeeke reuenge of their iniuries, and hated the name of the Romans moſt of all other, they choſe hir to be capteine (for they in rule and gouernement made no difference then of ſex, whether they committed the ſame to man or woman) and ſo by a generall conſpiracie, the more part of the people hauing alſo allured the Eſſex men vnto rebellion, roſe and aſſembled themſelues togither to make warre againſt the Romans. There were of them a hundred and twentie thouſand got togither in one armie vnder the leading of the ſaid Voadicia, or Bunduica (as ſome name hir.)

Cor. Tac. li. 14. Voadicia by Dion Caſſius is called Bunuica.

The ancient Britains admitted as well women as men to publike gouernment.

She therefore to encourage hir people againſt the enimies,

enimies, mounted vp into an high place raiſed vp of turfes & ſods made for the nonce, out of the which ſhe made a long & verie pithie oration. Hir mightie tall perſonage, comelie ſhape, ſeuere countenance, and ſharpe voice, with hir long and yellow treſſes of heare reaching downe to hir thighes, hir braue and gorgeous apparell alſo cauſed the people to haue hir in great reuerence. She ware a chaine of gold, great and verie maſſie, and was clad in a loſe kirtle of ſundrie colours, and aloft thereupon ſhe had a thicke Iriſh mantell: hereto in hir hand (as hir cuſtome was) ſhe bare a ſpeare, to ſhew hirſelfe the more dreadfull.

The oration of queene Voadicia full of *prudence and ſpirit to the Britains*, for their encouragement againſt the Romans, *wherein ſhe rippeth vp the vile ſeruitude and* ſhamefull wrongs which their enimies inflicted *vpon them, with other matters verie motiue,* both concerning themſelues and their enimies, hir ſupplication and praier for victorie.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw Voadicia being prepared (as you heare) ſet forth with ſuch maieſtie, that ſhe greatlie incouraged the Britains; vnto whome for their better animating and emboldening, ſhe vttered this gallant oration in manner and forme following.

The oration of Voadicia.

I do ſuppoſe (my louers and friends) that there is no man here but doth well vnderſtand how much libertie and freedome is to be preferred before thraldome and bondage. But if there haue bene anie of you ſo deceiued with the Romane perſuaſions, that ye did not for a time ſee a difference betweene them, and iudged whether of both is moſt to be deſired: now I hope that hauing tried what it is to be vnder both, ye will with me reforme your iudgement, and by the harmes alreadie taken, acknowledge your ouerſight, and forſake your former error. Againe, in that a number of you haue raſhlie preferred an eternall ſouereigntie before the cuſtomes and lawes of your owne countrie, you do at this time (I doubt not) perfectlie vnderſtand how much free pouertie is to be preferred before great riches, where vnto ſeruitude is annexed; and much wealth in reſpect of captiuitie vnder forren magiſtrats, whereupon ſlauerie attendeth. For what thing (I beſeech you) can there be ſo vile & grieuous vnto the nature of man, that hath not happened vnto vs, ſithens the time that the Romans haue bene acquainted with this Iland?

Are we not all in manner bereaued of our riches & poſſeſſions? Do not we (beſide other things that we giue, and the land that we till for their onelie profit) paie them all kinds of tributs; yea for our owne carcaſes? How much better is it to be once aloft and fortunate in deed, than vnder the forged and falſe title of libertie, continuallie to paie for our redemption a freedome? How much is it more commendable to loſe our liues in defenſe of the countrie, than to carie about not ſo much as our heads toll free, but dailie oppreſſed & laden with innumerable exactions? But to what end do I remember and ſpeake of theſe things, ſince they will not ſuffer by death to become free? For what and how much we paie for them that are dead, there is not one here but he doth well vnderſtand. Among other nations ſuch as are brought into ſeruitude, are alwaies by death diſcharged of their bondage: onelie to the Romans the dead do ſtill liue, and all to increaſe their commoditie and gaine.

If anie of vs be without monie (as I know not well how and which way we ſhould come by anie) then are we left naked, & ſpoiled of that which remaineth in our houſes, & we our ſelues as men left deſolate & dead. How ſhall we looke for better dealing at their hands hereafter, that in the beginning deale ſo vncourteouſlie with vs: ſince there is no man that taketh ſo much as a wild beaſt, but at the firſt he will cheriſh it, and with ſome gentleneſſe win it to familiaritie? But we our ſelues (to ſaie the trueth) are authors of our owne miſchiefe, which ſuffered them at the firſt to ſet foot within our Iland, and did not by and by driue them backe as we did Ceſar, or ſlue them with our ſwords when they were yet farre off, and that the aduenturing hither was dangerous: as we did ſometime to Auguſtus and Caligula.

We therefore that inhabit this Iland, which for the quantitie thereof maie well be called a maine, although it be inuironed about with the Ocean ſea, diuiding vs from other nations, ſo that we ſeeme to liue vpon an other earth, & vnder a ſeuerall heauen: we, euen we (I ſaie) whoſe name hath beene long kept hid from the wiſeſt of them all, are now contemned and troden vnder foot, of them who ſtudie no things elſe but how to become lords & haue rule of other men. Wherefore my welbeloued citizens, friendes, and kinſfolkes (for I thinke we are all of kin, ſince we were borne and dwell in this Ile, and haue one name common to vs all) let vs now, euen now (I ſaie, becauſe we haue not done it heretofore, and whileſt the remembrance of our ancient libertie remaineth) ſticke togither, and performe that thing which doth perteine to valiant and hardie courages, to the end we mate inioie, not onelie the name of libertie, but alſo freedome it ſelfe, and thereby leaue our force and valiant acts for an example to our poſteritie: for if we which haue beene liberallie and in honeſt maner brought vp, ſhould vtterlie forget our paſſionate felicitie: what may we hope for in thoſe that ſhall ſucced vs, and are like to be brought vp in miſerie and thraldome?

I do not make rehearſall of theſe things vnto you, to the end I would prouoke you to miſlike of this preſent eſtate of things (for well I know you abhorre it ſufficientlie alreadie) neither to put you in feare of thoſe things that are likelie to fall hereafter (becauſe you do feare and ſee them verie well before hand) but to the end I maie giue you heartie thankes and worthie commendations, for that of your owne accord and meanes you determine ſo well to prouide for things neceſſarie (thereby to helpe both me and your ſelues with willing minds) as men that are nothing in doubt of all the Romane puiſſance.

If you conſider the number of your enimies, it is not greater than yours: if you regard their ſtrength, they are no ſtronger than you: and all this doth eaſilie appeere by the baſſinets, habergeons, & greaues wherewith you be armed; and alſo by the walls, ditches and trenches that you haue made for your owne defenſe, to keepe off their excurſions, who had rather fight with vs a farre off, than cope & deale with vs at hand ſtrokes, as our cuſtome of the warres and martiall diſcipline doth require. Wherefore we do ſo farre exceed them in force, that in mine opinion, our armie is more ſtrong than ſtone walls, and one of our targets worth all the armour that they do beare vpon them: by meanes whereof, if the victorie be ours, we ſhall ſone make them captiues: or if we loſe the field, we ſhall eaſilie eſcape the danger.

Further-

cc Furthermoze, if after the flight we ſhall indeuour
cc to meet anie where, we haue the marſhes heere be-
cc neath to hide vs in, and the hils round about to keepe
cc them off, ſo that by no meanes they ſhall haue their
cc purpoſe of vs, whereas they being ouercharged with
cc heauie armour, ſhall neither be able to follow, if we
cc flee; noz eſcape out of our danger, if they be put to
cc flight: if they happen to breake out at anie time as
cc deſirous to make a rode, they returne by and by to
cc their appointed places, where we maie take them as
cc birds alreadie in cage. In all which things, as they
cc are farre inferioz to vs, ſo moſt of all in this, that they
cc can not indure hunger, thirſt, cold, heat, and ſunne-
cc ſhine, as we can doo.
cc In their houſes alſo and tents, they make much ac-
cc count of their baked meates, wine, oile, and abzoad
cc of the ſhadow, that if anie of theſe doo faile them,
cc they either die forthwith, oz elſe in time they lan-
cc guiſh and conſume: whereas to vs euerie herbe and
cc root is meat, euerie iuice an oile, all water plea-
cc ſant wine, and euerie tree an houſe. Beſide this, there
cc is no place of the land vnknowne to vs, neither yet
cc vnfriendlie to ſuccour vs at need; whereas to the
cc Romans they are for the moſt part vnknowne and
cc altogither dangerous, if they ſhould ſtand in need:
cc we can with eaſe ſwim ouer euerie riuer both naked
cc and clad, which they with their great ſhips are ſcarſe
cc able to performe. Wherefore with hope and good
cc lucke let vs ſet vpon them couragiouſlie, and teach
cc them to vnderſtand, that ſince they are no better
cc than harts and foxes, they attempt a wrong match,
cc when they indeuour to ſubdue the greehounds and
cc the wolues. With which words the queene let an
hare go out of hir lap, as it were thereby to giue pro-
gnoſtication of hir ſucceſſe, which comming well to
paſſe, all the companie ſhouted, and cried out vpon
ſuch as not long before had done ſuch violence to ſo
noble a perſonage. Preſentlie vpon this action, Bo-
adicia calling them togither againe, proceeded for-
ward with hir praier, which ſhe made before them
all, holding vp hir hands after this manner:

cc I giue thee thanks O Adiaſe, and call vpon thee
cc thou woman of women, which reigneſt not ouer the
cc burthen-bearing Aegyptians, as Nitocris; neither
cc ouer their merchants, as doth Semiramis, for theſe
cc trifles we haue learned latelie of the Romans: nei-
cc ther ouer the people of Rome, as a litle heeretofore
cc Meſſalina, then Agrippina, and now Nero, who is
cc called by the name of a man, but is in deed a verie
cc woman, as doth appeere by his voice, his harpe, and
cc his womans attire: but I call vpon thee as a god-
cc deſſe which gouerneſt the Britains, that haue lear-
cc ned not to till the field, noz to be handicrafts men,
cc but to lead their liues in the warres after the beſt
cc manner: who alſo as they haue all other things, ſo
cc haue they likewiſe their wiues and children com-
cc mon, whereby the women haue the like audacitie
cc with the men, and no leſſe boldneſſe in the warres
cc than they.
cc Therefore ſithens I haue obteined a kingdome a-
cc mong ſuch a mightie people, I beſeech thee to grant
cc them victozie, health, and libertie, againſt theſe con-
cc tentious, wicked, and vnſatiable men (if they maie
cc be called men, which vſe warme bathings, delicate
cc fare, hot wines, ſweet oiles, ſoft beds, fine muſicke,
cc and ſo vnkindlie luſts) who are altogither giuen to
cc couetouſneſſe and crueltie, as their doings doo de-
cc clare. Let not I beſeech thee, the Neronian oz Domi-
cc tian tyrannie anie more preuaile vpon me, oz (to
cc ſaie truth) vpon thee, but let them rather ſerue thee,
cc whoſe heauie oppreſſion thou haſt borne withall a
cc long ſeaſon, and that thou wilt ſtill be our helper on-
cc lie, our defender, our fauourer, and our furtherer, O
cc noble ladie, I hartilie beſeech thee.

Queene Voadicia marcheth againſt the *Romans, to whom ſhe giueth a ſhamefull* and bloudie ouerthrow without anie *motion of mercie, dredfull examples* of the Britains crueltie indiffe- *rentlie executed without excep-* tion of age or ſex.

The twelfe Chapter.

WHen Voadicia had made an end of hir praier, ſhe ſet forward againſt hir enimies, who at that time were deſti-
tute in deed of their lieutenant Paulinus Suetonius, being as then in Angleſey (as before ye haue heard.) Wherefore the Romans that were in Camelodunum ſent for aid vnto Catus Decianus the procurator, that is, the emperours agent, treaſurer, oz receiuer, for in that citie (although it were inhabited by Romans) there was no great garriſon of able men. Whereupon the procurator ſent them ſuch aid as he thought he might well ſpare, which was not paſt two hundred men, and thoſe not ſufficientlie furniſhed either with weapon oz armour. Corn. Tacit. Catus Decianus procurator.

The citie was not compaſſed with anie rampire oz ditch for defenſe, ſuch as haplie were priuie to the conſpiracie, hauing put into the heads of the Romans that no fortification needed: neither were the aged men noz women ſent awaie, whereby the yong able perſonages might without trouble of them the better attend to the defenſe of the citie: but euen as they had beene in all ſuertie of peace, and free from ſuſpicion of anie warre, they were ſuddenlie beſet with the huge armie of the Britains, and ſo all went to ſpoile and fire that could be found without the incloſure of the temple, into the which the Romane ſouldiers (ſtriken with ſudden feare by this ſudden comming of the enimies) had thronged themſelues. Where being aſſeged by the Britains, within the ſpace of two daies the place was wonne, and they that were found within it, ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne.

After this, the Britains incouraged with this victozie, went to meet with Petus Cerealis lieutenant of the legion, ſurnamed the ninth, and boldlie incountering with the ſame legion, gaue the Romans the ouerthrow, and ſlue all the footmen, ſo that Cerealis with much adoo eſcaped with his horſſemen, and got him backe to the campe, and ſaued himſelfe within the trenches. Catus the procurator being put in feare with this ouerthrow, and perceiuing what hatred the Britains bare towards him, hauing with his couetouſneſſe thus brought the warre vpon the head of the Romans, got him ouer into Gallia.

But Suetonius aduertiſed of theſe doings, came backe out of Angleſey, and with marueilous conſtancie marched through the middeſt of his enimies to London, being as then not greatlie peopled with Romans, though there was a colonie of them, but full of merchants, and well prouided of victels: he was in great doubt at his comming thither, whether he might beſt ſtaie there as in a place moſt conuenient, oz rather ſeeke ſome other more eaſie to be defended. At length conſidering the ſmall number of his men of warre, and remembring how Cerealis had ſped by his too much raſhneſſe, he thought better with the loſſing of one towne to ſaue the whole, than to put all in danger of irrecouerable loſſe. And therewith nothing moued at the praier & teares of them which beſought him of aid and ſuccour, he departed,

and

and thoſe that would go with him he receiued into his armie, thoſe that taried behind were oppreſſed by the enimies: and the like deſtruction happened to them of Verolanium, a towne in thoſe daies of great fame, ſituat nere to the place where the towne of Saint Albons now ſtandeth.

The Britains leauing the caſtels and fortreſſes vnaſſaulted, followed their gaine in ſpoiling of thoſe places which were eaſie to get, and where great plentie of riches was to be found, vſing their victorie with ſuch crueltie, that they ſlue (as the report went) to the number of 70 thouſand Romans, and ſuch as toke their part in the ſaid places by the Britains thus won and conquered. For there was nothing with the Britains but ſlaughter, fire, gallowes, and ſuch like, ſo earneſtlie were they ſet on reuenge. They ſpared neither age nor ſex: women of great nobilitie and worthie fame they toke and hanged vp naked, and cutting off their paps, ſowed them to their mouthes, that they might ſeeme as if they ſucked and fed on them, and ſome of their bodies they ſtretched out in length, and thruſt them on ſharpe ſtakes. All theſe things they did in great deſpite whileſt they ſacrificed in their temples, and made feaſts, namelie in the wood conſecrated to the honour of Andates, for ſo they called the goddeſſe of victorie whom they worſhipped moſt reuerentlie.

8000. ſaith Dion.

P. Suetonius the Romane with a freſh power aſſalteth the Britains, whoſe armie conſiſted as well of women as men: queene Voadicia incourageth hir ſouldiers, ſo doth Suetonius his warriors, both armies haue a ſharpe conflict, the Britains are diſcomfited and miſerablie ſlaine, the queene dieth, Penius Poſthumus killeth himſelfe, the Britains are perſecuted with fire, ſword, and famine, the grudge betweene Caſſicianus and Suetonius, whome Polycletus is ſent to reconcile, of his traine, and how the Britains repined at him.

The xiij. Chapter.

IN this meane time there came ouer to the aid of Suetonius, the legion ſurnamed the 14, and other bands of ſouldiers and men of warre, to the number of ten thouſand in the whole, wherevpon (chieflie bicauſe vittels began to faile him) he prepared to giue battell to his enimies, and choſe out a plot of ground verie ſtrong within ſtraits, and backed with a wood, ſo that the enimies could not aſſault his campe but on the front: yet by reaſon of their great multitude and hope of victorie conceiued by their late proſperous ſucceſſe, the Britains vnder the conduct of queene Voadicia aduentured to giue battell, hauing their women there to be witneſſes of the victorie, whome they placed in charrets at the vttermoſt ſide of their field.

The Britains were at that time 230000. men, (as Dion writeth.)

Voadicia, or Boudicia (for ſo we find hir written by ſome copies, and Bonuica alſo by Dion) hauing hir daughters afore hir, being mounted into a charret, as ſhe paſſed by the ſouldiers of ech ſundrie countrie, told them it was a thing accuſtomed among the Britains to go to the warres vnder the leading of women; but ſhe was not now come forth as one borne of ſuch noble anceſtors as ſhe was deſcended from, to fight for hir kingdome and riches; but as one of the meaner ſort, rather to defend hir loſt libertie, and to reuenge hir ſelfe of the enimie, for their crueltie ſhewed in ſcourging hir like a vagabond, and ſhamefull deflouring of hir daughters: for the licentious luſt of the Romans was ſo farre ſpred and increaſed, that they ſpared neither the bodies of old nor yong, but were readie moſt ſhamefullie to abuſe them, hauing whipped hir naked being an aged woman, and forced hir daughters to ſatiſfie their filthie concupiſcence: but (ſaith ſhe) the gods are at hand readie to take iuſt reuenge.

Corn. Tacit. li. 15. Dion Caſsius.

The legion that preſumed to incounter with vs is ſlaine and beaten downe. The reſidue keepe them cloſe within their holds, or elſe ſeeke waies how to flee out of the countrie: they ſhall not be once able ſo much as to abide the noiſe and clamor of ſo manie thouſands as we are here aſſembled, much leſſe the force of our great puiſſance and dreadfull hands. If ye therefore (ſaid ſhe) would wey and conſider with your ſelues your huge numbers of men of warre, and the cauſes why ye haue moued this warre, ye would ſurelie determine either in this battell to die with honour, or elſe to vanquiſh the enimie by plaine force, for ſo (quoth ſhe) I being a woman am fullie reſolued, as for you men ye maie (if ye liſt) liue and be brought into bondage.

Neither did Suetonius ceaſſe to exhort his people: for though he truſted in their manhood, yet as he had diuided his armie into three battels, ſo did he make vnto ech of them a ſeuerall oration, willing them not to feare the ſhrill and vaine menacing threats of the Britains, ſith there was among them more women than men, they hauing no ſkill in warrelike diſcipline, and hereto being naked without furniture of armour, would forthwith giue place when they ſhould feele the ſharpe points of the Romans weapons, and the force of them by whom they had ſo often béene put to flight. In manie legions (ſaith he) the number is ſmall of them that win the battell. Their glorie therefore ſhould be the more, for that they being a ſmall number ſhould win the fame due to the whole armie, if they would (ſtrongling together) beſtow their weapons freelie, and with their ſwords and targets preaſſe forward vpon their enimies, continuing the ſlaughter without regard to the ſpoile, they might aſſure themſelues when the victorie was once atchiued to haue all at their pleaſures.

Such forwardneſſe in the ſouldiers followed vpon this exhortation of the couragious generall, that euerie one prepared himſelfe ſo readilie to do his dutie, and that with ſuch a ſhew of ſkill and experience, that Suetonius hauing conceiued an aſſured hope of good lucke to follow, cauſed the trumpets to ſound to the battell. The onſet was giuen in the ſtraits, greatlie to the aduantage of the Romans, being but a handfull in compariſon to their enimies. The fight in the beginning was verie ſharpe and cruell, but in the end the Britains being a let one to another (by reaſon of the narrowneſſe of the place) were not able to ſuſteine the violent force of the Romans their enimies, ſo that they were conſtreind to giue backe, and ſo being diſordered were put to flight, and vtterlie diſcomfited.

There were ſlaine of the Britains that day ſelv leſſe than 80000 thouſand, as Tacitus writeth. For the ſtraits being ſtopped with the charrets, ſtaied the flight of the Britains, ſo as they could not eaſilie eſcape: and the Romans were ſo ſet on reuenge, that they ſpared neither man nor woman, ſo that manie were ſlaine in the battell, manie amongſt the charrets, and a great number at the woods ſide, which way they made their flight, and manie were taken priſoners. Thoſe that eſcaped, would haue fought a new battell, but in the meane time Voadicia, or Bonuica deceaſſed of a naturall infirmitie, as Dion Caſſius writeth, but other ſay that ſhe poiſoned hir ſelfe, and ſo died, becauſe ſhe would not

80000. Britains ſlaine.

not come into the hands of hir bloodthirstie enimies. There died of the Romans part in this most notable battell 400, and about the like number were grieuouslie hurt and most pitifullie wounded.

Penius Posthumus

Penius Posthumus maister of the campe of the second legion, vnderstanding the prosperous successe of the other Romane capteins, because he had defrauded his legion of the like glorie, and had refused to obeie the commandements of the generall, contrarie to the vse of warre, slue himselfe.

After this all the Romane armie was brought into the field to make an end of the residue of the warre. And the emperour caused a supplie to be sent out of Germanie being 2000 legionarie souldiers, and 8 bands of aids, with 1000 horssemen, by whose comming the bands of the ninth legion were supplied with legionarie souldiers, and those bands and wings of horssemen were appointed to places where they might winter; and such people of the Britains as were either enimies, or else stood in doubt whether to be friends or enimies in deed, were persecuted with fire and sword.

But nothing more afflicted them than famine, for whilest euerie man gaue himselfe to the warre, and purposed to haue liued vpon the prouision of the Romans and other their enimies, they applied not themselues to tillage, nor to anie husbanding of the ground, and long it was yer they (being a fierce kind of people) fell to embrace peace, by reason that

Julius Calsictanus procurator.

Julius Calsictanus, who was sent into Britaine as successor to Catus, fell at square with Suetonius, and by his priuat grudge hindered the prosperous successe of publike affaires. He sticked not to write to Rome, that except an other were sent to succeed in the rome that Suetonius did beare, there would be no end of the warres. Herevpon one Polycletus, which sometime had béene a bondman, was sent into Britaine, as a commissioner, to surueie the state of the countrie, to reconcile the legat and procurator, & also to pacifie all troubles within the Ile.

The port which Polycletus bare was great, for he was furnished with no small traine that attended vpon him, so that his presence seemed verie dreadfull to the Romans. But the Britains that were not yet pacified, thought great scorne to see such honorable capteins and men of warre as the Romans were to submit themselues to the order of such a one as had béene a bondslaue.

In what state the Iland stood whiles Aruiragus reigned; the dissolute and loose gouernement of Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and Victius Volanus, three lieutenants in Britaine for the Romane emperours, of Iulius Frontinus who vanquished the Silures.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Petronius Turpilianus lieutenant.

IN place of Suetonius, was Petronius Turpilianus (who had latelie béene consull) appointed to haue the gouernance of the armie in Britaine, the which neither troubling the enimie, nor being of the enimie in anie wise troubled or prouoked, did colour slouthfull rest with the honest name of peace and quietnesse, and so sat still without exploiting anie notable enterprise.

Trebellius Maximus lieutenant.

After Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus was made lieutenant of Britaine, who likewise with courteous demeanour sought to keepe the Britains in rest rather than by force to compell them. And now began the people of the Ile to beare with pleasant faults and flattering vices, so that the ciuill warres that chanced in those daies after the death of the emperour Nero at home, might easilie excuse the slouthfulnesse of the Romane lieutenants.

Moreouer, there rose dissention amongest their men of warre, which being vsed to lie abroad in the field, could not agree with the idle life; so that Trebellius Maximus was glad to hide himselfe from the sight of the souldiers being in an vproare against him, till at length humbling himselfe vnto them further than became his estate, he gouerned by waie of intreatie, or rather at their courtesie. And so was the commotion staied without bloudshed, the armie as it were hauing by couenant obteined to liue licentiouslie, and the capteine suertie to liue without danger to be murthered.

Victius Volanus lieutenãt.

NEither Victius Volanus that succéded Maximus whilest the time of the ciuill warres as yet endured, did trouble the Britains, vsing the same slacknesse and slouth that the other lieutenants had vsed before him, and permitted the like licence to the presumptuous souldiers: but yet was Volanus innocent as touching himselfe, and not hated for anie notable crime or vice: so that he purchased fauour, although authoritie wanted.

But after that the emperour Uespasianus had subdued his aduersaries, and atteined the imperiall gouernment, as well ouer Britaine as ouer other parts of the world, there were sent hither right noble capteins, with diuers notable bands of souldiers, and Petilius Cerialis being appointed lieutenant, put the Britains in great feare, by inuading the Brigants the mightiest nation of all the whole Iland: and fighting manie battels, and some right bloudie with those people, he subdued a great part of the countrie at the last.

Cor. Tacitus.

Iulius Frontinus lieutenãt.

AFter him succéded as lieutenant of Britaine, one Julius Frontinus, who vanquished and brought to the Romane subiection by force of armes the people called Silures, striuing not onelie against the stout resistance of the men, but also with the hardnesse & combersome troubles of the places.

¶ Thus may you perceiue in what state this Ile stood in the time that Aruiragus reigned in the same, as is supposed by the best histories of the old Britains: so that it may be thought that he gouerned rather a part of this land, than the whole, and bare the name of a king, the Romans not hauing so reduced the countrie into the forme of a prouince, but that the Britains bare rule in diuerse parts thereof, and that by the permission of the Romans, which neuertheless had their lieutenants and procuratours here, that bare the greatest rule vnder the aforesaid emperours.

The state of this Iland vnder Marius the sonne of Aruiragus, the comming in of the Picts with Roderike their king, his death in the field, the Picts and Scots enter into mutuall aliance, the monument of Marius, his victorie ouer the Picts, his death and interrement.

The xv. Chapter.

Marius.

AFter the decease of Aruiragus, his sonne Marius succeeded him in the estate, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 73. In the old English chronicle he is corolie called Westmer, & was a verie wise man, gouerning the Britains

Hector Boetius saith that this Marius was a Romane.

Britains in great proſperitie, honour and wealth.

In the time of this mans reigne, the people called Picts inuaded this land, who are iudged to be deſcended of the nation of the Scithians, neare kinſmen to the Goths, both by countrie and maners, a cruell kind of men and much giuen to the warres. This people with their ringleader Roderike, or (as ſome name him) Londorike, entering the Ocean ſea after the maner of rouers, arriued on the coaſts of Ireland, where they required of the Scots new ſeats to inhabit in: for the Scots which (as ſome thinke) were alſo deſcended of the Scithians, did as then inhabit in Ireland: but doubting that it ſhould not be for their profit to receiue ſo warlike a nation into that Ile, feining as it were a friendſhip, and excuſing the matter by the narrowneſſe of the countrie, declared to the Picts, that the Ile of Britaine was not farre from thence, being a large countrie and a plentifull, and not greatly inhabited: wherefore they counſelled them to go thither, promiſing vnto them all the aid that might be.

Of theſe you maie reade more in pag. 9.

Matth. Weſt.

The Picts more deſirous of ſpoile than of rule or gouernment, without delaie returned to the ſea, and ſailed towards Britaine, where being arriued, they firſt inuaded the north parts thereof, and finding there but few inhabiters, they began to waſt and forrey the countrie: whereof when king Marius was aduertiſed, with all ſpeed he aſſembled his people, and made towards his enimies, and giuing them battell, obteined the victorie, ſo that Roderike was there ſlaine in the field, and his people vanquiſhed.

Roderike king of Picts ſlaine.

Vnto thoſe that eſcaped with life, Marius granted licence that they might inhabit in the north part of Scotland called Catneſſe, being as then a countrie in maner deſolate without habitation: whereupon they withdrew thither, and ſetled themſelues in thoſe parties. And becauſe the Britains diſdained to grant vnto them their daughters in mariage, they ſent vnto the Scots into Ireland, requiring to haue wiues of their nation. The Scots agreed to their requeſt, with this condition, that where there wanted lawfull iſſue of the kings linage to ſucceed in the kingdome of the Picts, then ſhould they name one of the womans ſide to be their king: which ordinance was receiued and obſerued euer after amongſt the Picts, ſo long as their kingdome endured.

Thus the Picts next after the Romans were the firſt of anie ſtrangers that came into this land to inhabit as moſt writers affirme, although the Scotiſh chronicles auouch the Picts to be inhabiters here before the incarnation of our ſauiour. But the victorie which Marius obteined againſt their king Roderike, chanced in the yeere after the incarnation 87. In remembrance of which victorie, Marius cauſed a ſtone to be erected in the ſame place where the battell was fought, in which ſtone was grauen theſe words, Marij victoria. The Engliſh chronicle ſaith that this ſtone was ſet vp on Staneſmore, and that the whole countrie thereabout taking name of this Marius, was Weſtmaria, now called Weſtmerland.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

King Marius hauing thus ſubdued his enimies, and eſcaped the danger of their dreadfull inuaſion, gaue his mind to the good gouernement of his people, and the aduancement of the common wealth of the realme, continuing the reſidue of his life in great tranquillitie, and finallie departed this life, after he had reigned (as moſt writers ſay) 52, or 53 yeeres. Howbeit there be that write, that he died in the yeere of our Lord 78, and ſo reigned not paſt fiue or ſix yeeres at the moſt. He was buried at Caerleill, leauing a ſonne behind him called Coill.

Matt. Weſt. Thus find we in the Britiſh and Engliſh hiſtories touching this Marius.

Humfrey Lhoyd ſeemeth to take this man and his father Aruiragus to be all one perſon, whether moued thereto by ſome cataleg of kings which he ſaw, or otherwiſe, I cannot affirme: but ſpeaking of the time when the Picts and Scots ſhould firſt come to ſettle themſelues in this land, he hath theſe words; Neither was there anie writers of name, that made mention either of Scots or Picts before Veſpaſianus time, about the yeere of the incarnation 72: at what time Peurig or Paw, or Aruiragus reigned in Britaine, in which time our annales do report, that a certeine kind of people liuing by piratie and rouing on the ſea, came forth of Sueden, or Norwate, vnder the guiding of one Rhithercus, who landed in Albania, waſting all the countrie with robbing and ſpoiling ſo farre as Caerleill, where he was vanquiſhed in battell, and ſlaine by Huragus, with a great part of his people; the reſidue that eſcaped by flight, fled to their ſhips, and ſo conueied themſelues into the Iles of Orkney and Scotland, where they abode quietlie a great while after.

Thus farre haue I thought good to ſhew of the foreſaid Lhoyds booke, for that it ſeemeth to carie a great likelihood of truth with it, for the hiſtorie of the Picts, which vndoubtedlie I thinke were not as yet inhabiting in Britaine, but rather firſt placing themſelues in the Iles of Orkney, made inuaſion into the maine Ile of Britaine afterwards, as occaſion was offred. In the Britiſh tong they are called Pightiaid, that is Pightians, and ſo likewiſe were they called in the Scotiſh, and in their owne tong. Now will we ſhew what chanced in this Ile, during the time of the foreſaid Marius his ſuppoſed reigne, as is found in the Romane hiſtories.

Iulius Agricola is deputed by Veſpaſian to gouerne Britaine, he inuadeth the Ile of Angleſey, the inhabitants yeeld vp themſelues, the commendable gouernement of Agricola, his worthie practiſes to traine the Britains to ciuilitie, his exploits fortunatelie atchiued againſt diuerſe people, as the Iriſh, &c.

The 16. Chapter.

After Iulius Frontinus, the emperor Veſpaſian ſent Iulius Agricola to ſucceed in the gouernement of Britaine, who comming ouer about the midſt of ſummer, found the men of warre thoroughly want of a lieutenant negligent inough, as thoſe that looking for no trouble, thought themſelues out of all danger, where the enimies neuertheleſſe watched vpon the next occaſion to worke ſome diſpleaſure, and were readie on ech hand to moue rebellion. For the people called Ordonices, that inhabited in the countrie of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire and part of Shropſhire, had latelie before ouerthrowne, and in maner vtterlie deſtroied a wing of ſuch horſſemen as ſojourned in their parties, by reaſon whereof all the prouince was brought almoſt into an aſſured hope to recouer libertie.

Iulius Agricola lieutenant

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agr.

The firſt yeere of Agricola his gouernement.

Agricola vpon his comming ouer, though ſummer was now halfe paſt, and that the ſouldiers lodging here & there abroad in the countrie, were more diſpoſed to take reſt, than to ſet forward into the field againſt the enimies, determined yet to reſiſt the preſent danger: and therewith aſſembling the men of warre of the Romans, and ſuch other aids as he might make, he inuaded their countrie that had done this foreſaid diſpleaſure, and ſlue the moſt part of all the inhabitants thereof. Not thus contented (for that he thought good to follow the ſteps of fauourable

rable fortune, and knowing that as the begining proued, ſo would the whole ſequele of his affaires by likelihood come to paſſe) he purpoſed to make a full conqueſt of the Ile of Angleſey, from the conqueſt wherof the Romane lieutenant Paulinus was called backe by the rebellion of other of the Britains, as before ye haue heard.

The Ile of Angleſey.

But whereas he wanted ſhips for the furniſhing of his enterpriſe, his wit and policie found a ſhift to ſupplie that defect: for chooſing out a piked number of ſuch Britains as he had there with him in aid, which knew the fords and ſhallow places of the ſtreames there, and withall were verie ſkilfull in ſwimming (as the maner of the countrie then was) he appointed them to paſſe ouer on the ſudden into the Ile, onelie with their horſſes, armor, and weapon: which enterpriſe they ſo ſpædilie, and with ſo good ſucceſſe atchiued, that the inhabitants much amazed with that doing (which looked for a naule of ſhips to haue tranſported ouer their enimies by ſea, and therefore watched on the coaſt) began to thinke that nothing was able to be defended againſt ſuch kind of warriors that got ouer into the Ile after ſuch ſort and maner.

Angleſey yeelded to Agricola.

And therefore making ſute for peace, they deliuered the Ile into the hands of Agricola, whoſe fame by theſe victories dailie much increaſed, as of one that tooke pleaſure in trauell, and attempting to atchiue dangerous enterpriſes, in ſtead whereof his predeceſſors had delighted, to ſhew the maieſties of their office by vaine braggs, ſtatelie ports, and ambitious pomps. For Agricola turned not the proſperous ſucceſſe of his procedings into vanitie, but rather with neglecting his fame, increaſed it to the vttermoſt, among them that iudged what hope was to be looked for of things by him to be atchiued, which with ſilence kept ſecret theſe his ſo worthie doings.

Moreouer, perceiuing the nature of the people in this Ile of Britaine, and ſufficientlie taught by other mens example, that armor ſhould little auaile where iniuries followed to the diſquieting of the people, he thought beſt to take away and remoue all occaſions of warre. And firſt beginning with himſelfe and his ſouldiers, tooke order for a reformation to be had in his owne houſhold, yeelding nothing to fauor, but altogither in reſpect of vertue, accounting them moſt faithfull which therein moſt excelled. He ſought to know all things, but not to doo otherwiſe than reaſon moued, pardoning ſmall faults, and ſharpelie puniſhing great and heinous offenſes, neither yet deliting alwaies in puniſhment, but oftentimes in repentance of the offendor. Exactions and tributes he leſſened, qualifieng the ſame by reaſonable equitie. And thus in reforming the ſtate of things, he wan him great praiſe in time of peace, the which either by negligence or ſufferance of the former lieutenants, was euer feared, and accounted woorſe than open warre. This was his practiſe in the winter time of his firſt yeere.

Agricola his good gouernment.

But when ſummer was come, he aſſembled his armie, and leading forth the ſame, trained his ſouldiers in all honeſt warlike diſcipline, commending the good, and reforming the bad and vnrulie. He himſelfe to giue example, tooke vpon him all dangers that came to hand, and ſuffered not the enimies to liue in reſt, but waſted their countries with ſudden inuaſions. And when he had ſufficientlie chaſtiſed them, and put them in feare by ſuch manner of dealing, he ſpared them, that they might againe conceiue ſome hope of peace. By which meanes manie countries which vnto thoſe daies had kept themſelues out of bondage, laid rancor aſide, and deliuered pledges, and further were contented to ſuffer caſtels to be builded within them, and to be kept with garriſons, ſo that no part of Britaine was free from the Romane power, but ſtood ſtill in danger to be brought vnder more and more.

His diligence.

In the winter following, Agricola tooke paines to reduce the Britains from their rude manners and cuſtoms, vnto a more ciuill ſort and trade of liuing, that changing their naturall fiercenes and apt diſpoſition to warre, they might through taſting pleaſures be ſo inured therewith, that they ſhould deſire to liue in reſt and quietneſſe: and therefore he exhorted them priuilie, and holpe them publikelie to build temples, common halls where plees of law might be kept, and other houſes, commending them that were diligent in ſuch doings, and blaming them that were negligent, ſo that of neceſſitie they were driuen to ſtriue who ſhould preuent eche other in ciuilitie. He alſo procured that noble mens ſonnes ſhould learne the liberall ſciences, and praiſed the nature of the Britains more than the people of Gallia, becauſe they ſtudied to atteine to the knowledge of the Romane eloquence. By which meanes the Britains in ſhort time were brought to the vſe of good and commendable manners, and ſorted themſelues to go in comelie apparell after the Romane faſhion, and by little and little fell to accuſtome themſelues to fine fare and delicate pleaſures, the readie prouokers of vices, as to walke in galleries, to waſh themſelues in bathes, to vſe banketting, and ſuch like, which amongſt the vnſkilfull was called humanitie or courteſie, but in verie deed it might be accounted a part of thraldome and ſeruitude, namelie being to exceſſiuelie vſed.

The ſecond yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

The woorthie practiſes of Agricola to traine the Britaines to ciuilitie.

In the third yéere of Agricola his gouernment in Britaine, he inuaded the north parts thereof (vnknowne till thoſe daies of the Romans) being the ſame where the Scots now inhabit: for he waſted the countrie vnto the water of Tay, in ſuch wiſe putting the inhabitants in feare, that they durſt not once ſet vpon his armie, though it were ſo that the ſame was verie ſore diſquieted and vexed by tempeſt and rage of weather. Whereupon finding no great let or hinderance by the enimies, he builded certeine caſtels and fortreſſes, which he placed in ſuch conuenient ſtéeds, that they greatlie annoied his aduerſaries, and were ſo able to be defended, that there was none of thoſe caſtels which he builded, either won by force out of the Romans hands, or giuen ouer by compoſition, for feare to be taken: ſo that the ſame béeing furniſhed with competent numbers of men of warre, were ſafelie kept from the enimies, the which were dailie vexed by the often iſſues made forth by the ſouldiers that laie thus in garriſon within them: ſo that where in times paſt the ſaid enimies would recouer their loſſes ſuſteined in ſummer by the winters aduantage, now they were put to the woorſe, and kept backe as well in the winter as in the ſummer.

The third yeere.

The water of Tay.

In the fourth ſummer, after that Agricola was appointed vnto the rule of this land, he went about to bring vnder ſubiection thoſe people, the which before time he had by incurſions and forreies ſore vexed and diſquieted: and thereupon comming to the waters of Clide and Loughleuen, he built certeine fortreſſes to defend the paſſages and entries there, driuing the enimies beyond the ſame waters, as it had beene into a new Iland.

The fourth yeere of Agricola his gouernment.

Clota.

Bodotria.

In the fift ſummer, Agricola cauſing his ſhips to be brought about, and appointing them to arriue on the north coaſts of Scotland, he paſſed with his armie ouer the riuer of Clide; and ſubdued ſuch people as inhabited thoſe further parts of Scotland, which till thoſe daies had not beene diſcouered by the Romans. And becauſe he thought it ſhould ſerue well to purpoſe, for ſome conqueſt to be made of Ireland, if that part of Scotland which boordereth on the Iriſh

The fift yeere

ſeas

ſeas might be kept in due obedience, he placed garriſons of ſouldiers in thoſe parties, in hope verelie vpon occaſion to paſſe ouer into Ireland, and for the more eaſie aduancement of his purpoſe therein, he interteined with honourable prouiſion one of the kings of Ireland, which by ciuill diſcord was expelled and driuen out of his countrie. In deed Agricola perceiued, that with one legion of ſouldiers, and a ſmall aid of other men of warre, it ſhould be an eaſie matter to conquer Ireland, and to bring it vnder the dominion of the Romans: which enterprize he iudged verie neceſſarie to be exploited, for better kéeping of the Britains in obedience, if they ſhould ſée the iuriſdiction of the Romans euerie where extended, and the libertie of their neighbours ſuppreſſed.

In Irith king expelled out of his countrie.

In the firſt ſummer of Agricola his gouernment, he proceeded in ſubduing the furthermoſt parts of Scotland northwards, cauſing his nauie to kéepe courſe againſt him by the coaſt as he marched forth by land, ſo that the Britains perceiuing how the ſecret hauens and créekes of their countries were now diſcouered, and that all hope of refuge was in maner cut off from them, were in maruellous feare. On the other part the Romans were ſore troubled with the rough mounteins and craggie rocks, by the which they were conſtreined to paſſe beſide the dangerous riuers, lakes, woods, ſtreicts, and other comberſome waies and paſſages.

The firſt yeare of Agricola his gouernment.

The danger alſo of them that were in the ſhips by ſea was not ſmall, by reaſon of winds and tempeſts, and high ſpring tides, which toſſed and turmoiled their veſſels verie cruellie: but by the painfull diligence of them that had béene brought vp and inured with continuall trauell and hardneſſe, all thoſe diſcommodities were ouercome to their great reioiſing, when they met and fell in talke of their paſſed perils. For oftentimes the armie by land incamped ſo by the ſhore, that thoſe which kept the ſea came on land to make merrie in the campe, and then ech one would recount to others the aduentures that had happened, as the manner is in ſemblable caſes.

The Britains of Calenderwood aſſalt the Romans vpon aduantage, bloudie battels fought betwixt them, great numbers ſlaine on both ſides, the villanous dealing of certeine Dutch ſouldiers againſt their capteins and fellowes in armes, the miſerie that they were driuen vnto by famine to eate one another, a ſharpe conflict betweene the Romans and Britains, with the loſſe of manie a mans life, and effuſion of much bloud.

The xvij. Chapter.

Calenderwood.

THe Britains that inhabited in thoſe daies about the parts of Calenderwood, perceiuing in what danger they were to be vtterlie ſubdued, aſſembled themſelues togither, in purpoſe to trie the fortune of battell: whereof Agricola being aduertiſed, marched forth with his armie diuided in three battels, ſo that the enimies doubting to trie the matter in open field, eſpied their time in the night, and with all their whole puiſſance ſet vpon one of the Romane legions, which they knew to be moſt féeble and weake, truſting by a camiſado to diſtreſſe the ſame: and firſt ſleaing the watch, they entred the campe, where the ſaid legion laie, and finding the ſouldiers in great diſorder, betwixt ſléepe and feare, began the fight euen within the campe.

Agricola had knowledge of their purpoſed intent, and therefore with all ſpéed haſted forth to come to the ſuccours of his people, ſending firſt his light horſſemen, and certeine light armed footmen to aſſaile the enimies on their backs, and ſhortlie after approched with his whole puiſſance, ſo that the Romane ſtandards beginning to appéere in ſight by the light of the daie that then began to ſpring, the Britains were ſore diſcouraged, and the Romans renewing their force, fiercelie prealled vpon them, ſo that euen in the entrie of the campe, there was a ſore conflict, till at length the Britains were put to flight and chaſed, ſo that if the mareſhes and woods had not ſaued them from the purſute of the Romans, there had bene an end made of the whole warre euen by that one daies worke. But the Britains eſcaping as well as they might, and reputing the victorie to haue chanced not by the valiancie of the Romane ſoldiers, but by occaſion, and the prudent policie of their capteine, were nothing abaſhed with that their preſent loſſe, but prepared to put their youth againe into armour: and thereupon they remoued their wiues and children into ſafe places, and then aſſembling the chiefeſt gouernours togither, concluded a league amongſt themſelues, ech to aid other, confirming their articles with doing of ſacrifice (as the manner in thoſe daies was.)

The ſeuenth yére.

The ſame ſummer, a band of ſuch Dutch or Germaine ſouldiers as had béene leuied in Germanie & ſent ouer into Britaine to the aid of the Romans, attempted a great and wonderfull act, in ſleaing their capteine, and ſuch other of the Romane ſouldiers which were appointed to haue the training and leading of them, as officers and inſtructors to them in the feats of warre: and when they had committed that murther, they got into three pinneſſes, and became rouers on the coaſts of Britaine, and incountring with diuerſe of the Britains that were readie to defend their countrie from ſpoile, oftentimes they got the vpper hand of them, and now and then they were chaſed awaie, inſomuch that in the end they were brought to ſuch extremitie for want of victels, that they did eate ſuch amongſt them as were the weakeſt, and after, ſuch as the lot touched, being indifferentlie caſt amongſt them: and ſo being caried about the coaſts of Britaine, & loſing their veſſels through want of ſkill to gouerne them, they were reputed for robbers, and thereupon were apprehended, firſt by the Suabeners, and ſhortlie after by the Frizers, the which ſold diuerſe of them to the Romans and other, whereby the true vnderſtanding of their aduentures came certeinlie to light.

The eight yére of Agricola his gouernment.

In ſummer next following, Agricola with his armie came to the mounteine of Granziben, where he vnderſtood that his enimies were incamped, to the number of 30 thouſand and aboue, and dailie there came to them more companie of the Britiſh youth, and ſuch aged perſons alſo as were luſtie and in ſtrength, able to weld weapon and beare armour. Amongſt the capteins the chiefeſt was one Galgagus whom the Scotiſh chronicles name Gald. This man as chiefteine and head capteine of all the Britains there aſſembled, made to them a pithie oration, to incourage them to fight manfullie, and likewiſe did Agricola to his people: which being ended, the armies on both ſides were put in order of battell. Agricola placed 8 thouſand footmen of ſtrangers which he had there in aid with him in the midſt, appointing three thouſand horſſemen to ſtand on the ſides of them as wings. The Romane legions ſtood at their backs in ſtéed of a bulworke. The Britains were imbattelled in ſuch order, that their fore ward ſtood in the plaine ground, and the other on the ſide of an hill, as though they had riſen on heigth one ranke aboue another. The midſt of the field was couered with their chariots

Galgagus whome the Scots name Gald and will néeds haue him a Scotiſh man.

Corn. Tacit.

rets and horſſemen. Agricola doubting by the huge multitude of enimies, leaſt his people ſhould be aſſailed not onlie afront, but alſo vpon euerie ſide the battels, he cauſed the ranks ſo to place themſelues, as their battels might ſtretch farre further in breadth than otherwiſe the order of warre required: but he toke this to be a good remedie againſt ſuch inconuenience as might haue followed, if the enimie by the narrowneſſe of the fronts of his battels ſhould haue hemmed them in on ech ſide.

This done, and hauing conceiued good hope of victorie, he alighted on foot, and putting his horſſe from him, he ſtood before the ſtandards as one not caring for anie danger that might happen. At the firſt they beſtowed their ſhot and darts freelie on both ſides. The Britains alwell with conſtant manhood, as skilfull practiſe, with broad ſwords and little round bucklers auoided and beat from them the arrowes and darts that came from their enimies, and therewithall paid them home againe with their ſhot and darts, ſo that the Romans were nere hand oppreſſed therewith, bicauſe they came ſo thicke in their faces,

Betant. till at length Agricola cauſed three cohorts of Hollanders, & two of Lukeners to preſſe forward, &

Congrt. ioine with them at hand-ſtrokes, ſo as the matter might come to be tried with the edge of the ſword, which thing as to them (being inured with that kind of fight) it ſtood greatlie with their aduantage, ſo to the Britains it was verie dangerous, that were to defend themſelues with their mightie huge ſwords and ſmall bucklers. Alſo by reaſon their ſwords were broad at the ends, and pointleſſe, they auailed little to hurt the armed enimie. Whereupon when the Hollanders came to ioine with them, they made fowle worke in fleaing and wounding them in moſt horrible wiſe.

The horſſemen alſo that made reſiſtance they pulled from their horſſes, and began to clime the hill vpon the Britains. The other bands deſirous to match their fellowes in helping to atchiue the victorie, followed the Hollanders, and beat downe the Britains where they might approch to them: manie were ouerrun and left halfe dead, and ſome not once touched with anie weapon, were likewiſe ouerpreſſed, ſuch haſt the Romans made to follow vpon the Britains. Whileſt the Britiſh horſſemen fled, their charets ioined themſelues with their footmen, and reſtoring the battell, put the Romans in ſuch feare, that they were at a ſudden ſtay: but the charets being troubled with preaſe of enimies, & vneuennelle of the ground, they could not worke their feat to anie purpoſe, neither had that fight anie reſemblance of a battell of horſſemen, when ech one ſo encumbred other, that they had no roome to ſtirre themſelues. The charets oftentimes wanting their guiders were caried awaie with the horſſes, that being put in feare with the noiſe and ſtur, ran hither and thither, bearing downe one another, and whomſoeuer elſe they met withall.

Hollanders.

Now the Britains that kept the top of the hils, and had not yet fought at all, deſpiſing the ſmall number of the Romans, began to come downewards and to caſt about, that they might ſet vpon the backs of their enimies, in hope ſo to make an end of the battell, and to win the victorie: but Agricola doubting no leſſe, but that ſome ſuch thing would come to paſſe, had afore hand foreſeene the danger, and hauing reſerued foure wings of horſſemen for ſuch ſudden chances, ſent them forth againſt thoſe Britains, the which horſſemen with full random charging vpon them as they raſhlie came forwards, quicklie diſordered them and put them all to flight, and ſo that purpoſed deuiſe and policie of the Britains turned to their owne hinderance. For their horſſemen by their capteins appointment trauerſing ouerthwart by the fronts of them that fought, ſet vpon that battell of the Britains which they found before them. Then in thoſe open and plaine places a greeuous & heauie ſight it was to behold, how they purſued, wounded, and toke their enimies: and as they were aduiſed of other to ſlea thoſe that they had before taken, to the end they might ouertake the other, there was nothing but fleeing, taking, and chaſing, ſlaughter, ſpilling of bloud, ſcattering of weapons, grunting and groning of men and horſſes that lay on the ground, gaſping for breath, & readie to die.

The Britains now and then as they ſaw their aduantage, namelie when they approched nere to the woods, gathered themſelues togither, and ſet vpon the Romans as they followed vnaduiſedlie, and further (through ignorance of the places) than ſtood with their ſuertie, inſomuch that if Agricola had not prouided remedie, and ſent forth mightie bands of light armed men both on foot and horſſebacke to cloſe in the enimies, and alſo to beat the wood, ſome greater loſſe would haue followed through too much boldnes of them that too raſhlie purſued vpon the Britains: who when they beheld the Romans thus to follow them in whole troops and good order of battell, they ſlipt awaie and toke them to flight, ech one ſeeking to ſaue himſelfe, and kept not togither in plumps as before they had done. The night made an end of the chaſe which the Romans had followed till they were throughlie wearied. There were ſlaine of the Britains that day 10000, and of the Romans 340, among whom Aulus Atticus a capteine of one of the cohorts or bands of footmen was one, who being mounted on horſſebacke (through his owne too much youthfull courage, and fierce vnrulines of his horſſe) was caried into the middle throng of his enimies, and there ſlaine.

Ten thouſand Britains ſlaine.

Aulus Atticus ſlaine.

The lamentable diſtreſſe and pitifull *perplexitie of the Britains after their o*uerthrow, Domitian enuieth Agricola *the glorie of his victories, he is ſubtilie* depriued of his deputiſhip, and *Cneus Trebellius ſurrogated* in his roome.

The xviij. Chapter.

THe night inſuing the foreſaid ouerthrow of the Britains was ſpent of the Romans in great ioy & gladnes for the victorie atchiued. But among the Britains there was nothing elſe heard but mourning and lamentation, both of men and women that were mingled togither, ſome buſie to beare away the wounded, to bind and dreſſe their hurts; other calling for their ſonnes, kinſfolkes and friends that were wanting. Manie of them forſoke their houſes, and in their deſperate mood ſet them on fire, and chooſing forth places for their better refuge and ſafegard, forthwith miſliking of the ſame, left them and ſought others: herewith diuerſe of them toke counſell togither what they were beſt to do, one while they were in hope, an other while they fainted, as people caſt into vtter deſpaire: the beholding of their wiues and children oftentimes moued them to attempt ſome new enterpriſe for the preſeruation of their countrie and liberties. And certeine it is that ſome of them ſlue their wiues and children, as moued thereto with a certeine

Britains, & Scots, neither yet Picts.

certeine fond regard of pitie to rid them out of further miſerie and danger of thraldome.

The nert day the certeintie of the victorie more plainlie was diſcloſed, for all was quiet about, and no noiſe heard anie where: the houſes appeared burning on ech ſide, and ſuch as were ſent forth to diſcouer the countrie into euerie part thereof, ſaw not a creature ſtirring, for all the people were auoided and withdrawne a farre off.

When Agricola had thus ouerthrowne his enimies in a pitcht field at the mountaine of Granziben, and that the countrie was quite rid of all appearance of enimies: bicauſe the ſummer of this eight yeere of his gouernement was now almoſt ſpent, he brought his armie into the confines of the Horreſtians, which inhabited the countries now called Angus & Merne, and there intended to winter, and toke hoſtages of the people for aſſurance of their loialtie and ſubiection. This done, he appointed the admirall of the naue to ſaile about the Ile, which accordinglie to his commiſſion in that point receiued, luckilie accompliſhed his enterpriſe, and brought the naue about againe into an hauen called Trutulenſis.

Hector Boet.

Cor. Tacitus.

In hauen called Trutulenſis, peradventure Rutupenſis.

In this meane time, whiles Julius Agricola was thus occupied in Britaine, both the emperour Veſpaſianus, and alſo his brother Titus that ſucceeded him, departed this life, and Domitianus was elected emperor, who hearing of ſuch proſperous ſucceſſe as Agricola had againſt the Britains, did not ſo much reioiſe for the thing well done, as he enuied to conſider what glorie and renowme ſhould redound to Agricola thereby, which he perceiued ſhould much darken the glaſſe of his fame, hauing a priuate perſon vnder him, who in worthineſſe of noble exploits atchiued, farre excelled his doings.

To find remedie therefore herein, he thought not good to vtter his malice as yet, whileſt Agricola remained in Britaine with an armie, which ſo much fauoured him, and that with ſo good cauſe, ſith by his policie and noble conduct the ſame had obteined ſo manie victories, ſo much honor, and ſuch plentie of ſpoiles and booties. Wherevpon to diſſemble his intent, he appointed to reuoke him forth of Britaine, as it were to honor him, not onelie with deſerued triumphs, but alſo with the lieutenantſhip of Syria, which as then was void by the death of Atilius Rufus. Thus Agricola being countermanded home to Rome, deliuered his prouince vnto his ſucceſſor Cneus Trebellius, appointed thereto by the emperour Domitianus, in good quiet and ſafegard.

Cneus Trebellius alias Saluſtius Lucullus as ſome thinke.

¶ Thus may you ſee in what ſtate Britaine ſtood in the daies of king Marius, of whome Tacitus maketh no mention at all. Some haue written, that the citie of Cheſter was builded by this Marius, though other (as before I haue ſaid) thinke rather that it was the worke of Oſtorius Scapula their legat. Touching other the doings of Agricola, in the Scotiſh chronicle you maie find more at large ſet forth: for that which I haue written here, is but to ſhew what in effect Cornelius Tacitus writeth of that which Agricola did here in Britaine, without making mention either of Scots or Picts, onelie naming them Britains, Horreſtians, and Calidoneans, who inhabited in thoſe daies a part of this Ile which now we call Scotland, the originall of which countrie, and the inhabitants of the ſame, is greatlie controuerſed among writers; diuerſe diuerſlie deſcanting therevpon, ſome fetching their reaſon from the etymon of the word which is Greeke, ſome from the opening of their anceſtors as they find the ſame remaining in records; other ſome from comparing antiquities togither, and aptlie collecting the truth as nere as they can. But to omit them, and returne to the continuation of our owne hiſtorie.

Fabian.

Of Coillus the ſonne of Marius, his *education in Rome, how long he reigned*: of Lucius his ſonne and ſucceſſor, what time *he aſſumed the gouernment of this land, he was an* open profeſſor of chriſtian religion, he and his *familie are baptiſed, Britaine receiueth the faith*, 3 *archbiſhops* and 28 biſhops at that time in this Iland, weſtminſter church and S. Peters in Cornehill builded, diuers opinions touching the time of Lucius his reigne, of his death, and when the chriſtian faith was receiued in this Iland.

The 19. Chapter.

COillus the ſonne of Marius was after his fathers decealſe made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 125. This Coillus or Coill was brought vp in his youth amongſt the Romans at Rome, where he ſpent his time not vnprofitablie, but applied himſelfe to learning & ſeruice in the warres, by reaſon whereof he was much honored of the Romans, and he likewiſe honored and loued them, ſo that he paied his tribute truelie all the time of his reigne, and therefore liued in peace and good quiet. He was alſo a prince of much bountie, and verie liberall, whereby he obteined great loue both of his nobles and commons. Some ſaie, that he made the towne of Colcheſter in Eſſex, but others write, that Coill which reigned next after Aſclepiodotus was the firſt founder of that towne, but by other it ſhould ſeeme to be built long before, being called Camelodunum. Finallie when this Coill had reigned the ſpace of 54 yeares, he departed this life at Yorke, leauing after him a ſonne named Lucius, which ſucceeded in the kingdome.

Coillus.

125

Colcheſter built.

LUcius the ſonne of Coillus, whoſe ſurname (as ſaith William Hariſon) is not certant, began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yeare of our Lord 180, as Fabian following the authoritie of Peter Pictauienſis ſaith, although other writers ſeeme to diſagree in that account, as by the ſame Fabian in the table before his booke partlie appeareth, whereunto Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis affirmeth, that this Lucius was borne in the yeare of our Lord 115, and was crowned king in the yeare 124, as ſucceſſor to his father Coillus, which died the ſame yeare, being of great age yer the ſaid Lucius was borne. It is noted by antiquaries, that his entrance was in the 4132 of the world, 916 after the building of Rome, 220 after the comming of Ceſar into Britaine, and 165 after Chriſt, whoſe accounts I follow in this treatiſe.

Lucius.

165

This Lucius is highlie renowmed of the writers, for that he was the firſt king of the Britains that receiued the faith of Jeſus Chriſt: for being inſpired by the ſpirit of grace and truth, euen from the beginning of his reigne, he ſomewhat leaned to the fauoring of Chriſtian religion, being moued with the manifeſt miracles which the Chriſtians dailie wrought in witneſſe and proofe of their ſound and perfect doctrine. For euen from the daies of Joſeph of Arimathia and his fellowes, or what other godlie men firſt taught the Britains the goſpell of our Sauiour, there remained amongeſt the ſame Britains ſome chriſtians which ceaſed not to teach and preach the word of God moſt ſincerelie vnto them: but yet no king amongſt them openlie profeſſed that religion, till at length this Lucius perceiuing not onelie ſome of the Romane lieutenants in Britaine as Trebellius and Pertinax, with others, to haue

ſubmitted themſelues to that profeſſion, but alſo the emperour himſelfe to begin to be fauorable to them that profeſſed it, he toke occaſion by their good example to giue eare more attentiuelie vnto the goſpell, and at length ſent vnto Eleutherius biſhop of Rome two learned men of the Britiſh nation, Eluane and Medwine, requiring him to ſend ſome ſuch miniſters as might inſtruct him and his people in the true faith more plentifullie, and to baptiſe them according to the rules of chriſtian religion.

¶ The reuerend father Iohn Iewell, ſometime biſhop of Saliſburie, writeth in his * replie vnto Hardings anſwer, that the ſaid Eleutherius, for generall order to be taken in the realme and churches heere, wrote his aduice to Lucius in maner and forme following. *Fol.119.

"You haue receiued in the kingdome of Britaine, by Gods mercie, both the law and faith of Chriſt; ye haue both the new and the old teſtament, out of the ſame through Gods grace, by the aduiſe of your realme make a law, and by the ſame through Gods ſufferance rule you your kingdome of Britaine, for in that kingdome you are Gods vicar.

Hereupon were ſent from the ſaid Eleutherius two godlie learned men, the one named Fugatius, and the other Damianus, the which baptiſed the king with all his familie and people, and therewith remoued the worſhipping of idols and falſe gods, and taught the right meane and waie how to worſhip the true and immortall God. There were in thoſe daies within the bounds of Britaine 28 Flamines, & three Archflamines, which were as biſhops and archbiſhops, or ſuperintendents of the pagan or heathen religion, in whoſe place (they being remoued) were inſtituted 28 biſhops & three archbiſhops of the chriſtian religion. One of the which archbiſhops held his ſee at London, another at Yorke, and the third at Caerleon Arwiſke in Glamorganſhire. Vnto the archbiſhop of London was ſubiect Cornewall, and all the middle part of England, euen vnto Humber. To the archbiſhop of Yorke all the north parts of Britaine from the riuer of Humber vnto the furtheſt partes of Scotland. And to the archbiſhop of Caerleon was ſubiect all Wales, within which countrie as then were ſeuen biſhops, where now there are but foure. The riuer of Seuern in thoſe daies diuided Wales (then called Cambria) from the other parts of Britaine. Thus Britaine partlie by the meanes of Joſeph of Arimathia (of whome ye haue heard before) & partlie by the wholeſome inſtructions & doctrines of Fugatius and Damianus, was the firſt of all other regions that openlie receiued the goſpell, and continued moſt ſtedfaſt in that profeſſion, till the cruell furie of Dioceſian perſecuted the ſame, in ſuch ſort, that as well in Britaine as in all other places of the world, the chriſtian religion was in manner extinguiſhed, and vtterlie deſtroied.

Britaine receiueth the faith.

Matth. Weſt.

Joſephus of Arimathia.

There be that affirme, how this Lucius ſhould build the church of ſaint Peter at Weſtminſter, though manie attribute that act vnto Sibert king of the eaſt Saxons, and write how the place was then ouergrowne with thornes and buſhes, and thereof toke the name, and was called Thorney. They adde moreouer that Thomas archbiſhop of London preached, read, and miniſtred the ſacraments there to ſuch as made reſort vnto him. Howbeit by the tables hanging in the reuerſrie of ſaint Paules at London, and alſo a table ſometime hanging in ſaint Peters church in Cornehill, it ſhould ſeeme that the ſaid church of ſaint Peter in Cornehill was the ſame that Lucius builded. But herein (ſaith Hariſon *anno mundi* 4174) doth lie a ſcruple. Sure Cornell might ſone be miſtaken for Thorney, ſpecially in ſuch old records, as time, age, & euill handling haue oftentimes defaced.

Polydor. Weſtminſter Church built.

But howſoeuer the caſe ſtandeth, truth it is, that Lucius reioiſing much, in that he had brought his people to the perfect light and vnderſtanding of the true God, that they needed not to be deceiued anie longer with the craftie temptations and feigned miracles of wicked ſpirits, he aboliſhed all prophane worſhippings of falſe gods, and conuerted all ſuch temples as had beene dedicated to their ſeruice, vnto the vſe of chriſtian religion: and thus ſtudieng onlie how to aduance the glorie of the immortall God, and the knowledge of his word, without ſeeking the vaine glorie of worldlie triumph, which is got with ſlaughter and bloudſhed of manie a giltleſſe perſon, he left his kingdome; though not inlarged with broder dominion than he receiued it, yet greatlie augmented and inriched with quiet reſt, good ordinances, and (that which is more to be eſteemed than all the reſt) adorned with Chriſtes religion, and perfectlie inſtructed with his moſt holie word and doctrine. He reigned (as ſome write) 21 yeares, though other affirme but twelue yeares. Againe, ſome teſtifie that he reigned 77, others 54, and 43.

Polydor. Fabian. Iohn Hard.

Moreouer here is to be noted, that if he procured the faith of Chriſt to be planted within this realme in the time of Eleutherius the Romane biſhop, the ſame chanced in the daies of the emperour Marcus Aurelius Antonius; and about the time that Lucius Aurelius Commodus was ioined and made partaker of the empire with his father, which was ſeuen yeare after the death of Lucius Aelius, Aurelius Verus, and in the 177 after the birth of our Sauiour Jeſus Chriſt, as by ſome chronologies is eaſie to be collected. For Eleutherius began to gouerne the ſee of Rome in the yeare 169, according to the opinion of the moſt diligent chronographers of our time, and gouerned fifteene yeares and thirteene daies. And yet there are that affirme, how Lucius died at Glocester in the yeare of our Lord 156. Other ſay that he died in the yere 201, and other 208. So that the truth of this hiſtorie is brought into doubt by the diſcord of writers, concerning the time and other circumſtances, although they all agree that in this kings daies the chriſtian faith was firſt by publike conſent openlie receiued and profeſſed in this land, which as ſome affirme, ſhould chance in the twelfe yeare of his reigne, and in the yeare of our Lord 177. Other iudge that it came to paſſe in the eight yeare of his regiment, and in the yeare of our Lord 188, where other (as before is ſaid) alledge that it was in the yeare of the Lord 179. Nauclerus ſaith, that this happened about the yeare of our Lord 156. And Henricus de Herfordea ſuppoſeth, that it was in the yeare of our Lord 169, and in the nintéenth yeare of the emperor Marcus Antonius Verus: and after other, about the firſt yeare of the emperor Commodus.

Gal. Mon. Matth. Weſt.

Polydor.

Nauclerus. Hen. Herf.

But to conclude, king Lucius died without iſſue, by reaſon whereof after his deceaſſe the Britains fell at variance, which continued about the ſpace of fifteene yeares (as Fabian thinketh) howbeit the old Engliſh chronicle affirmeth, that the contention betwixt them remained fiftie yeares, though Harding affirmeth but foure yeares. And thus much of the Britains, and their kings Coilus and Lucius. Now it reſteth to ſpeake ſomewhat of the Romans which gouerned here in the meane while. After that Agricola was called backe to Rome, the Britains (and namelie thoſe that inhabited beyond Tweed) partlie being weakned of their former ſtrength, and partlie in conſideration of their pledges, which they had deliuered to the Romans, remained in peace certeine yeares.

Fabian. Caxton. Iohn Hard.

The

The Britains after the deceaſſe of Lucius (*who died without iſſue*) *rebell* againſt the Romans, the emperor Adrian *coming in his owne perſon into Britaine appeaſeth* the broile, they go about to recouer their libertie *againſt the Romans, but are ſuppreſſed by Lollius the Romane* lieutenant; the vigilantneſſe or wakefulneſie of Marcellus, and his policie to keepe the ſouldiers waking, the Britains being ruled by certaine meane gentlemen of Perhennis appointing doo falſelie accuſe him to the emperor Commodus, he is mangled and murthered of his ſouldiers.

The xx. Chapter.

Cneus Trebellius lieutenant.

IN the meane time the Romane lieutenant Cneus Trebellius that ſucceeded Julius Agricola, could no, foreſee all things ſo preciſelie but that the ſouldiers waxing vnrulie by reaſon of long reſt, fell at variance among themſelues, and would not in the end obey the lieutenant, but diſquieted the Britains beyond meaſure. Wherefore the Britains perceiuing themſelues ſore oppreſſed with intollerable bondage, and that dailie the ſame increſed, they conſpired togither, vpon hope to recouer libertie, and to defend their countrie by all meanes poſſible, and herewith they toke weapon in hand againſt the Romans, and boldlie aſſailed them: but this they did yet warilie, and ſo, that they might flie vnto the woods and bogs for refuge vpon neceſſitie, according to the maner of their countrie. Herevpon diuers ſlaughters were commited on both parties, and all the countrie was now readie to rebell: whereof when the emperour Adrian was aduertiſed from Trebellius the lieutenant, with all conuenient ſpeed he paſſed ouer into Britaine, and quieted all the Ile, vſing great humanitie towards the inhabitants; and making ſmall account of that part where the Scots now inhabit, either bicauſe of the barrenneſſe thereof, or for that by reaſon of the nature of the countrie he thought it would be hard to be kept vnder ſubiection, he deuiſed to diuide it from the reſidue of Britaine, and ſo cauſed a wall to be made from the mouth of Tine vnto the water of Eſke, which wall conteined in length 30 miles.

The wall of Adrian built. Spartianus.

After this, the Britains bearing a malicious hatred towards the Romane ſouldiers, and repining to be kept vnder the bond of ſeruitude, eftſoones went about to recouer libertie againe. Whereof aduertiſement being giuen, the emperour Pius Antoninus ſent ouer Lollius Urbicus as lieutenant into Britaine, who by ſundrie battels ſtriken, conſtreined the Britains to remaine in quiet, and cauſing thoſe that inhabited in the north parts to remoue further off from the confines of the Romane prouince, caſed another wall beyond that which the emperor Adrian had made, as is to be ſuppoſed, for the more ſuertie of the Romane ſubiects againſt the inuaſion of the enimies. But yet Lollius did not ſo make an end of the warrs, but that the Britains ſhortlie after attempted afreſh, either to reduce their ſtate into libertie, or to bring the ſame into further danger.

Lollius Urbicus lieutenant.

Iulius Capitol. In other wall built.

Calphurnius Agricola.

Herevpon Marcus Antonius that ſucceeded Pius, ſent Calphurnius Agricola to ſucceed Lollius in the gouernement of Britaine, the which eaſilie ouercame and ſubdued all his enimies. After this there chanced ſome trouble in the daies of the emperour Commodus the ſon of Marcus Antonius and his ſucceſſor in the empire: for the Britains that dwelled northwards, beyond Adrians wall, brake through the ſame, and ſpoiled a great part of the countrie, againſt whom the Romane lieutenant for that time being come forth, gaue them battell: but both he and the Romane ſouldiers that were with him, were beaten downe and ſlaine. Dion Caſſius

With which newes Commodus being ſore amazed, ſent againſt the Britains one Ulpius Marcellus, a man of great diligence and temperance, but therewith rough and nothing gentle. He vſed the ſame kind of diet that the common ſouldiers did vſe. He was a captaine much watchfull, as one contented with verie little ſléepe, and deſirous to haue his ſouldiers alſo vigilant and carefull to kéepe ſure watch in the night ſeaſon. Euerie euening he would write twelue tables, ſuch as they vſed to make on the lind trée, and deliuering them to one of his ſeruants, appointed him to beare them at ſeuerall houres of the night to ſundrie ſouldiers, whereby ſuppoſing that their generall was ſtill watching and not gone to bed, they might be in doubt to ſléepe. *Vlpius Marcellus lieutenant.*

And although of nature he could well abſteine from ſléepe, yet to be the better able to forbeare it, he vſed a maruellous ſpare kind of diet: for to the end that he would not fill himſelfe too much with bread, he would eat none but ſuch as was brought to him from Rome, ſo that more than neceſſitie compelled him he could not eat, by reaſon that the ſtaleneſſe toke awaie the pleaſant taſt thereof, and leſſe prouoked his appetite. He was a maruellous contemner of monie, ſo that bribes might not moue him to do otherwiſe than dutie required. This Marcellus being of ſuch diſpoſition, ſore afflicted the Britains, and put them oftentimes to great loſſes: through fame wherof, Cõmodus enuieng his renowme was after in mind to make him away, but yet ſpared him for a further purpoſe, and ſuffered him to depart.

After he was remoued from the gouernment of Britaine, one Perhennis capteine of the emperors gard (or pretorian ſouldiers as they were then called) bearing all the rule vnder the emperor Commodus, appointed certeine gentlemen of meane calling to gouerne the armie in Britaine. Which fond ſubſtituting of ſuch petie officers to ouerſée and ouerrule the people, was to them an occaſion of hartgrudge, and to him a meanes of finall miſchéefe: both which it is likelie he might haue auoided, had he béene prouident in his deputation. For the ſouldiers in the ſame armie grudging and repining to be gouerned by men of baſe degrée, in reſpect of thoſe that had borne rule ouer them before, being honorable perſonages, as ſenators, and of the conſular dignitie, they fell at ſquare among themſelues, and about fiftéene hundred of them departed towards Rome to exhibit their complaint againſt Perhennis: for whatſoeuer was amiſſe, the blame was ſtill laid to him. They paſſed forth without impeachment at all, and comming to Rome, the emperour himſelfe came forth to vnderſtand what they meant by this their comming in ſuch ſort from the place where they were appointed to ſerue. Their anſwer was, that they were come to informe him of the treaſon which Perhennis had deuiſed to his deſtruction, that he might make his ſon emperor. To the which accuſation when Commodus too lightlie gaue eare, & beléeued it to be true, namelie, through the ſetting on of one Cleander, who hated Perhennis, for that he bridled him from doing diuerſe vnlawfull acts, which he went about vpon a wilfull mind (without all reaſon and modeſtie) to practiſe; the matter was ſo handled in the end, that Perhennis was deliuered to the ſouldiers, who cruellie mangled him, and preſentlie put him to a pitifull death. *Perhennis capteine of the emperours gard.*

Aelius Lamprídius.

Of the doings of this Calphurnius in Britaine ye may read more in the Scotiſh chronicle.

Pertinax is ſent as lieutenant into Britaine, *he is in danger to be ſlaine of the* ſouldiers, he riddeth himſelfe of that perilous *office: Albinus with an armie of Britains fighteth* againſt Seuerus and his power neere to Lions,

Seuerus is ſlaine in a conflict againſt the Picts, Geta and Baſſianus two brethren make mutuall warre for the regiment of the land, the one is ſlaine, the other ruleth.

The xxj. Chapter.

Pertinax lieutenant of Britaine.

NOw will we ſaie ſomewhat of the tumults in Britaine. It was thought needfull to ſend ſome ſufficient captaine of auctoritie thither; and therefore was one Pertinax that had béene conſull and ruler ouer foure ſeuerall conſular prouinces, appointed by Commodus to go as lieutenant into that Ile, both for that he was thought a man moſt meet for ſuch a charge, and alſo to ſatiſfie his credit, for that he had béene diſcharged by Perhennis of bearing anie rule, and ſent home into Liguria where he was borne, and there appointed to remaine. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, pacified the armie, but not without danger to haue béene ſlaine by a mutinie raiſed by one of the legions: for he was ſtricken downe, and left for dead among the ſlaine carcaſſes. But he worthilie reuenged himſelfe of this iniurie. At length, hauing chaſtiſed the rebels, and brought the Ile into meetelie good quiet, he ſued and obteined to be diſcharged of that rome, becauſe as he alledged, the ſouldiers could not brooke him, for that he kept them in dutifull obedience, by correcting ſuch as offended the lawes of armes.

The lieutenant in danger.

Clodius Albinus lieutenãt.

THen was Clodius Albinus appointed to haue the rule of the Romane armie in Britaine: whoſe deſtruction when Seuerus the emperour ſought, Albinus perceiued it quicklie: and therefore chooſing forth a great power of Britains, paſſed with the ſame ouer into France to encounter with Seuerus, who was come thither towards him, ſo that neere to the citie of Lions they ioined in battell and fought right ſore, in ſo much that Seuerus was at point to haue receiued the ouerthrow by the high proweſſe and manhood of the Britains: but yet in the end Albinus loſt the field, and was ſlaine. Then Heraclitus as lieutenant began to gouerne Britaine (as writeth Spartianus) being ſent thither by Seuerus for that purpoſe before. And ſuch was the ſtate of this Ile about the yeare of our Lord 195. In which ſeaſon, becauſe that king Lucius was dead, and had left no iſſue to ſucceed him, the Britains (as before ye haue heard) were at variance amongſt themſelues, and ſo continued till the comming of Seuerus, whome the Britiſh chronographers affirme to reigne as king in this Ile, & that by right of ſucceſſion in bloud, as deſcended of Androgeus the Britaine, which went to Rome with Julius Ceſar, as before ye haue heard.

Seuerus.

THis Seuerus as then emperour of Rome, began to rule this Ile (as authors affirme) in the yeare of our Lord 207, and gouerned the ſame 4 yeares and od moneths. At length hearing that one Fulgentius as then a leader of the Picts was entred into the borders of his countrie on this ſide Durham, he raiſed an hoſt of Britains and Romans, with the which he marched towards his enimies: and meeting with the ſaid Fulgentius in a place neere vnto Yorke, in the end after ſore fight Seuerus was ſlaine, when he had ruled this land for the ſpace almoſt of fiue yeares, as before is ſaid, and was after buried at Yorke, leauing behind him two ſonnes, the one named Geta, and the other Baſſianus. This Baſſianus being borne of a Britiſh woman, ſucceeded his father in the gouernement of Britaine, in the yeare of the incarnation of our Lord 211. The Romans would haue had Geta created king of Britaine, bearing more fauour to him becauſe he had a Romane ladie to his mother: but the Britains moued with the like reſpect, held with Baſſianus. And thervpon warre was raiſed betwixt the two brethren, who comming to trie their quarrell by battell, Geta was ſlaine, and Baſſianus with aid of the Britains remained victor, and ſo continued king, till at length he was ſlaine by one Carauſius a Britaine, borne but of low birth, howbeit right valiant in armes, and therefore well eſteemed. In ſomuch that obteining of the ſenat of Rome the keeping of the coaſts of Britaine, that he might defend the ſame from the malice of ſtrangers, as Picts and others, he drew to him a great number of ſouldiers and ſpeciallie of Britains, to whome he promiſed that if they would make him king, he would cléerelie deliuer them from the oppreſſion of the Romane ſeruitude. Wherevpon the Britains rebelling againſt Baſſianus, ioined themſelues to Carauſius, who by their ſupport vanquiſhed and ſlue the ſaid Baſſianus, after he had reigned 6 or (as ſome affirme) 30 yeares.

¶ Thus farre out of the Engliſh and Britiſh writers, the which how farre they varie from likelihood of truth, you ſhall heare in the next chapter what the approued hiſtoriographers, Greekes and Latines, writing of theſe matters, haue recorded. Herodianus.

The ambitious mind of the old emperour *Seuerus, he arriueth in Britaine with* a mightie power to ſuppreſſe the rebellious *Britains, the emperours politike prouiſion for his* ſouldiers in the fens and bogs: the agilitie of the *Britains, their nimbleneſſe, the painting of their bodies with* diuerſe colours, their furniture, their great ſufferance of hunger, cold, &c: diuerſe conflicts betweene the Romans and the Britains, their ſubtile traines to deceiue their enimies, the Romans pitifullie diſtreſſed, Seuerus conſtreineth the Caledonians to conclude a league with him; he falleth ſicke, his owne ſonne practiſeth to make him away: the Britains begin a new rebellion, the cruell commandement of Seuerus to kill and ſlea all that came to hand without exception, his age, his death, and ſepulchre: Baſſianus ambitiouſlie vſurpeth the whole regiment, he killeth his brother Geta, and is ſlaine himſelfe by one of his owne ſouldiers.

The xxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Seuerus receiuing aduertiſment from the lieutenant of Britaine, that the people there moued rebellion, & waſted the countrie with roads and forraies, ſo that it was needful to haue the prince himſelfe to come thither with great power to reſiſt the enimies, he of an ambitious mind reioiſed not a little for thoſe newes, becauſe he ſaw occaſion offered to aduance his renowme and fame with increaſe of new victories now in the weſt, after ſo manie triumphs purchaſed and got by him in the eaſt and north parts of the world. Herevpon though he was of great age, yet

yet the desire that he had still to win honour, caused him to take in hand to make a iournie into this land, and so being furnished of all things necessarie, he set forwards, being carried for the more part in a litter for his more ease: for that besides his feblenesse of age, he was also troubled with the gout. He tooke with him his two sonnes, Antoninus Basilanus and Geta, vpon purpose as was thought, to auoid occasions of such inconuenience as he perceiued might grow by discord mooued betwixt them through flatterers and malicious sycophants, which sought to set them at variance: which to bring to passe, he perceiued there should want no meane whilest they continued in Rome, amidst such pleasures & idle passimes as were dailie there frequented: and therefore he caused them to attend him in this iournie into Britaine, that they might learne to liue soberlie, and after the manner of men of warre.

Antoninus and Geta.

The emperour Seuerus arriueth in Britaine.

Seuerus being thus on his iournie towards Britaine, staied not by the waie, but with all diligence sped him forth, and passing the sea verie swiftlie, entred this Ile, and assembled a mightie power together, meaning to assaile his enimies, and to pursue the warre against them to the vttermost. The Britains greatlie amazed with this sudden arriuall of the emperour, and hearing that such preparation was made against them, sent ambassadours to him to intreat of peace, and to excuse their rebellious dooings. But Seuerus delaieng time for answere, as he that was desirous to atchiue some high enterprise against the Britains, for the which he might deserue the surname of Britannicus, which he greatlie coueted, still was busie to prepare all things necessarie for the warre; and namelie, caused a great number of bridges to be made to lay ouer the bogs and marshes, so that his souldiers might haue place to stand vpon, and not to be incumbered for lacke of firme ground when they should cope with their enimies: for the more part of Britaine in those daies (as Herodianus writeth) was full of fens & marish ground, by reason of the often flowings and washings of the sea tides: by the which marish grounds the enimies being thereto accustomed, would run and swim in the waters, and wade vp to the middle at their pleasure, going for the more part naked, so that they passed not on the mud and mires, for they knew not the vse of wearing cloths, but ware hoopes of iron about their middles and necks, esteeming the same as an ornament and token of riches, as other barbarous people did gold.

Herodianus.

He meaneth of the north Britains or sauage Britains as we may call them.

Moreouer they marked, or (as it were) painted their bodies in diuerse sorts and with sundrie shapes and figures of beasts and fowles, and therefore they vsed not to weare anie garments, that such painting of their bodies might the more apparantlie be seene, which they esteemed a great brauerie.

They were as the same Herodianus writeth, a people giuen much to war, and delighted in slaughter and bloudshed, vsing none other weapons or armour but a slender buckler, a iauceline, and a sword tied to their naked bodies: as for headpéce or habergeon, they esteemed not, bicause they thought the same should be an hinderance to them when they should passe ouer anie marish, or be driuen to swim anie waters, or flée to the bogs.

The furniture of the sauage Britains.

Moreouer, to suffer hunger, cold, and trauell, they were so vsed and inured therewith, that they would not passe to lie in the bogs and mires couered vp to the chin, without caring for meate for the space of diuerse daies together: and in the woods they would liue vpon roots and barks of trées. Also they vsed to prepare for themselues a certeine kind of meate, of the which if they receiued but so much as amounted to the quantitie of a beane, they would thinke themselues satisfied, and féele neither hunger nor thirst. The one halfe of the Ile or little lesse was subiect vnto the Romans, the other was gouerned of themselues, the people for the most part hauing the rule in their hands.

Seuerus therefore meaning to subdue the whole, and vnderstanding their nature, and the manner of their making warre, prouided him selfe of all things expedient for the annoiance of them and helpe of his owne souldiers, and appointing his sonne Geta to remaine in that part of the Ile which was subiect to the Romans, he tooke with him his other sonne Antoninus, and with his armie marched forth, and entred into the confines of the enimies, and there began to waste and forrey the countrie, whereby there insued diuerse conflicts and skirmishes betwixt the Romans and the inhabitants, the victorie still remaining on the Romans side: but the enimies easilie escaped without anie great losse vnto the woods, mountains, bogs, and such other places of refuge as they knew to be at hand, whither the Romans durst not follow, nor once approch, for feare to be intraped and inclosed by the Britains that were readie to returne and assaile their enimies vpon euerie occasion of aduantage that might be offered.

This maner of dealing sore troubled the Romans, and so hindered them in their procéedings, that no spéedie end could be made of that warre. The Britains would oftentimes of purpose laie their cattell, as oxen, kine, shéepe, and such like, in places conuenient, to be as a stale to the Romans; and when the Romans should make to them to fetch the same a waie, being distant from the residue of the armie a good space, they would fall vpon them and distresse them. Beside this, the Romans were much annoied with the vnwholesomnesse of the waters which they were forced to drinke, and if they chanced to straie abroad, they were snapped vp by ambushes which the Caledonians laid for them, and when they were so féeble that they could not through want of strength kéepe pace with their fellowes as they marched in order of battell, they were slaine by their owne fellowes, least they should be left behind for a prey to the enimies. Héereby there died in this iournie of the Romane armie, at the point of fiftie thousand men: but yet would not Seuerus returne, till he had gone through the whole Ile, and so came to the vttermost parts of all the countrie now called Scotland, and at last backe againe to the other part of the Ile subiect to the Romans, the inhabitants whereof are named (by Dion Cassius) *Meatæ*. But first he forced the other, whom the same Dion nameth Caledonij, to conclude a league with him, vpon such conditions, as they were compelled to depart with no small portion of the countrie, and to deliuer vnto him their armour and weapons.

Dion Cassius.

In the meane time, the emperour Seuerus being woxne with age fell sicke, so that he was constreined to abide at home within that part of the Ile which obeied the Romans, and to appoint his sonne Antoninus to take charge of the armie abroad. But Antoninus not regarding the enimies, attempted little or nothing against them, but sought waies how to win the fauour of the souldiers and men of warre, that after his fathers death (for which he dailie looked) he might haue their aid and assistance to be admitted emperour in his place. Now when he saw that his father bare out his sickneslle longer time than he would haue wished, he practised with physicians and other of his fathers seruants to dispatch him by one meane or other.

Whilest Antoninus thus negligentlie looked to his charge, the Britains began a new rebellion, not onlie those that were latelie ioined in league with the

emperour,

emperour, but the other alſo which were ſubiects to the Romane empire. Seuerus toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he called togither the ſouldiers, and commanded them to inuade the countrie, and to kill all ſuch as they might meet within anie place without reſpect, and that his cruell commandement he expreſſed in theſe verſes taken out of Homer:

Iliados. 3. *Nemo manus fugiat veſtras, cædémque cruentam,*
Non fœtus grauida mater quem geſſit in aluo
Horrendam effugiat cædem.

But while he was thus diſquieted with the rebellion of the Britains, and the diſloiall practiſes of his ſonne Antoninus, which to him were not vnknowne, (for the wicked ſonne had by diuers attempts diſcouered his traitorous and vnnaturall meanings) at length, rather through ſorrow and griefe, than by force of ſickneſſe, he waſted awaie, and departed this life at Yorke, the third daie before the nones of Februarie, after he had gouerned the empire by the ſpace of 17 yeares, 8 moneths, & 33 daies. He liued 65 yeres, 9 moneths, & 13 daies: he was borne the third ides of April. By that which before is recited out of Herodian and Dion Caſſius, of the maners & vſages of thoſe people, againſt whome Seuerus held warre here in Britaine, it maie be coniectured, that they were the Picts, the which poſſeſſed in thoſe daies a great part of Scotland, and with continuall incurſions and rodes waſted and deſtroied the borders of thoſe countries which were ſubiect to the Romans. To keepe them backe therefore and to repreſſe their inuaſions, Seuerus (as ſome write) either reſtored the former wall made by Adrian, or elſe newlie built an other ouerthwart the Ile, from the eaſt ſea to the weſt, conteining in length 232 miles. This wall was not made of ſtone, but of turfe and earth ſupported with ſtakes and piles of wood, and defended on the backe with a deepe trench or ditch, and alſo fortified with diuerſe towers and turrets built & erected vpon the ſame wall or rampire ſo neere togither, that the ſound of trumpets being placed in the ſame, might be heard betwixt, and ſo warning giuen from one to another vpon the firſt deſcrieng of the enimies.

Herodianus. Dion Caſſius. Eutropius. Dion Caſſius. Eutropius. Oroſius. Dion Caſſius. Beda. Hector Boetius.

Seuerus being departed out of this life in the yere of our Lord 211, his ſon Antoninus otherwiſe called alſo Baſſianus, would faine haue vſurped the whole gouernment into his owne hands, attempting with bribes and large promiſes to corrupt the minds of the ſouldiers: but when he perceiued that his purpoſe would not forward as he wiſhed in that behalfe, he concluded a league with the enimies, and making peace with them, returned backe towards Yorke, and came to his mother and brother Geta, with whome he toke order for the buriall of his father. And firſt his bodie being burnt (as the maner was) the aſhes were put into a veſſell of gold, and ſo conueied to Rome by the two brethren and the empreſſe Julia, who was mother to Geta the ponger brother, and mother in law to the elder, Antoninus Baſſianus, & by all meanes poſſible ſought to maintaine loue and concord betwixt the brethren, which now at the firſt toke vpon them to rule the empire equallie togither. But the ambition of Baſſianus was ſuch, that finallie vpon deſire to haue the whole rule himſelfe, he found meanes to diſpatch his brother Geta, breaking one daie into his chamber, and ſlaieng him euen in his mothers lap, and ſo poſſeſſed the gouernment alone, till at length he was ſlaine at Edeſſa a citie in Meſopotamia by one of his owne ſouldiers, as he was about to vntruſſe his points to do the office of nature, after he had reigned the ſpace of 6 yeares, as is aforeſaid. Where we are to note Gods iudgment, prouiding that he which had ſhed mans bloud, ſhould alſo die by the ſword.

Polydorus. Herodianus. 211

Sextus Aurelius.

Of Carauſius an obſcure Britaine, what *countries he gaue the Picts, and where-* vpon, his death by Alectus his ſucceſſor, the *Romans foiled by Aſclepiodotus duke of Corne-* wall, whereof Walbrooke had the name, the couetous practiſe of Carauſius the vſurper.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Carauſius. CArauſius a Britan of vnknowne birth, as witneſſeth the Britiſh hiſtories, after he had vanquiſht & ſlaine Baſſianus (as the ſame hiſtories make mention) was of the Britains made king and ruler ouer them, in the yeare of our Lord 218, as Galfridus ſaith: but W. H. noteth it to be in the yeare 286. This Carauſius either to haue the aid & ſupport of the Picts, as in the Britiſh hiſtorie is conteined, either elſe to be at quietneſſe with them, being not otherwiſe able to reſiſt them, gaue to them the countries in the ſouth parts of Scotland, which ioine to England on the eaſt marches, as Yers, Louthian, and others.

218 Galfrid. Polychron. Fabian.

¶ But here is to be noted, that the Britiſh writers affirme, that theſe Picts which were thus placed in the ſouth parts of Scotland at this time, were brought ouer out of Scithia by Fulgentius, to aid him againſt Seuerus, and that after the death of Seuerus and Fulgentius, which both died of hurts receiued in the batell fought betwixt them at Yorke: the Picts toke part with Baſſianus, and at length betraied him in the battell which he fought againſt Carauſius: for he corrupting them by ſuch ſubtile practiſes as he vſed, they turned to his ſide, to the ouerthrow and vtter deſtruction of Baſſianus: for the which traitorous part they had thoſe ſouth countries of Scotland giuen vnto them for their habitation. But by the Scotiſh writers it ſhould appeare, that thoſe Picts which aided Fulgentius and alſo Carauſius, were the ſame that long before had inhabited the north parts of Britaine, now called Scotland. But whatſoeuer they were, truth it is (as the Britiſh hiſtories record) that at length one Alectus was ſent from Rome by the ſenat with 3 legions of ſouldiers to ſubdue Carauſius, which he did, and ſlue him in the field, as the ſame hiſtories make mention, after he had reigned the ſpace of 7, or 8, yeares: and in the yeare of our ſaluation two hundred, ninetie, three.

Galfridus.

Alectus. ALectus in hauing vanquiſhed and ſlaine Carauſius toke vpon him the rule and gouernment of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 293. This Alectus, when he had reſtored the land to the ſubiection of the Romans, did vſe great crueltie againſt ſuch Britains as had maintained the part of Carauſius, by reaſon whereof he purchaſed much euill will of the Britains, the which at length conſpired againſt him, and purpoſing to chaſe the Romans altogither out of their countrie, they procured one Aſclepiodotus (whome the Britiſh chronicles name duke of Cornewall) to take vpon him as chiefe captaine that enterpriſe. Whereupon the ſame Aſclepiodotus aſſembling a great armie, made ſuch harpe warres on the Romans, that they being chaſed from place to place, at length withdrew to the citie of London, and there held them till Aſclepiodotus came thither, and prouoked Alectus and his Romans ſo much, that in the end they iſſued forth of the citie, and gaue battell to the Britans, in the which much people on both parts were ſlaine, but the greateſt

Of whom our Britiſh hiſtories doo write after their maner. 293.

test number died on the Romans side: and amongst others, Alectus himselfe was slaine. the residue of the Romans that were left aliue, retired backe into the citie with a capteine of theirs named Lituus Gallus, and defended themselues within the walles for a time right valiantlie. Thus was Alectus slaine of the Britains, after he had reigned (as some suppose) about the terme of six yeares, or (as some other write) three yeares.

Fabian. Matth. West.

Asclepiodotus. Gal. Mon. Matt. West.

Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornewall, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeare of our Lord 292. After he had vanquished the Romans in battell, as before is recited, he laid his siege about the citie of London, and finallie by knightlie force entred the same, and slue the forenamed Lituus Gallus neere vnto a brooke, which in those daies ran through the citie, & threw him into the same broke: by reason whereof long after it was called Gallus or Wallus broke. And at this present the streete where the same broke did run, is called Walbrooke.

Walbrooke.

When after Asclepiodotus had ouercome all his enimies, he held this land a certeine space in good rest and quiet, and ministred iustice vprightlie, in rewarding the good, and punishing the euill. Till at length, through slanderous tongs of malicious persons, discord was raised betwixt the king and one Coill or Coilus, that was gouernour of Colchester: the occasion whereof appeareth not by writers. But whatsoeuer the matter was, there insued such hatred betwixt them, that on both parts great armies were raised, and meeting in the field, they sought a sore and mightie battell, in the which Asclepiodotus was slaine, after he had reigned 30 yeares.

Asclepiodotus slaine. Matt. West. *hath x. yeares.*

Eutropius.

Thus haue Geffrey of Monmouth and our common chronicles written of Carausius, Alectus, and Asclepiodotus, which gouerned here in Britaine.

But Eutropius the famous writer of the Romane historyes, in the acts of Diocletian hath in effect these words. About the same time Carausius, the which being borne of most base offspring, atteined to high honour and dignitie by order of renowmed chiualrie & seruice in the warres, receiued charge at Bolein, to keepe the seas quiet alongst the coasts of Britaine, France, and Flanders, and other countries thereabouts, bicause the Frenchmen, which yet inhabited within the bounds of Germanie, and the Saxons sore troubled those seas. Carausius taking oftentimes manie of the enimies, neither restored the goods to them of the countrie from whome the enimies had bereft the same, nor yet sent anie part thereof to the emperours, but kept the whole to his owne vse. Wherupon when suspicion arose, that he should of purpose suffer the enimies to passe by him, till they had taken some praies, that in their returne with the same he might incounter with them, and take that from them which they had gotten (by which subtile practise he was thought greatly to haue inriched himselfe) Maximianus that was fellow in gouernment of the empire with Diocletianus, remaining then in Gallia, and aduertised of these doings, commanded that Carausius should be slaine, but he hauing warning thereof rebelled, and vsurping the imperiall ornaments and title, got possession of Britaine, against whom (being a man of great experience in all warlike knowledge) when warres had beene attempted and followed in vaine, at length a peace was concluded with him, and so he enioied the possession of Britaine by the space of seuen yeares, & then was slaine by his companion Alectus, the which after him ruled Britaine for the space of three yeares, and was in the end oppressed by the guile of Asclepiodotus gouernour of the pretorie, or (as I maie call him) lord lieutenant of some precinct and iurisdiction perteining to the Romane empire. And so was Britaine recouered by the foresaid Asclepiodotus about ten yeares after that Carausius had first vsurped the gouernment there, and about the yeare of our Lord 300, as Polydor iudgeth, wherein he varieth much from Fabian and others.

The couetous practising of Carausius.

Maximianus purposeth to slea Carausius.

Polydor.

Eutropius.

300.

¶ But to shew what we find further written of the subduing of Alectus, I thinke it not amisse to set downe what Mamertinus in his oration written in praise of Maximianus doth report of this matter, which shall be performed in the chapter following.

Mamertinus.

The substance of that which is written *touching Britaine in a panegyrike oration* ascribed to *Mamertinus*, which he set foorth in *praise of the emperors Diocliſian and Maximian*: it is intituled onelie to Maximian, whereas neuertheless *both the emperors are praised*; *and likewise* (as ye may perceiue) Constantius who was father to Constantine the great is here spoken of, being chosen by the two foresaid emperors, to assist them by the name of Cæsar in rule of the empire: of whom hereafter more shall be said.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

ALl the compasse of the earth (most victorious emperor) being now recouered through your noble prowesse, not onelie so farre as the limits of the Romane empire had before extended, but also the enimies borders being subdued, when Almaine had beene so often vanquished, and Sarmatia so often restreined & brought vnder, the people called Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi so often put to flight, the Goth submitting himselfe, the king of Persia by offering gifts suing for peace: one despitefull reproch of so mightie an empire and gouernement ouer the whole greeued vs to the heart, as now at length we will not sticke to confesse, and to vs it seemed the more intollerable, bicause it onelie remained to the accomplishing of your perfect renowme and glorie. And verilie as there is but one name of Britaine, so was the losse to be estæmed smal to the common wealth of a land so plentifull of corne, so abundant with store of pastures, so flowing with veines of mettall, so gainfull with reuenues rising of customs and tributes, so enuironed with hauens, so huge in circuit, the which when Cesar, the founder of this your honourable title, being the first that entered into it, writ that he had found an other world, supposing it to be so big, that it was not compassed with the sea, but that rather by resemblance the great Ocean was compassed with it. Now at that time Britaine was nothing furnished with ships of warre; so that the Romans, soone after the warres of Carthage and Asia, had latelie beene exercised by sea against pirats, and afterwards by reason of the warres against Mithridates, were practised as well to fight by sea as land: besides this, the British nation then alone was accustomed but onelie to the Picts and

Vitungi, Quadi, Carpi, and people of Germanie and Polonie.

Picts and Irishmen.

and Irishmen, enimies halfe naked as yet & not vsed to weare armor, so that the Britains for lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romane puissance, insomuch that Cesar might by that voiage onelie glorie in this, that he had sailed and passed ouer the Ocean sea.

But in this wicked rebellious robberie, first the nauie that in times past defended the coasts of Gallia, was led away by the pirat when he fled his waies: and beside this, a great number of other ships were built after the mould of ours, the legion of Romane souldiers was won, and brought to take part with the enimie, and diuers bands of strangers that were also souldiers were shut vp in the ships to serue also against vs. The merchants of the parties of Gallia were assembled and brought together to the musters, and no small numbers of barbarous nations procured to come in aid of the rebels, trusting to inrich themselues by the spoile of the prouinces: and all these were trained in the wars by sea, through the instruction of the first attemptors of this mischieuous practise.

And although our armies were inuincible in force and manhood, yet were they raw and not accustomed to the seas, so that the fame of a greeuous and great trouble by warre that was toward by this shamefull rebellious robberie was blowne and sounded in ech mans eare, although we hoped well of the end. Vnto the enimies forces was added a long sufferance of their wicked practises without punishment, which had puffed vp the presumptuous boldnesse of desperate people, that they bragged of our stay, as it had bene for feare of them, whereas the disaduantage which we had by sea, seemed as it were by a fatall necessitie to deferre our victorie: neither did they beleeue that the warre was put off for a time by aduise and counsell, but rather to be omitted through despaire of doing anie good against them, insomuch that now the feare of common punishment being laid aside, one of the mates slue the archpirat or capteine rouer as I may call him, hoping in reward of so great an exploit, to obteine the whole gouernement into his hands.

Long sufferance of euill increaseth boldnesse in the authors.

Carausius slaine

This warre then being both so necessarie, so hard to enter vpon, so growne in time to a stubborne stiffenesse, and so well prouided for of the enimies part, you noble emperour did so take it in hand, that so soone as you bent the thundering force of your imperiall maiestie against that enimie, ech man made account that the enterprise was alreadie atchiued. For first of all, to the end that your diuine power being absent, the barbarous nations should not attempt anie new trouble (a thing chieflie to be foreseene) it was prouided for aforehand by intercession made vnto your maiestie: for you your selfe, you (I say) mightie lord Maximian eternall emperour, vouchedsafe to aduance the comming of your diuine excellencie by the nerest way that might be, which to you was not vnknowne. You therefore suddenlie came to the Rhine, and not with anie armie of horsemen or footmen, but with the terrour of your presence did preserue and defend all that frontire: for Maximian once being there vpon the riuage, counteruailed anie the greatest armies that were to be found. For you (most inuincible emperour) furnishing and arming diuers nauies, made the enimie so vncerteine of his owne doing and void of counsell, that then at length he might perceiue that he was not defended, but rather inclosed with the Ocean sea.

Here commeth to mind how pleasant and easefull the good lucke of those princes in gouerning the common wealth with praise was, which sitting still in Rome had triumphs and surnames appointed them of such nations as their capteins did vanquish. Fronto therefore, not the second, but match with the first honor of the Romane eloquence, when he yelded vnto the emperor Antoninus the renowme of the warre brought to end in Britaine, although he sitting at home in his palace within the citie, had committed the conduct and successe of that warre ouer vnto the same Fronto, it was confessed by him, that the emperour sitting as it were at the helme of the ship, deserued the praise, by giuing of perfect order to the full accomplishing of the enterprise. But you (most inuincible emperour) haue bene not onlie the appointer forth how all this voiage by sea, and prosecuting the warre by land should bee demeaned, as apperteined to you by vertue of your imperiall rule and dignitie, but also you haue beene an exhorter and setter forward in the things themselues, and through example of your assured constancie, the victorie was atchiued. For you taking the sea at Sluice, did put an irreuocable desire into their hearts that were readie to take ship at the same time in the mouth of the riuer of Saine, insomuch that when the capteins of that armie did linger out the time, by reason the seas and aire was troubled, they cried to haue the sailes hoised vp, and signe giuen to lanch forth, that they might passe forward on their iournie, despising certeine tokens which threatened their wrecke, and so set forward on a rainie and tempestuous day, sailing with a crosse wind, for no forewind might serue their turne.

Fronto compted Ciceros match.

The good lucke in a c[illegible] peine.

But what was he that durst not commit himselfe vnto the sea, were the same neuer so vnquiet, when you were once vnder saile, and set forward? One voice and exhortation was among them all (as report hath gone thereof) when they heard that you were once got forth vpon the water, What do we dout? what mean we to staie? He is now losed from land, he is forward on his waie, and peraduenture is alreadie got ouer: Let vs put all things in

prwfe,

prowſe, let vs venter throughanie dangers of ſea whatſoeuer. What is there that we may ſtand in feare of? we follow the emperour. Neither did the opinion of your good hap deceiue them: for as by report of them ſelues we dow vnderſtand, at that ſelſe time there fell ſuch a miſt and thicke fog vpon the ſeas, that the enimies nauie laid at the Ile of wight watching for their aduerſaries, and lurking as it were in await, theſe your ſhips paſſed by, and were not once perceiued, neither did the enimie then ſtaie although he could not reſiſt.

But now as concerning that the ſame vnuanquiſhable army fighting vnder your enſignes and name, ſtreightwaies after it came to land, ſet fire on their ſhips; what mowed them ſo to dow, except the admonitions of your diuine motion? Or what other reaſon perſuaded them to reſerue no furtherance for their flight, if næd were, nor to feare the doubtfull chances of war, nor (as the prouerbe ſaith) to thinke the hazard of martiall dealings to be common, but that by contemplation of your proſperous hap, it was verie certeine that there næded no doubt to be caſt for victorie to be obteined? There were no ſufficient forces at that preſent among them, no mightie or puiſſant ſtrength of the Romans, but they had onelie conſideration of your vnſpeakable fortunate ſucceſſe comming from the heauens aboue. For whatſoeuer battell dooth chance to be offered, to make full account of victorie, reſteth not ſo much in the aſſurance of the ſouldiers, as in the good lucke and felicitie of the capteine generall.

The good lucke in a capteine.

That ſame ringleader of the vngratious faction, what ment he to depart from that ſhore which he poſſeſſed? Why did he forſake both his nauie and the hauen? But that (moſt inuincible emperour) he ſtood in feare of your comming, whoſe ſailes he beheld readie to approch towards him, how ſoeuer the matter ſhould fall out, he choſe rather to trie his fortune with your capteins, than to abide the preſent force of your highnes. Ah mad man! that vnderſtood not, that whither ſoeuer he fled, the power of your diuine maieſtie to be preſent in all places where your countenance & banners are had in reuerence. But he flæing from your preſence, fell into the hands of your people, of you was he ouercome, of your armies was he oppreſſed.

To be ſhort, he was brought into ſuch feare, and as it were ſtill looking behind him, for doubt of your comming after him, that as one out of his wits and amazed, he will not what to dow, he haſted forward to his death, ſo that he neither ſet his men in order of battell, nor marſhalled ſuch power as he had about him, but onlie with the old authors of that conſpiracie, and the hired bands of the barbarous nations, as one forgetfull of ſo great preparation which he had made, ran headlong forwards to his deſtruction, inſomuch (noble emperour) your felicitie yeldeth this good hap to the common wealth, that the victorie being atchiued in the behalfe of the Romane empire, there almoſt died not one Romane: for as I heare, all thoſe fields and hills lay couered with none but onelie with the bodies of moſt wicked enimies, the ſame being of the barbarous nations, or at the leaſt-wiſe apparelled in the counterfet ſhapes of barbarous garments, glittering with their long yellow haires, but now with gaſhes of wounds and bloud all deformed, and lieng in ſundrie manners, as the pangs of death occaſioned by their wounds had cauſed them to ſtretch forth or draw in their maimed lims and mangled parts of their dieng bodies. And among theſe, the chiefe ringleader of the theeues was found, who had put off thoſe robes which in his life time he had vſurped and diſhonoured, ſo as ſcarſe was he couered with one peece of apparell whereby he might be knowne, ſo neere were his words true, vttered at the houre of his death, which he ſaw at hand, that he would not haue it vnderſtood how he was ſlaine.

Maximus found dead.

He had deſpoiled himſelfe of the imperiall robes, becauſe he would not be knowne if he chanced to be ſlaine.

Thus verelie (moſt inuincible emperour) ſo great a victorie was appointed to you by conſent of the immortall gods ouer all the enimies whome you aſſailed, but namelie the ſlaughter of the Frankeners and thoſe your ſouldiers alſo, which (as before I haue ſaid) through miſſing their courſe by reaſon of the miſt that lay on the ſeas, were now come to the citie of London, where they flue downe right in euerie part of the ſame citie, what multitude ſoeuer remained of thoſe hired barbarous people, which eſcaping from the battell, ment (after they had ſpoiled the citie) to haue got awaie by flight. But now being thus ſlaine by your ſouldiers, the ſubiects of your prouince were both preſerued from further danger, and tooke pleaſure to behold the ſlaughter of ſuch cruell enimies. O what a manifold victorie was this, worthie vndoubtedlie of innumerable triumphes! by which victorie Britaine is reſtored to the empire, by which victorie the nation of the Frankeners is vtterlie deſtroied, & by which manie other nations found acceſſaries in the conſpiracie of that wicked practiſe, are compelled to obedience. To conclude, the ſeas are purged and brought to perpetuall quietneſſe.

Francones ſiue Franci.

London in danger to be ſpoiled.

Glorie you therefore, inuincible emperour, for that you haue as it were got an other world, & in reſtoring to the Romane puiſſance the glorie of conqueſt by ſea, haue added to the Romane empire an element greater than all the compaſſe of the earth, that is, the mightie maine ocean. You haue made an end of the warre (inuincible emperour) that ſeemed as preſent to threaten all prouinces, and might haue ſpred abroad and burſt out in a flame, euen ſo largelie as the ocean ſeas ſtretch, and the mediterrane gulfs dow reach. Neither are we ignorant, although through feare of you that infection did feſter within the bowels of

Britaine

Britaine onelie, and proceeded no further, with what furie it would haue aduanced it selfe elsewhere, if it might haue bene assured of meanes to haue ranged abroad so far as it wished. For it was bounded in with no border of mounteine, nor riuer, which garrisons appointed were garded and defended but euen so as the ships, although we had your martiall prowes and prosperous fortune redie to relæue vs, & was still at our elbowes to put vs in feare, so farre as either sea reacheth or wind bloweth.

For that incredible boldnesse and vnworthie good hap of a few sillie captiues of the Frankeners in time of the emperour Probus came to our remembrance, which Frankeners in that season, conueieng awaie certeine vessels from the coasts of Pontus, wasted both Grecia and Asia, and not without great hurt and damage, ariuing vpon diuers parts of the shore of Libia, at length tooke the citie of Saragose in Sicile (an hauen towne in times past highlie renowmed for victories gotten by sea:) & after this passing thorough the streicts of Giberalterra, came into the Ocean, and so with the fortunate successe of their rash presumptuous attempt, shewed how nothing is shut vp in safetie from the desperate boldnesse of pirats, where ships maie come and haue accesse. And so therefore by this your victorie, not Britaine alone is deliuered from bondage, but vnto all nations is safetie restored, which might by the vse of the seas come to as great perils in time of warre, as to gaine of commodities in time of peace.

The piracie of the Frankeners called Franci or Francones.

Now Spaine (to let passe the coasts of Gallia) with hir shores almost in sight is in suertie: now Italie, now Afrike, now all nations euen vnto the fens of Meotis are void of perpetuall cares. Neither are they lesse ioifull, the feare of danger being taken awaie, which to feele as yet the necessitie had not brought them: but they reioise so much the more for this, that both in the guiding of your prouidence, and also furtherance of fortune, so great a force of rebellion by seamen is calmed, vpon the entring into their borders, and Britaine it selfe which had giuen harbour to so long a mischiefe, is euidentlie knowne to haue tasted of your victorie, with hir onelie restitution to quietnesse. Not without good cause therefore immediatlie, when you hir long wished reuenger and deliuerer were once arriued, your maiestie was met with great triumph, & the Britains replenished with all inward gladnesse, came forth and offered themselues to your presence, with their wiues and children, reuerencing not onlie your selfe (on whom they set their eies, as on one descended downe to them from heauen) but also euen the sailes and tackling of that ship which had brought your diuine presence vnto their coasts: and when you should set foot on land, they were readie to lie downe at your feet, that you might (as it were) march ouer them, so desirous were they of you.

Britains restored to quietnes.

The Britains receiue Maximian with great ioy and humblenesse.

Neither was it anie maruell if they shewed themselues so ioifull, sith after their miserable captiuitie so manie yeres continued, after so long abuling of their wiues, and filthie bondage of their children, at length yet were they now restored to libertie, at length made Romans, at length refreshed with the true light of the imperiall rule and gouernement: for beside the fame of your clemencie and pitie, which was set forth by the report of all nations, in your countenance (Cesar) they perceiued the tokens of all vertues, in your face grauitie, in your eies mildnesse, in your ruddie cheekes bashfulnesse, in your words iustice: all which things as by regard they acknowledged, so with voices of gladnesse they signified on high. To you they bound themselues by vow, to you they bound their children: yea and to your children they vowed all the posteritie of their race and offspring.

Diocletian and Maximian.

We trulie (O perpetuall parents and lords of mankind) require this of the immortall gods with most earnest supplication and heartie praier, that our children and their children, and such other as shall come of them for euer hereafter, may be dedicated vnto you, and to those whom you now bring vp, or shall bring vp hereafter. For what better hap can we wish to them that shall succeed vs, than to be enioiers of that felicitie which now we our selues enioy? The Romane common wealth doth now comprehend in one coniunction of peace, all whatsoeuer at sundrie times haue belonged to the Romans, and that huge power which with too great a burden was shronke downe, and riuen in sunder, is now brought to ioine againe in the assured ioints of the imperiall gouernment. For there is no part of the earth nor region vnder heauen, but that either it remaineth quiet through feare, or subdued by force of armes, or at the leastwise bound by clemencie. And is there anie other thing else in other parts, which if will and reason should moue men thereto, that might be obteined? Beyond the Ocean, what is there more than Britaine, which is so recouered by you, that those nations which are nere adioining to the bounds of that Ile, are obedient to your commandements? There is no occasion that may moue you to passe further, except the ends of the Ocean sea, which nature forbiddeth should be sought for. All is yours (most inuincible princes) which are accounted worthie of you, and thereof commeth it, that you may equallie prouide for euerie one, sith you haue the whole in your maiesties hands. And therefore as heretofore (most excellent emperour Diocletian) by your commandement Asia did supplie the desert places of Thracia with inhabitants transported thither, as afterward

Nations nere to Britaine obey the emperours.

(most

(moſt excellent emperour Maximian) by your appointment, the Frankeners at length brought to a pleaſant ſubiection, and admitted to liue vnder lawes, hath peopled and manured the vacant fields of the Neruians, and thoſe about the citie of Trier. And ſo now by your victories (inuincible Conſtantius Ceſar) whatſoeuer did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Troiſ, and Langres, beginneth to flouriſh with inhabitants of ſundrie nations: yea and moreouer that your moſt obedient citie of Autun, for whoſe ſake I haue a peculiar cauſe to reioiſe, by meanes of this triumphant victorie in Britaine, it hath receiued manie & diuerſe artificers, of whom thoſe prouinces were ful, and now by their workemanſhip the ſame citie riſeth vp by repairing of ancient houſes, and reſtoring of publike buildings and temples, ſo that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherlie incorporation to Rome, is againe to hir reſtored, when ſhe hath you eftſoones for hir founder. I haue ſaid (inuincible emperour) almoſt more than I haue beene able, & not ſo much as I ought, that I may haue moſt iuſt cauſe by your clemencies licence, both now to end, & often hereafter to ſpeake: and thus I ceaſſe.

The printed booke hath Nerius, but I take the H, to be ſtand in for N.

Artificers ſorth of Britaine.

What is to be obſerued and noted out of the panegyrike oration of Mamertinus afore remembred, with neceſſarie collections out of other Antiquaries.

The xxv. Chapter.

NOw let vs conſider what is to be noted out of this part of the foreſaid oration. It ſhould ſeeme that when the emperour Maximian was ſent into Gallia by appointment taken betwixt him and Diocleſian, after he had quieted things there, he ſet his mind forthwith to reduce Britaine vnder the obedience of the empire, which was at that preſent kept vnder ſubiection of ſuch princes as mainteined their ſtate, by the mightie forces of ſuch number of ſhips as they had got togither, furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, & namelie of able ſeamen, as well Britains as ſtrangers, among whome the Frankeners were chiefe, a nation of Germanie, as then highly renowmed for their puiſſance by ſea, neere to the which they inhabited, ſo that there were no rouers comparable to them.

Franci, or Frankeners, people of Germanie.

But becauſe none durſt ſtirre on theſe our ſeas for feare of the Britiſh fleet that paſſed to and fro at pleaſure, to the great annoiance of the Romane ſubiects inhabiting alongſt the coaſts of Gallia, Maximian both to recouer againe ſo wealthie and profitable a land vnto the obeiſance of the empire, as Britaine then was, and alſo to deliuer the people of Gallia ſubiect to the Romans, from danger of being dailie ſpoiled by thoſe rouers that were mainteined here in Britaine, he prouided with all diligence ſuch numbers of ſhips as were thought requiſite for ſo great an enterpriſe, and rigging them in ſundrie places, tooke order for their ſetting forward to his moſt aduantage for the eaſie atchiuing of his enterpriſe. He appointed to paſſe himſelfe from the coaſts of Flanders, at what time other of capteines with their fleets from other parts ſhould likewiſe make ſaile towards Britaine. By this meanes Alectus that had vſurped the title & dignitie of king or rather emperour ouer the Britains, knew not where to take head, but yet vnderſtanding of the nauie that was made readie in the mouth of Saine, he ment by that which maie be coniectured, to intercept that fleet, as it ſhould come forth and make ſaile forwards: and ſo for that purpoſe he laie with a great number of ſhips about the Ile of Wight.

But whether Aſclepiodotus came ouer with that nauie which was rigged on the coaſts of Flanders, or with ſome other, I will not preſume to affirme either to or fro, becauſe in deed Mamertinus maketh no expreſſe mention either of Alectus or Aſclepiodotus: but notwithſtanding it is euident by that which is conteined in his oration, that not Maximian, but ſome other of his capteins gouerned the armie, which ſlue Alectus, ſo that we maie ſuppoſe that Aſclepiodotus was chiefteine ouer ſome number of ſhips directed by Maximians appointment to paſſe ouer into this Ile againſt the ſame Alectus: and ſo maie this, which Mamertinus writeth, agree with the truth of that which we do find in Eutropius. Eutropius.

Here is to be remembred, that after Maximians had thus recouered Britaine out of their hands that vſurped the rule thereof from the Romans, it ſhould ſeeme that not onelie great numbers of artificers & other people were conueied ouer into Gallia, there to inhabit and furniſh ſuch cities as were run into decaie, but alſo a power of warlike youths was tranſported thither to defend the countrie from the inuaſion of barbarous nations. For we find that in the daies of this Maximian, the Britains expelling the Neruians out of the citie of Mons in Henaud, held a caſtell there, which was called Bretaimons after them, whereupon the citie was afterward called Mons, reteining the laſt ſyllable onlie, as in ſuch caſes it hath often happened.

Moreouer this is not to be forgotten, that as Humfrey Lhoyd hath very well noted in his booke intituled *Fragmenta hiſtoriæ Britannicæ*, Mamertinus in this parcell of his panegyrike oration doth make firſt mention of the nation of Picts, of all other the ancient Romane writers: ſo that not one before his time once nameth Picts or Scots. But now to returne where we left.

The ſtate of this Iland vnder bloudie *Diocleſian the perſecuting tyrant*, of Alban the firſt that ſuffered martyrdome in Britaine, what miracles were wrought at his death, whereof Lichfield tooke the name; of Coilus *earle of Colcheſter, whoſe daughter Helen was* maried to Conſtantius the emperour, as ſome authours ſuppoſe.

The xxvj. Chapter.

AFter that Britaine was thus recouered by the Romans, Diocleſian and Maximian ruling the empire, the Iland taſted of the cruelties that Diocleſian exerciſed againſt the chriſtians, in perſecuting them with all extremities, continuallie for the ſpace of ten yeeres. Amongſt

mongſt other, one Alban a citizen of Werlamcheſter, a towne now bearing his name, was the firſt that ſuffered here in Britaine in this perſecution, being conuerted to the faith by the zealous chriſtian Amphibalus, whom he receiued into his houſe: inſomuch that when there came ſergeants to ſeeke for the ſame Amphibalus, the foreſaid Alban to preſerue Amphibalus out of danger, preſented himſelfe in the apparell of the ſaid Amphibalus, & ſo being apprehended in his ſtead, was brought before the iudge and examined: and for that he refuſed to doo ſacrifice to the falſe gods, he was beheaded on the top of an hill ouer againſt the towne of Werlamcheſter aforeſaid where afterwards was builded a church and monaſterie in remembrance of his martyrdome, inſomuch that the towne there reſtored, after that Werlamcheſter was deſtroied, toke name of him, and ſo is vnto this day called ſaint Albons.

Beda and Gyldas.

It is reported by writers, that diuers miracles were wrought at the time of his death, inſomuch that one which was appointed to doo the execution, was conuerted, and refuſing to doo that office, ſuffered alſo with him: but he that toke vpon him to doo it, reioiſed nothing thereat, for his eies fell out of his head downe to the ground, togither with the head of that holie man which he had then cut off. There were alſo martyred about the ſame time two conſtant witneſſes of Chriſt his religion, Aaron and Julius, citizens of Caerleon Arwiſte. Moreouer, a great number of Chriſtians which were aſſembled togither to heare the word of life, preached by that vertuous man Amphibalus, were ſlaine by the wicked pagans at Lichfield, whereof that towne toke name, as you would ſay, The field of dead corpſes.

Beda. See the booke of acts and monuments ſet forth by maiſter Foxe.

Iohn Roſſus, Warwicenſ. in lib. de Wigornienſ. epiſc. Lichfield whereof it toke name.

To be briefe, this perſecution was ſo great and greeuous, and thereto ſo vniuerſall, that in maner the Chriſtian religion was thereby deſtroied. The faithfull people were ſlaine, their bookes burnt, and churches ouerthrowne. It is recorded that in one moneths ſpace in diuers places of the world there were 17000 godlie men and women put to death, for profeſſing the chriſtian faith in the daies of that tyrant Diocleſian and his fellow Maximian.

Gyldas.

Ran. Ceſtren. Matth. Weſt. Conſtantius.

Coelus.

COelus earle of Colcheſter began his dominion ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 262. This Coelus or Coell ruled the land for a certeine time, ſo as the Britains were well content with his gouernement, and liued the longer in reſt from inuaſion of the Romans, bicauſe they were occupied in other places: but finallie they finding time for their purpoſe, appointed one Conſtantius to paſſe ouer into this Ile with an armie, the which Conſtantius put Coelus in ſuch dread, that immediatlie vpon his arriuall Coelus ſent to him an ambaſſage, and concluded a peace with him, couenanting to pay the accuſtomed tribute, & gaue to Conſtantius his daughter in mariage called Helen, a noble ladie and a learned. Shortlie after king Coell died, when he had reigned (as ſome write) 27 yeeres, or (as other haue) but 13 yeeres.

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Fabian.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton.

¶But by the way touching this Coelus, I will not denie, but aſſuredly ſuch a prince there was: howbeit that he had a daughter named Helen, whom he maried vnto Conſtantius the Romane lieutenant that was after emperor, I leaue that to be decided of the learned. For if the whole courſe of the liues, as well of the father and the ſonne Conſtantius and Conſtantine, as likewiſe of the mother Helen, be conſideratelie marked from time to time, and yeere to yeere, as out of authors both Greeke and Latine the ſame may be gathered, I feare leaſt ſuch doubt maie riſe in this matter, that it will be harder to proue Helen a Britaine, than Conſtantine to be borne in Bithynia (as Nicephorus auoucheth.) But forſomuch as I meane not to ſtep from the courſe of our countrie writers in ſuch points, where the receiued opinion may ſeeme to warrant the credit of the hiſtorie, I will with other admit both the mother and ſonne to be Britains in the whole diſcourſe of the hiſtorie following, as though I had forgot what in this place I haue ſaid.

Lib. 7. cap. 18.

A further diſcourſe of the forenamed *Conſtantius and Helen, his regiment ouer* this Iland, his behauiour and talke to his ſonne *and councellors as he lay on his death-bed, a* deuiſe that he put in practiſe to vnderſtand what *true Chriſtians he had in his court, his commen*dable vertues, that the Britains in his time imbraced the chriſtian faith is prooued.

The xxvij. Chapter.

COnſtantius a ſenatour of Rome began to reigne ouer the Britains, in the yeere of our Lord 289, as our hiſtories report. This Conſtantius (as before ye haue heard) had to wife Helen the daughter of the foreſaid king Coel, of whome he begat a ſonne named Conſtantinus, which after was emperour, and for his worthie doings ſurnamed Conſtantine the great. S. Ambroſe following the common report, writeth that this Helen was a maid in an inne: and ſome againe write, that ſhe was concubine to Conſtantius, and not his wife. But whatſoeuer ſhe was, it appeareth by the writers of the Romane hiſtories, that Conſtantius being the daughters ſonne of one Criſpus, that was brother to the emperour Claudius, came into Britaine, and quieted the troubles that were raiſed by the Britains, and there (as ſome write) maried the foreſaid Helen, being a woman of an excellent beautie, whom yet [after] he was conſtreined to forſake, and to marrie Theodora the daughter in law of Herculeus Maximianus, by whome he had ſix ſonnes, and finallie was created emperour, togither with the ſaid Galerius Maximianus, at what time Diocleſianus and his fellow Herculeus Maximianus renounced the rule of the empire, and committed the ſame vnto them. The empire was then diuided betwixt them, ſo that to Conſtantius the regions of Italie, Affrike, France, Spaine and Britaine were aſſigned; & to Galerius, Illyricum, Greeia, and all the eaſt parts. But Conſtantine being a man void of ambition, was contented to leaue Italie and Affrike, ſuppoſing his charge to be great inough to haue the gouernement in his hands of France, Spaine, and Britaine (as Eutropius ſaith.)

Conſtantius.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 302. 289

Oroſius. Beda.

Cuſpinian.

Fabian.

But as touching his reigne ouer the Britains, we haue not to ſay further than as we find in our owne writers recorded: as for his gouernement in the empire, it is to be conſidered, that firſt he was admitted to rule as an aſſiſtant to Maximian vnder the title of Ceſar: and ſo from that time if you ſhall account his reigne, it maie comprehend 11, 12, or 13 yeeres, yea more or leſſe, according to the diuerſitie found in writers. Howbeit, if we ſhall reckon his reigne from the time onelie that Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned their title vnto the empire, we ſhall find that he reigned not fullie three yeeres. For whereas betweene the ſlaughter of Alectus, and the comming of Conſtantius, are accounted 8 yeeres and od moneths, not onelie thoſe eight yeeres, but alſo ſome ſpace of time before maie be aſcribed vnto

Conſtan-

Conſtantius: for although before his comming ouer into Britaine now this laſt time (for he had beene here afore, as it well appeareth) Aſclepiodotus gouerning as legat, albeit vnder Conſtantius, who had a great portion of the weſt parts of the empire vnder his regiment, by the title, as I haue ſaid, of Ceſar, yet he was not ſaid to reigne abſolutelie, till Diocleſian and Maximian reſigned. But now to conclude with the doings of Conſtantius, at length he fell ſicke at Yorke, and there died, about the yeere of our Lord 306.

306.

This is not to be forgotten, that whileſt he laie on his death-bed, ſomewhat before he departed this life, hearing that his ſonne Conſtantine was come, and eſcaped from the emperours Diocleſian and Maximian, with whom he remained as a pledge (as after ſhall be partlie touched) he receiued him with all ioy, and raiſing himſelfe vp in his bed, in preſence of his other ſonnes & counſellours, with a great number of other people and ſtrangers that were come to viſit him, he ſet the crowne vpon his ſonnes head, and adorned him with other imperiall robes and garments, executing as it were him ſelfe the office of an herald, and withall ſpake theſe words vnto his ſaid ſonne, and to his counſellours there about him: Now is my death to me more welcome, and my departure hence more pleaſant; I haue heere a large epitaph and monument of buriall, to wit, mine owne ſonne, and one whome in earth I leaue to be emperour in my place, which by Gods good helpe ſhall wipe away the teares of the Chriſtians, and reuenge the crueltie exerciſed by tyrants. This I reckon to chance vnto me in ſtead of moſt felicitie.

Niceph.

Trogoſit. hiſto.

After this, turning himſelfe to the multitude, he commanded them all to be of good comfort, meaning thoſe that had not forſaken true vertue and godlineſſe in Chriſt, which Chriſt he vndertooke ſhould continue with his ſonne Conſtantine in all enterpriſes, which in warres or otherwiſe he ſhould take in hand. That deuiſe alſo is worthie to be had in memorie, which he put in practiſe in his life time, to vnderſtand what true and ſincere Chriſtians were remaining in his court. For whereas he had beene firſt a perſecuter, and after was conuerted, it was a matter eaſie to perſuade the world, that he was no earneſt Chriſtian: and ſo the policie which he thought to worke, was the ſoner brought to paſſe, which was this.

He called togither all his officers and ſeruants, feining himſelfe to chooſe out ſuch as would do ſacrifice to diuels, and that thoſe onelie ſhould remaine with him and keepe their office, and the reſt that refuſed ſo to do, ſhould be thruſt out, and baniſhed the court. Heerupon all the courtiers diuided themſelues into companies: and when ſome offered willinglie to do ſacrifice, and other ſome boldlie refuſed: the emperour marking their dealings, ſharpelie rebuked thoſe which were ſo readie to diſhonour the liuing God, accounting them as traitours to his diuine maieſtie, and not worthie to remaine within the court gates: but thoſe that conſtantlie ſtood in the profeſſion of the chriſtian faith, he greatlie commended, as men worthie to be about a prince: and withall declared, that from thenceforth they ſhould be as chiefe counſellours and defenders both of his perſon and kingdome, eſteeming more of them than of all the treaſure he had in his coffers.

To conclude, he was a graue prince, ſober, vpright, courteous and liberall, as he which kept his mind euer free from couetous deſire of great riches: inſomuch that when he ſhould make anie great feaſt to his friends, he was not aſhamed to borow plate and ſiluer veſſell to ſerue his turne, and to furniſh his cupbord for the time, being contented for himſelfe to be ſerued in cruſes & earthen veſſels. He was wont to haue this ſaieng in his mouth, that better it was that the ſubiects ſhould haue ſtore of monie and riches, than the prince to keepe it cloſe in his treaſurie, where it ſerued to no vſe. By ſuch courteous dealing the prouinces which were in his charge flouriſhed in great wealth and quietneſſe. He was a verie wiſe and politike prince in the ordering of all weightie matters, and verie skilfull in the practiſe of warres, ſo that he ſtood the Romane empire in great ſtead, and was therefore highlie beloued of the ſouldiers, inſomuch that immediatlie after his deceaſſe, they proclaimed his ſonne Conſtantine emperour.

Pomponius Lætus.

He died in the yeere 306. as Matt. Weſt. hath noted, and reigned ouer the Britains but 11. yeeres as Galf. ſaith.

That the chriſtian faith was imbraced of the Britains in this ſeaſon, it maie appeare, in that Hilarius biſhop of Poictiers writeth to his brethren in Britaine, and Conſtantine in an epiſtle (as Theodoretus ſaith in his firſt booke and tenth chapter) maketh mention of the churches in Britaine: which alſo Sozomenus doth affirme. For the Britains after they had receiued the faith, defended the ſame euen with the ſhedding of their blood, as Amphibalus, who in this Conſtantius daies being apprehended, ſuffered at Redburne neere to Werlamcheſter, about 15 yeeres after the martyrdome of his hoſt S. Albane.

291.

Iohn Bale.

Conſtantine created emperour in Britaine, *he is ſollicited to take vpon him the* regiment of thoſe countries that his father gouerned, *he is requeſted to ſubdue Maxentius the* vſurping tyrant, Maximianus his father ſeeketh to *depoſe him, Conſtantines death is purpoſed by the ſaid Maximianus* the father & his ſonne Maxentius; Fauſta the daughter of Maximianus & wife to Conſtantine detecteth hir fathers trecherie to hir huſband, Maximianus is ſtrangled at Conſtantines commandement, league and alliance betweene him and Licinius, he is ſlaine, the empreſſe Helen commended, the croſſe of Chriſt found with the inſcription of the ſame, what miracles were wrought thereby, of the nailes wherewith Chriſt was crucified, Conſtantine commended, the ſtate of Britaine in his time.

The xxviij Chapter.

Conſtantine. 306

COnſtantine being the ſon of the forenamed Conſtantius, begot of his firſt wife Helen, the daughter (as ſome affirme) of Coell late king of the Britains, began to reigne in the yeere of our Lord 306. This worthie prince begotten of a Britiſh woman, & borne of hir in Britaine (as our writers do affirme) and created certeinlie emperour in Britaine, did doubtleſſe make his native countrie partaker of his high glorie and renowme, which by his great prowes, politike wiſedome, worthie gouernment, and other his princelie qualities moſt abundantlie planted in his noble perſon, he purchaſed and got thorough the circuit of the whole earth, inſomuch that for the high enterpriſes and noble acts by him happilie brought to paſſe and atchined, he was ſurnamed (as before is ſaid) the great Conſtantine. Whileſt this Conſtantine remained at Rome in manner as he had beene a pledge with Galerius in his fathers life time, he being then but yong, fled from thence, and with all poſt haſt returned to his father into Britaine, killing or howghing by the waie all ſuch horſſes as were appointed to ſtand at innes readie for ſuch as ſhould ride in poſt, leaſt being purſued, he ſhould haue beene ouertaken, and brought backe againe by ſuch as might be ſent to purſue him.

Eutropius. Sextus Aurelius Victor.

At his comming into Britaine, he found his fa-

ther ſore vexed with ſickneſſe, whereof ſhortlie after he died, and then was he by helpe of ſuch as were about him, incouraged to take vpon him as emperour: and namelie one Crocus king of the Almains, which had accompanied his father thither, aſſiſted him thereto, ſo that being proclaimed emperour, he tooke vpon him the rule of thoſe countries which his father had in gouernment, that is to ſaie, France, Spaine, the Alpes, and Britaine, with other prouinces here in the weſt: and ruling the ſame with great equitie and wiſdome, he greatlie wan the fauour of the people, inſomuch that the fame of his politike gouernment and courteous dealing being ſpred abroad, when Maxentius the tyrant that occupied the rule of the empire at Rome, and in Italie by wrongfull vſurping & abuſing the ſame, was growne into the hatred of the Romans and other Italians, Conſtantine was earneſtlie by them requeſted to come into Italie, and to helpe to ſubdue Maxentius, that he might reforme the ſtate of things there.

Crocus king of the Almains.

Maxentius the tyrant.

This Maxentius was ſonne to Herculeus Maximianus, and Conſtantine had married Fauſta the daughter of the ſaid Maximianus. Now ſo it was, that Maximianus, immediatlie after that his ſonne Maxentius had taken the rule vpon him, ſought meanes to haue depoſed him, and to haue reſumed and taken eftſoones into his owne hands the gouernment of the empire. But ſoliciting Diocleſian to doo the like, he was much reproued of him for his vnreaſonable and ambitious purpoſe: ſo that when he perceiued that neither Diocleſian would be thereto agreeable, nor induce the ſouldiers to admit him, they hauing alreadie eſtabliſhed his ſonne, began to deuiſe waies how to aſſure the ſtate more ſtronglie to his ſaid ſonne. And hearing that his ſonne in law Conſtantine was minded to come into Italie againſt him, he purpoſed to practiſe Conſtantines deſtruction, inſomuch that it was iudged by this which followed, that Herculeus Maximianus did but for a colour ſeeme to miſlike that which his ſaid ſon Maxentius had done, to the end he might the ſooner accompliſh his intent for the diſpatching of Conſtantine out of the waie.

Diſſimulation.

Hereupon (as it were) fleeing out of Italie, he came to Conſtantine, who as then hauing appointed lieutenants vnder him in Britaine, remained in France, and with all ioy and honour that might be, receiued his father in law: the which being earneſtlie bent to compaſſe his purpoſe, made his daughter Fauſta priuie thereto: which ladie (either for feare leaſt the concealing thereof might turne hir to diſpleaſure, either elſe for the entire loue which ſhe bare to hir husband) reuealed hir fathers wicked purpoſe. Whereupon whileſt Conſtantine went about to be reuenged of ſuch a traitorous practiſe, Herculeus fled to Marſiles, purpoſing there to take the sea, and ſo to retire to his ſonne Maxentius into Italie. But yer he could get awaie from thence, he was ſtrangled by commandement of his ſonne in law Conſtantine, and ſo ended his life, which he had ſpotted with manie cruell acts, as well in perſecuting the profeſſours of the chriſtian name, as others.

Ranulphus Ceſtrenſis.

Fauſta the daughter of Maximianus and wife to Conſtantine.

Marſiles.

Maximianus ſlaine. Ann. Chri. 322.

In this meane time had Maximianus adopted one Licinius to aſſiſt him in gouernance of the empire, proclaiming him Ceſar. So that now at one ſelſe time Conſtantine gouerned France and the weſt parts of the empire, Maxentius held Italie, Affrike, and Aegypt: and Maximianus which likewiſe had beene elected Ceſar, ruled the eaſt parts, and Licinius Illyzium and Grecia. But ſhortlie after, the emperour Conſtantine ioined in league with Licinius, and gaue to him his ſiſter in marriage, named Conſtantia, for more ſurtie of faithfull friendſhip to indure betwixt them. He ſent him alſo againſt Maximianus, who gouerning in the eaſt part of the empire, purpoſed the deſtruction of Conſtantine and all his partakers: but being vanquiſhed by Licinius at Tarſus, he ſhortlie after died, being eaten with lice. Conſtantine after this was called into Italie, to deliuer the Romans and Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, which occaſion ſo offered, Conſtantine gladlie accepting, paſſed into Italie, and after certeine victories got againſt Maxentius, at length ſlue him.

Licinius choſen fellow with Maximianus in the empire.

After this, when Maximianus was dead, who prepared to make warre againſt Licinius, that had married Conſtantia the ſiſter of Conſtantine, he finallie made warre againſt his brother in law the ſaid Licinius, by reaſon of ſuch quarrels as fell out betwixt them. In the which warre Licinius was put to the woorſe, and at length comming into the hands of Conſtantine, was put to death, ſo that Conſtantine by this meanes got the whole empire vnder his rule and ſubiection. He was a great fauourer of the Chriſtian religion, inſomuch that to aduance the ſame, he tooke order for the conuerting of the temples dedicated to the honour of idols, vnto the ſeruice of the true and almightie God. He commanded alſo, that none ſhould be admitted to ſerue as a ſouldier in the warres, except he were a chriſtian, nor yet to haue rule of anie countrie or armie. He alſo ordeined, the weeke before Eaſter, and that which followed to be kept as holie, and no perſon to doo anie bodilie woorks during the ſame.

Chriſtians honoured and cheriſhed.

He was much counſelled by that noble and moſt vertuous ladie his mother, the empreſſe Helen, who being a godlie and deuout woman, did what in hir laie, to moue him to the ſetting forth of Gods honour and increaſe of the chriſtian faith, wherein as yet he was not fullie inſtructed. ¶ Some writers alledge, that ſhe being at Jeruſalem, made diligent ſearch to find out the place of the ſepulchre of our Lord, and at length found it, though with much adoo: for the infidels had ſtopped it vp, and couered it with a heape of filthie earth, and builded aloft vpon the place, a chappell dedicated to Venus, where yong women vſed to ſing ſongs in honour of that vnchaſt goddeſſe. Helen cauſed the ſame to be ouerthrowne, the earth to be remoued, and the place cleanſed, ſo that at length the ſepulchre appeared, and faſt by were found there buried in the earth three croſſes and the nailes. But the croſſe whereupon our Sauiour was crucified, was knowne by the title written vpon it, though almoſt woorne out, in letters of Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine: the inſcription was this, *Ieſus Nazarenus rex Iudæorum*. It was alſo perceiued which was that croſſe by a miracle (as it is reported, but how trulie I can not tell) that ſhould be wrought thereby: for being laid to a ſicke woman, onlie with the touching thereof ſhe was healed. It was alſo ſaid, that a dead man was raiſed from death to life, his bodie onlie being touched therewith. Whereupon Conſtantine moued with theſe things, forbad that from thenceforth anie ſhould be put to death on the croſſe, to the end that the thing which afore time was accounted infamous and reprochfull, might now be had in honour and reuerence.

Polydor. The praiſe of the empreſſe Helen.

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The empreſſe Helen hauing thus found the croſſe, builded a temple there, & taking with hir the nailes, returned with the ſame to hir ſonne Conſtantine, who ſet one of them in the creſt of his helmet, another in the bridle of his horſſe, and the third he caſt into the ſea, to aſſwage and pacifie the furious tempeſts and rage thereof. She alſo brought with hir a parcell of that holie croſſe, and gaue it to hir ſonne the ſaid Conſtantine, the which he cauſed to be cloſed within an image that repreſented his perſon, ſtanding vpon a piller in the market place of Conſtantine, or (as ſome

Polydor.

Polydor.

some late writers haue) he caused it to be inclosed in a coffer of gold, adorned with rich stones and pearls, placing it in a church called Sessoriana, the which church he indued with manie great gifts and precious ornaments. Manie works of great zeale and vertue are remembered by writers to haue beene done by this Constantine and his mother Helen, to the setting forth of Gods glorie, and the aduancing of the faith of Christ. But to be briefe, he was a man in whome manie excellent vertues and good qualities both of mind and bodie manifestlie appeered, chiefliе he was a prince of great knowledge and experience in warre, and therewith verie fortunate, an earnest louer of iustice, and to conclude, borne to all honour.

The commendation of Constantine.

But now to speake somewhat of the state of Britaine in his time, ye shall vnderstand, that as before is recorded, at his going ouer into France, after that he was proclaimed emperour, he left behind him in Britaine certeine gouernours to rule the land, and amongst other one Maximinus a right valiant capteine. He toke with him a great part of the youth of Britaine, and diuerse of the chiefe men amongst the nobilitie, in whose approued manhood, loialtie, and constancie, he conceiued a great hope to go thorough with all his enterprises, as with the which being accompanied and compassed about, he passed ouer into Gallia, entred into Italie, and in euerie place ouercame his enimies.

Some write that Constantine thus conueieng ouer sea with him a great armie of Britains, and by their industrie obteining victorie as he wished, he placed a great number of such as were discharged out of wages, and licenced to giue ouer the warre, in a part of Gallia towards the west sea coast, where their posteritie remaine vnto this daie, maruellouslie increased afterwards, and somewhat differing from our Britains, the Welshmen, in manners and language. Amongst those noble men which he toke with him when he departed out of this land (as our writers do testifie) were three vncles of his mother Helen, that is to say, Hoelmus, Trahernus, and Marius, whome he made senators of Rome.

Gulielmus Malmes. Britains leuieng in the warres vnder Constantine.

Galfridus. Matt. West.

Of Octauius a British lord, his reigne *ouer the Britains, he incountereth with* Traherne first neere Winchester, and afterwards *in Westmerland: Octauius being discomfited* fleeth into Norway, Traherne is slaine, Octauius *sendeth for Maximianus, on whom he bestoweth his daughter* and the kingdome of Britaine: the death of Octauius, Helena builded the wals of Colchester and London, she dieth and is buried, Constantine departeth this life, Britaine reckoned among the prouinces that reteined the christian faith, Paulus a Spaniard is sent into Britaine, he dealeth roughlie with the people, Martinus the lieutenant excuseth them as innocent, his vnluckie end, Paulus returneth into Italie.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw in the meane time that Constantine had obteined and ruled the whole empire, Britaine as it were hauing recouered libertie, in that one of hir children being hir king, had got the gouernment of the whole earth, remained in better quiet than afore time she had done. But yet in the meane season, if we shall credit the British chronicle and Geffrey of Monmouth the interpretor thereof; there was a British lord, named Octauius or Octauian, as the old English chronicle nameth him, that was duke of the Gewilles, and appointed by Constantine to be ruler of the land in his absence the which Octauius (after that Constantine had recouered Rome and Italie, and was so busied in the affaires of the empire in those parts, that as was thought, he could not returne backe into Britaine) seized into his hands the whole dominion of Britaine, and held himselfe for king.

Octauius. Caxton. Gewilles inhabited the countrie which the west Saxons after held.

The name of Gewilles came in with the Saxons of Guny, &c.

Octauius.

THis Octauius then beginning his reigne ouer the Britains in the yeere of our Lord 329, prouoked Constantine to send against him one of his mothers vncles, the foresaid Traherne. This Trahernus, or as some name him Traherne, entred this land with three legions of souldiers, & in a sicilla nere vnto Winchester, was incountered by Octauius and his Britains, by whome after a sore battell there striken betwixt them; in the end Traherne was put to flight and chased, insomuch that he was constreined to forsake that part of the land, and to draw towards Scotland. Octauius hauing knowledge of his passage, followed him, & in the countrie of Westmerland ofttimes gaue him battell, but in that battell Octauius was put to the worsse, and constreined to forsake the land, fled into Norway, there to purchase aid: and being readie with such power as he there gathered, what of Britains and Norwegians, to returne into Britaine. Before his landing, he was aduertised that an earle of Britaine which bare him heartie good will, had by treason slaine Traherne. Octauius then comming to land, ofttimes got possession of Britaine, which should be (as Fabian gathereth) about the yeere of our Lord 329, in the 20 yeere of the reigne of the emperour Constantine, and about two yeres after that the said Octauius first toke vpon him to rule as king.

Galfridus. 329

Fabian.

Galfridus. This agreeth not altogither with that which Hector Boetius writeth, as in the Scotish chronicle appeareth.

Traherne slaine. See in the Scotish chronicles more of these matters. Matth. West. saith 316.

After this (as the British chronicle affirmeth) Octauius gouerned the land right noblie, and greatlie to the contentation of the Britains. At length when he was fallen in age, and had no issue but one daughter, he was counselled to send vnto Rome for one Maximianus, a noble young man, cosine to the emperour Constantine, on the part of his mother Helena, to come into Britaine, and to take to his wife the said daughter of Octauius, and so with hir to haue the kingdome. Octauius at the first meant to haue giuen hir in mariage vnto one Conan Meriadoc duke of Cornewall, which was his nephue: but when the lords would not thereto agree, at the length he appointed one Maurice sonne to the said Conan to go to Rome to fetch the forenamed Maximianus.

Maximianus is sent for.

Conan Meriadoc duke of Cornewall.

This agreeth not with that which is found in the Scotish chronicles.

Maurice according to his commission and instruction in that behalfe receiued, came to Rome, and declared his message in such effectuall sort, that Maximianus consented to go with him into Britaine, and so taking with him a conuenient number, set forward, and did so much by his iournies, that finallie he landed here in Britaine. And notwithstanding that Conan Meriadoc past not so much to haue beene doing with him, for malice that he conceiued towards him, because he saw that by his meanes he should be put beside the crowne, yet at length was Maximianus safelie brought to the kings presence, and of him honorablie receiued, and finallie the mariage was knit vp, and solemnized in all princelie maner. Shortlie after, Octauius departed out of this life, after he had reigned the terme of fiftie and foure yeares, as Fabian gathereth by that which diuers authors do write, how he reigned till the daies that Gratian and Valentinian ruled the Roman empire which began to gouerne in the yeare of our Lord (as he saith) 382, which is to be vnderstood of Gratian his reigne after the deceasse of his vncle Valens, for otherwise a doubt maie rise, because Valentine the father of Gratian admitted the said Gratian to the title of Augustus in the yeare of our Lord 351.

Maximianus commeth into Britains.

Octauius departeth this life.

382.

But to leaue the credit of the long reigne of Octauius, with all his and others gouernement and rule ouer the Britains ſince the time of Conſtantius, vnto our Britiſh and Scotiſh writers, let vs make an end with the gouernement of that noble emperour Conſtantine, an aſſured branch of the Britains race, as borne of that worthie ladie the empreſſe Helen, daughter to Coell earle of Colcheſter, and after king of Britaine (as our hiſtories do witneſſe.) Vnto the which empreſſe Conſtantine bare ſuch dutifull reuerence, that he did not onelie honour hir with the name of empreſſe, but alſo made hir as it were partaker with him of all his wealth, and in manie things was led and ruled by hir vertuous and godlie admonitions, to the aduancement of Gods honour, and maintenance of thoſe that profeſſed the true chriſtian religion. For the loue that ſhe bare vnto Colcheſter and London, ſhe walled them about, and cauſed great bricke and huge tiles to be made for the performance of the ſame, whereof there is great ſtore to be ſéene euen yet to this preſent, both in the walls of the toune and caſtell of Colcheſter, as a teſtimonie of the workemanſhip of thoſe daies. She liued 79 yeares, and then departed this life about the 21 yeare of hir ſonnes reigne. Firſt ſhe was buried at Rome without the walls of the citie with all funerall pompe, as to hir eſtate apperteined: but after hir corps was remoued and brought to Conſtantinople, where it was eftſoones interred. Hir ſonne the emperour Conſtantine liued till about the yeare of Chriſt 340, and then deceaſſed at Nicomedia in Aſia, after he had ruled the empire 32 yeares and od moneths.

Nicephorus. The empreſſe Helen departeth this life.

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The deceaſſe of the emperour Conſtantine.

We find not in the Romane writers of anie great ſtur here in Britaine during his reigne more than the Britiſh and Scotiſh writers haue recorded: ſo that after Traherne had reduced this land to quietneſſe, it maie be ſuppoſed, that the Britains liued in reſt vnder his gouernement, and likewiſe after vnder his ſonnes that ſucceeded him in the empire, till about the yeare 360, at what time the Picts and Scots inuaded the ſouth parts of the land.

360.

But now to end with Octauius, that the chriſtian faith remained ſtill in Britaine, during the ſuppoſed time of this pretended kings reigne, it maie appeare, in that amongſt the 36 prouinces, out of the which there were aſſembled aboue 300 biſhops in the citie of Sardica in Dacia, at a ſynod held there againſt the Euſebians, Britaine is numbred by Athanaſius in his ſecond apologie to be one. And againe, the ſaid Athanaſius in an epiſtle which he writeth to the emperour Iouinianus reciteth, that the churches in Britaine did conſent with the churches of other nations in the confeſſion of faith articuled in the Nicene councell. Alſo mention is made by writers of certeine godlie & learned men, which liued in offices in the church in thoſe daies, as Reſtitutus biſhop of London, which went ouer to the ſynod held at Arles in France, and alſo one Kibius Cozinnius ſonne to Salomon duke of Cornewall, and biſhop of Angleſey, who inſtructed the people that inhabited the parts now called Northwales, and them of Angleſey aforeſaid verie diligentlie.

Alſo.

Synodus anno. 351.

But now to ſpeake ſomewhat of things chancing in Britaine about this ſeaſon (as we find recorded by the Romane writers) ſome trouble was likelie to haue growne vnto the Britains by receiuing certeine men of warre that fled out of Italie into Britaine, whome the emperour Conſtantius would haue puniſhed, becauſe they had taken part with Magnentius his aduerſarie. Paulus a Spaniard and notarie was ſent ouer by him, with commiſſion to make inquirie of them, and to ſée them brought to light to anſwere their tranſgreſſions: which Paulus began to deale roughlie in the matter, whereof he was called Catena, and to rage againſt the Britains and partakers with the fugitiues, in that they had receiued and maintained them, as he alledged: but in the end being certified by Martinus the lieutenant of their innocencie, and fearing leaſt his extreame rigour might alienate the hearts of the inhabitants altogither, and cauſe them to withdraw their obedience from the Romane empire, he turned the execution of his furie from them vnto the Romans, and made hauocke of thoſe that he ſuſpected, till the ſaid Martinus fell at square with him, & thinking on a time to kill him, he drew his ſword and ſmote at him. But ſuch was his age and weakeneſſe, that he was not able to kill him or giue him anie deadlie wound: wherefore he turned the point of his ſword againſt himſelfe, and ſo ended his life, being contented rather to die than ſée his countriemen and ſubiects of the empire ſo to be abuſed. After this the ſaid Paulus returned backe againe into Italie from whence he came, after whoſe departure, it was not long yer he alſo was ſlaine, and then all the Scots and Picts ſore diſquieted the Romane ſubiects, for the ſuppreſſing of whoſe attempts Lupicinus was ſent ouer out of Gallia by Julianus, as ſhall be declared out of Amianus Marcellinus, after we haue firſt ſhewed what we find written in our owne writers concerning the Scots and Picts, who now began to rob and ſpoile the Britiſh inhabitants within the Romane prouinces here in this Ile, and that euen in moſt outragious maner.

Martinus lieutenant.

Marcellinus. lib. 14. Paulus a notarie.

Maximianus or Maximus gouerneth *this Ile, why writers ſpeake ill of him, ſtrife* betwixt him and Conan duke of Cornewall, *Maximus is proclaimed emperour in Britaine, he* tranſporteth the Britiſh youth ſeruiceable for warres *into France, little Britaine in France why ſo called, eleuen* thouſand maids ſent thither to match with Conans people, whereof ſome were drowned, and other ſome murthered in the way by Guanius king of Hunnes and Melga king of Picts, they flie into Ireland, murther requited with murther, the words of Gyldas concerning Maximus.

The xxx. Chapter.

Maximianus or Maximus

After the deceaſſe of Octauius or Octauian (as the old Engliſh chronicle nameth him) Maximianus or Maximus (as the Romane writers call him) began to rule the Britains in the yére of our Lord 383, he was the ſonne of one Leonine, and coſen germane to Conſtantine the great, a valiant perſonage, & hardie of ſtomach: but yet becauſe he was cruell of nature, and (as Fabian ſaith) ſomewhat perſecuted the chriſtians, he was infamed by writers: but the chiefe cauſe why he was euill reported, was for that he ſlue his ſouereigne lord the emperour Gratianus, as after ſhall appeare, for otherwiſe he is ſuppoſed worthie to haue had the rule of the empire committed to his hands in ech reſpect. Betwixt him and the abouenamed Conan Meridoc duke of Cornewall, chanced ſtrife and debate, ſo that Conan got him into Scotland, and there purchaſing aid, returned, and comming ouer Humber, waſted the countrie on ech ſide. Maximianus thereof hauing aduertiſement, raiſed his power and went againſt him, and ſo fighting with him diuers battels, ſometime departed alwaie with victorie, and ſometime with loſſe. At length through mediation

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ation of friends, a peace was made betwixt them. Finallie this Maximianus, or (as the Romane hiſtories ſay) Maximus, was by the ſouldiers choſen and proclaimed emperour here in Britaine: although ſome write that this was done in Spaine.

After he had taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, vpon deſire to haue inlarged his dominion, he aſſembled togither all the choſen youth of this land meet to doo ſeruice in the warres, with the which he paſſed ouer into France, & there (as our writers record) he firſt ſubdued the countrie ancientlie called Armorica, and ſlue in battell the king thereof called Imball. This done he gaue the countrie vnto Conan Meridoc, which was there with him, to hold the ſame of him, and of the kings of great Britaine for euer. He alſo commanded that the ſaid countrie from thenceforth ſhould be called litle Britaine, and ſo was the name changed. What people ſoeuer inhabited there before, the ancient name argueth that they were rather Britains than anie other: for Armorica in the Britiſh tong ſignifieth as much as a countrie lieng vpon the ſea.

Gal. Mon. Fabian. Caxton. Matth. Weſt. The Britiſh youth led forth of the realme by Maximus. Britaine in France.

Conan then placing himſelfe and his Britains in that quarter of Gallia, auoided all the old inhabitants, peopling that countrie onelie with Britains, which abhorring to ioine themſelues with women borne in Gallia, Conan was counſelled to ſend into Britaine for maids to be coupled with his people in mariage. Herevpon a meſſenger was diſpatched vnto Dionethus at that time duke of Cornwall, and gouernour of Britaine vnder Maximianus, requiring him to ſend ouer into litle Britaine 11000 maids, that is to ſay, 8000 to be beſtowed vpon the meaner ſort of Conans people, and 3000 to be ioined in mariage with the nobles and gentlemen. Dionethus at Conans requeſt, aſſembled the appointed number of maids, and amongſt them he alſo appointed his daughter Urſula, a ladie of excellent beautie, to go ouer and to be giuen in mariage to the foreſaid Conan Meridoc, as he had earneſtlie requeſted.

Dionethus duke of Cornwall. Maids ſent thith.

These number of maids were ſhipped in Thames, and paſſing forward toward Britaine, were by force of weather and rage of wind ſcattered abroad, and part of them drowned, and the reſidue (among whom was the foreſaid Urſula) were ſlaine by Guanius king of the Hunnes, and Melga king of the Picts, into whoſe hands they fell, the which Guanius and Melga were ſent by the emperour Gracian to the ſea coaſts of Germanie, to oppreſſe and ſubdue all ſuch as were friends and maintainers of the part of Maximianus. We find in ſome bookes, that there were ſent ouer at that time 51000 maids, that is to ſay, 11000 gentlewomen, and 40000 other.

Urſula the daughter of Dionethus.

After that Guanius and Melga had murthered the foreſaid virgins, they entred into the north parts of Britaine, where the Scots now inhabit, and began to make ſore warre on the Britains, whereof when Maximus was aduertiſed, he ſent into Britaine one Gratianus with three legions of ſouldiers, who bare himſelfe ſo manfullie againſt the enimies, that he conſtreined the ſaid Guanius and Melga to flie out of the land, and to withdraw into Ireland. In this meane while, Maximus hauing ſlaine the emperor Gratian at Lions in France, and after entring into Italie, was ſlaine himſelfe at Aquilia (after he had gouerned the Britains eight yeeres) by the emperour Theodoſius, who came in aid of Valentinian, brother to the ſaid emperor Gratian, as ye may find in the abridgement of the hiſtories of Italie.

Guanius and Melga.

¶ But here yet before we make an end with this Maximus or Maximianus, I haue thought good to ſet downe the words which we find in Gyldas, where he writeth of the ſame Maximus, vndoubtedlie a Britaine borne, nephue to the empreſſe Helen, and begotten by a Romane. At length (ſaith Gyldas) the ſpring of tyrants budding vp, and now increaſing into an huge wood, the Ile being called after the name of Rome, but holding neither maners nor lawes according to that name, but rather caſting the ſame from it, ſendeth forth a branch of hir moſt bitter planting, to wit Maximus, accompanied with a great number of warriors to gard him, and apparelled in the imperiall robes which he neuer ware as became him, nor put them on in lawfull wiſe, but (after the cuſtome of tyrants) was put into them by the mutining ſouldiers: which Maximus at the firſt by craftie policie rather than by true manhod winding in (as nets of his periurie and falſe ſuggeſtion) vnto his wicked gouernement the countries & prouinces next adioining, againſt the imperiall ſtate of Rome, ſtretching one of his wings into Spaine, and the other into Italie, placed the throne of his moſt vniuſt empire at Trier, and ſhewed ſuch rage in his wood dealing againſt his ſouereigne lords, that the one of the lawfull emperours he expelled out of Rome, and the other he bereft of his moſt religious and godlie life. Now without long tariance, compaſſed about with ſuch a furious and bold gard as he had got togither, at the citie of Aquilia he loſeth his wicked head, which had caſt downe the moſt honourable heads of all the world from their kingdome and empire.

Conſobrinus Helenæ imperatricis.

From thenceforth Britaine being depriued of all hir warlike ſouldiers and armies, of hir gouernors alſo (though cruell) and of an huge number of hir youth (the which following the ſteps of the foreſaid tyrant, neuer returned home againe) ſuch as remained being vtterlie vnſkilfull in feats of warre, were troden downe by two nations of beyond the ſeas, the Scots from the weſt, and the Picts from the north, and as men thus quite diſmaid, lament their miſerable caſe, not knowing what elſe to doo for the ſpace of manie yeeres togither. By reaſon of whoſe greeuous inuaſion and cruell oppreſſion wherewith ſhe was miſerablie diſquieted, ſhe ſendeth hir ambaſſadors vnto Rome, making lamentable ſute euen with teares to haue ſome power of men of warre ſent to defend hir againſt the enimies, promiſing to be true ſubiects with all faithfulnes of mind, if the enimie might be kept off and remoued. ¶ Thus farre Gyldas, and more, as in place hereafter you ſhall find recited.

Scotorum à circio, Pictorum ab aquilone.

What Gratianus it was that was ſent ouer from Rome into Britaine by Maximus, in what eſtimation the Britiſh ſouldiers haue beene, the priuie treaſon of Andragatius whereby Gratian came to his end: Maximus and his ſonne Victor doo ſucceed him in the empire, they are both ſlaine, Marcus the Romane lieutenant ſucceeding them is murthered, Gratianus alſo his ſucceſſour hath the ſame end, the election of Conſtantine a Britaine borne, his praiſe and diſpraiſe reported by writers, he goeth into France, maketh his ſonne Conſtance partaker with him of the empire, a ſharpe incounter betwixt his power and two brethrens that had the keeping of the Pyrenine hils, the iſſue of the battell.

The xxxj. Chapter.

BVt now where the Britiſh hiſtories, and ſuch of our Engliſh writers as follow them, make mention of one Gratianus a Romane, ſent ouer with three legions of ſouldiers by Maximus, as before ye haue heard: we maie

maie ſuppoſe that it was Gratianus the Britaine, that afterwards vſurped the imperiall dignitie héere in Britaine, in the daies of the emperour Honorius. For it ſtandeth neither with the concurrence of time nor yet with reaſon of the hiſtorie, that it ſhould be Gratianus, ſurnamed Funarius, father to Valentinian, and grandfather to the emperour Gratianus, againſt whome Maximus rebelled. And yet I remember not that anie of the Romane writers maketh mention of anie other Gratianus, being a ſtranger, that ſhould be ſent hither as lieutenant to gouerne the Romane armie, except of the foreſaid Gratianus Funarius, who (as appéereth by Amian. Marcellinus) was generall of the Romane armie héere in this Ile, and at length being diſcharged, returned home into Hungarie (where he was borne) with honour, and there remaining in reſt, was at length ſpoiled of his goods by the emperour Conſtantius as confiſcate, for that in time of the ciuill warres he had receiued Parentius, as he paſſ thorough his countrie.

Sextus Aurelius.

Lib. 30.

But let vs grant, that either Gratianus the Britaine, or ſome other of that name, was ſent ouer into Britaine (as before is ſaid) by Maximus, leaſt otherwiſe ſome errour may be doubted in the writers of the Britiſh hiſtories, as hauing happilie miſtaken the time and matter, bringing Gratianus Funarius to ſerue vnder Maximus, where peraduenture that which they haue read or heard of him, chanced long before that time by them ſuppoſed: and ſo thorough miſtaking the thing, haue made a wrong report, where neuertheleſſe it ſtandeth with great likelihood of truth, that ſome notable ſeruice of chiualrie was atchiued by the ſame Gratianus Funarius whileſt he remained héere in this Ile, if the truth might be knowne of that which hath béene written by authors, and happilie by the ſame Am. Marcellinus, if his firſt thirtéene bookes might once come to light and be extant.

But now to end with Maximus. William of Malmeſburie (as ye haue heard) writeth, that not Maximus, but rather Conſtantine the great firſt peopled Armorica: but yet he agréeth, that both Maximus, and alſo Conſtantinus the vſurper, of whome after ye ſhall heare, led with them a great number of the Britains out of this land, the which Maximus or Maximianus and Conſtantinus afterwards being ſlaine, the one by Theodoſius, and the other by Honorius, the Britains that followed them to the warres, part of them were killed, and the reſidue eſcaping by flight, withdrew vnto the other Britains which Conſtantine the great had firſt placed in Armorica. And ſo when the tyrants had left none in the countrie but rude people, nor anie in the townes but ſuch as were giuen to ſlouth and gluttonie, Britaine being void of all aid of hir valiant youth, became a prey to hir next neighbours the Scots and Picts.

Héere is yet to be conſidered, in what price the ſouldiers of the Britiſh nation were had in thoſe daies, with whoſe onelie puiſſance Maximus durſt take vpon him to go againſt all other the forces of the whole Romane empire: and how he proſpered in that dangerous aduenture, it is expreſſed ſufficientlie in the Romane hiſtories, by whoſe report it appéereth, that he did not onlie conquer all the hither parts of France and Germanie, namelie on this ſide the Rhine, but alſo found meanes to intrap the emperour Gratian by this kind of policie. He had a faithfull friend called Andragatius, who was admirall of the ſeas perteining to the empire. It was therefore agréed betwixt them, that this Andragatius (with a choſen companie of the armie) ſhould be carried in ſecret wiſe in a coch toward Lions, as if it had béene Conſtantia Poſthumia the empreſſe, wife to the emperour Gratian, hunting abroad therewithall, that the ſaid empreſſe was comming forwards on hir waie to Lions, there to méet with hir husband, for that vpon occaſion ſhe was verie deſirous to commune with him about certeine earneſt buſineſſe.

W. H. out of Paulus Diaco. lib. 12. & alijs.

Tripart. hiſt. lib. 9. cap. 21.

When Gratian heard héereof, as one miſtruſting no ſuch diſſimulation, he made haſt to mæte his wife, and comming at length without anie great gard about him, as one not in doubt of anie treaſon, approched the coch, where ſuppoſing to find his wife, he found thoſe that ſtreightwaies murthered him: ſo was he there diſpatched quite of life by the ſaid Andragatius, who leapt forth of the coch to worke that feate when he had him once within his danger.

Thus did the emperour Gratian finiſh his life in the 29 yéere of his age, on the 25 of Auguſt, in the yéere of Chriſt 383, and then died. Maximus ſucceeded him (making his ſonne Flauius Victor Nobiliſſimus his aſſiſtant in the empire) reigning fiue yéeres and two daies. In the beginning of his reigne Valentinian the yonger made great ſuit to him to haue his fathers bodie, but it would not be granted. Afterwards alſo Maximus was earneſtlie requeſted to come to an enterview with the ſame Valentinian, who promiſed him not onelie a ſafe conduct, but alſo manie other beneficiall good turnes beſide. Howbeit Maximus durſt not put himſelfe in anie ſuch hazard, but rather went to purſue Valentinian as an vſurper, and ſo at length chaſed him into Slauonie, where he was driuen to ſuch a ſtreight, that if Theodoſius had not come to releeue him, Maximus had driuen him thence alſo, or elſe by ſlaughter rid him out of the waie.

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This Flauius Victor he begat of his wife Helen the daughter of Eudes. H. Lhoyd.

Valentinian put in danger by Maximus.

His ſouldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that ſerued vnder the enſignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani Blondus.

But when Maximus thought himſelfe moſt aſſured, and ſo eſtabliſhed in the empire, as he doubted no perils, he liued careleſſe of his owne ſafegard, and therfore diſmiſſed his Britiſh ſouldiers, who retiring into the northweſt parts of Gallia, placed themſelues there among their countriemen, which were brought ouer by the emperour Conſtantius, whileſt Maximus paſſing the reſidue of his time in delights and pleaſures, was ſurpriſed in the end and ſlaine by Theodoſius néere vnto Aquilia, the 27 of Auguſt, in the yéere of Grace 388, and in the beginning of the firſt yéere of his reigne, or rather vſurpation, as more rightlie it maie be tearmed. His ſonne Flauius Victor ſurnamed Nobiliſſimus was alſo diſpatched and brought to his end, not farre from the place where his father was ſlaine, by the practiſe of one Arbogaſtes a Goth, which Flauius Victor was by the ſaid Maximus made regent of the Frankeners, and partaker (as before is ſaid) with him in the empire.

Europius. 388

Arbogaſtes.

After this, the Ile of Britaine remained in mætlie good quiet by the ſpace of twentie yéeres, till one Marcus (that was then legat, or as we maie call him lord lieutenant or deputie of Britaine for the Romans) was by the ſouldiers héere proclaimed emperour againſt Honorius, which Marcus was ſone after killed in a tumult raiſed among the people within few daies after his vſurpation began. Then one Gratianus a Britaine borne ſucceeded in his place, who was alſo ſlaine in the fourth moneth, after he had taken vpon him the imperiall ornaments. The ſouldiers not yet herewith pacified, proceeded to the election of an other emperour, or rather vſurper, and ſo pronounced a noble gentleman called Conſtantine, borne alſo in Britaine, to be emperour, who toke that honour vpon him in the 409 yéere after the birth of our Sauiour, continuing his reigne by the ſpace of two yeeres and od moneths, as the Romane hiſtories make mention. Some report this Conſtantine to be of no great towardlie diſpoſition worthie to gouerne an empire, and that the ſouldiers choſe him rather for the name ſake, becauſe they would

Gratianus a Britaine. He reigned foure yéeres (if we ſhall beléeue the Britiſh hiſtorie.

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would haue another Conſtantine, more than for anie vertues or ſufficient qualities found in his perſon. But other commend him both for manhood and wiſedome, wherein to ſpeake a truth, he deſerued ſingular commendation, if this one note of vſurpation of the imperiall dignitie had not ſtained his other noble qualities. But herein he did no more than manie other would haue done, neither yet after his inueſture did ſo much as was looked for at his hands.

Conſtantine being placed in the imperiall throne, gathered an armie with all poſſible indeuour, purpoſing out of hand to go ouer therwith into France, and ſo did, thinking thereby to win the poſſeſſion of that countrie out of the hands of Honorius, or at the leaſt to worke ſo, as he ſhould not haue the ſouldiers and people there to be againſt him, if he miſſed to ioine in league with the Suabeiners, Alanes, and Vandales, which he ſought to performe. But in the end, when neither of theſe his deuiſes could take place, he ſent ouer for his ſonne Conſtans (whome in his abſence his aduerſaries had ſhorne a monke) & making him partaker with him in the empire, cauſed him to bring ouer with him another armie, which vnder the conduct of the ſame Conſtans he ſent into Spaine to bring that countrie vnder his obeiſance.

This Conſtans therefore comming vnder the paſſages that lead ouer the Pyrenine mountains, Dindimus and Verianianus two brethren, vnto whome the keeping of thoſe paſſages was committed to defend the ſame againſt the Vandals, and all other enimies of the empire, were readie to reſiſt him with their ſeruants and countriemen that inhabited therabouts, giuing him a verie ſharpe incounter, and at the firſt putting him in great danger of an ouerthrow, but yet at length by the valiant prowes of his Britiſh ſouldiers, Conſtans put his aduerſaries to flight, and killed the two captains, with diuers other men of name that were partakers with him in the neceſſarie defenſe of that countrie againſt the enimies. When Conſtans had thus repelled thoſe that reſiſted him, the cuſtodie of the paſſages in the Pyrenine mounteins was committed vnto ſuch bands of Picts and other, as were appointed to go with him about the atchiuing of this enterprize, who hauing the poſſeſſion of thoſe ſtreits or paſſages in their hands, gaue entrie vnto other barbarous nations to inuade Spaine, who being once entered, purſued the former inhabitants with fire and ſword, ſetled themſelues in that countrie, and droue out the Romans.

His ſouldiers were Picts, and placed among other men of warre that ſerued vnder the enſignes of the empire, and named after Honorius, Honoriciani. Blondus.

Honorius ſendeth earle Conſtantius *to expell Conſtantine out of Gallia, the end* of Conſtantinus the father and Conſtans the *ſonne, the valure and proweſſe of the Britiſh* ſouldiers, the Britiſh writers reproued of neglig*ences for that thy haue inſerted fables into their* woorkes, whereas they might haue depoſed matters of truth.

The xxxij. Chapter.

THe emperour Honorius, perceiuing the reeling ſtate of the empire, determined forthwith to recouer it, before it fell altogither into ruine: and therefore ſent one Conſtantius an earle to driue Conſtantine out of Gallia, which he accordinglie performed: for after certeine bickerings, he ſlue the ſaid Conſtantine at Arles, although not without great bloudſhed. He purſued alſo the reſidue of the Britains, driuing them to the verie ſea coaſts, where they ſhrowded themſelues among the other Britains, that before were ſetled in the countrie there, anciently called (as before we ſaid) Armorica, that is, a region lieng on the ſea coaſt: for Ar in the Britiſh tong ſignifieth vpon; and Moure, perteining to the ſea. And as this Conſtantine the father was ſlaine by Conſtantius, ſo was Conſtans the ſonne killed at Vienna by one of his owne captaines named Gerontius: Whereby it came to paſſe, that Honorius ſhortlie after, hauing thus obteined the victorie of both theſe vſurpers, recouered the Ile, but yet not till the yeare next following, and that by the high induſtrie and great diligence of that valiant gentleman earle Conſtantius. The ſlaughter of Conſtantine & his ſonne happened in the 1 yeare of the 297 Olympiad, 465 after the comming of Ceſar, 1162 after the building of Rome, the dominicall letter being A, and the golden number 13, ſo that the recouering of the Iland fell in the yeare of our Lord 411. 411

Here alſo is eſtſoones to be conſidered the valure of the Britiſh ſouldiers, who following this laſt remembred Conſtantine the vſurper, did put the Romane ſtate in great danger, and by force brake through into Spaine, vanquiſhing thoſe that kept the ſtreits of the mounteins betwixt Spaine and Gallia, now called France, an exploit of no ſmall conſequence, ſith thereby the number of barbarous nations got free paſſage to enter into Spaine, whereof inſued manie battels, ſacking of cities and townes, and waſting of the countries, accordinglie as the furious rage of thoſe fierce people was moued to put their crueltie in practiſe.

¶ If therefore the Britaine writers had conſidered and marked the valiant exploits and noble enterpriſes which the Britiſh aids, armies and legions atchiued in ſeruice of the Romane emperours (by whome whileſt they had the gouernement ouer this Ile, there were at ſundrie times notable numbers conueied forth into the parties of beyond the ſeas, as by Albinus and Conſtantius, alſo by his ſonne Conſtantine the great, by Maximus, and by this Conſtantine, both of them vſurpers) if (I ſaie) the Britiſh writers had taken good note of the numbers of the Britiſh youth thus conueied ouer from hence, & what notable exploits they boldlie attempted, & no leſſe manfullie atchiued, they needed not to haue giuen care vnto the fabulous reports forged by their Bards, of Arthur and other their princes, worthie in deed of verie high commendation.

And pitie it is, that their fame ſhould be brought by ſuch meanes out of credit, by the incredible and fond fables which haue beene deuiſed of their acts ſo vnlike to be true, as the tales of Robin Hood, or the geſts written by Arioſt the Italian in his booke intituled *Orlando furioſo*, ſith the ſame writers had otherwiſe true matter inough to write of concerning the worthie feats by their countriemen in thoſe daies in forren parts boldlie enterpriſed, and no leſſe valiantlie accompliſhed, as alſo the warres which now and then they maintained againſt the Romans here at home, in times when they felt themſelues oppreſſed by their tyrannicall gouernment, as by that which is written before of Caratacus, Boadicia, Cartimandua, Venuſius, Galgagus, or Galdus (as ſome name him) and diuers other, who for their noble valiancies deſerue as much praiſe, as by tong or pen is able to be expreſſed. But now to returne vnto the Britiſh hiſtorie: we will proceed in order with their kings as we find them in the ſame mentioned, and therefore we haue thought good to ſpeake ſomewhat further of Gratian, from whome we haue digreſſed.

Gratia-

Gratians rough regiment procureth *his owne destruction, the comming of his* two brethren Guanius and Melga with their *armies, the Scots and Picts plague the Britains,* they send for aid to Rome, Valentinian sendeth Gallio Rauenna *to releeue them, the Romans refuse anie longer* to succour the Britains, whom they taught how to make armour and weapons, the Scots and Picts enter afresh into Britaine and preuaile, the Britains are brought to extreme miserie, ciuill warres among them, and what mischiefe doth follow thereupon, their lamentable letter to Actius for succour against their enimies, their sute is denied, at what time the Britains ceased to be tributaries to the Romans, they send ambassadors to the K. of Britaine in France, and obteine their sute.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

Gratianus.

GRatianus then, whome Maximus or Mariminus had sent into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) hearing that his maister was slaine, tooke vpon him the rule of this our Britaine, and made himselfe king therof, in the yeare 390. He was a Britaine borne, as Polydor writeth, 390. coniecturing so, by that he is named of authors to be Municeps, that is to saie, a free man of the countrie or citie where he inhabited. For his sterneuesse and rough gouernement, he was of the Britains (as the histories alledge) slaine and dispatched out of the waie, after he had reigned the space of foure yeares, or rather foure moneths, as should seeme by that which is found in autentike writers. Then the forenamed kings Guanius and Melga, which (as some write) were brethren, returned into this land with their armies increased with new supplies of men of warre, as Scots, Danes, the Norweyans, and destroied the countrie from side to side. For the Britains in this season were sore infeebled, and were not able to make anie great numbers of souldiers, by reason that Maximus had led forth of the land the floure and chiefest choise of all the British youth into Gallia, as before ye haue heard.

Of the Romane souldiers as Blondus saith.

Galfrid. Caxton.

Galfrid. Matth. West. Caxton.

Gyldas maketh no mention of these two kings Guanius and Melga of the Hunnes, but rehearsing this great destruction of the land, declareth (as before ye haue heard) that the Scots and Picts were the same that did all the mischiefe, whome he calleth two nations of beyond the seas, the Scots comming out of the northwest, and the Picts out of the northeast, by whome (as he saith) the land was ouerrun, and brought vnder for manie yeares after. Therefore the Britains being thus vexed, spoiled, and cruellie persecuted by the Scots and Picts (if we shall so take them) sent messengers with all speed vnto Rome to make sute for some aid of men of war to be sent into Britaine. Whereupon immediatlie a legion of souldiers was sent thither in the yeare 414, which easilie repelled the enimies, and chased them backe with great slaughter, to the great comfort of the Britains, the which by this meanes were deliuered from danger of vtter destruction, as they thought. 414.

Gyldas.

But the Romans being occasioned to depart againe out of the land, appointed the Britains to make a wall (as had beene afore time by the emperours Adrian, Antoninus and Seuerus) ouerthwart the countrie from sea to sea, stretching from Penuelton vnto the citie of Aclud, whereby the enimies might be staid from entring the land: but this wall being made of turfs and sods, rather than with stones, after the departure of the Romans was easlie ouerthrowne by the Scots and Picts, which eftsones returned to inuade the confines of the Britains, and so entring the countrie, wasted and destroied the places before them, according to their former custome. Herevpon were messengers with most lamentable letters againe dispatched towards Rome for new aid against those cruell enimies, with promise, that if the Romans would now in this great necessitie helpe to deliuer the land, they should be assured to find the Britains euermore obedient subiects, and redie at their commandement. Valentinianus (pitieng the case of the poore Britains) appointed another legion of souldiers (of the which one Gallio of Rauenna had the leauing) to go to their succours; the which arriuing in Britaine set on the enimies, and giuing them the ouerthrow, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue out of the countrie.

Gyldas and Beda.

Beda and Polychron.

Gyldas, Polychron. Beda. Matth. West.

Blondus.

Gallio Rauenna sent into Britaine.

The Romans thus hauing obteined the victorie, declared to the Britains, that from thenceforth they would not take vpon them for euerie light occasion so painefull a iournie, alledging how there was no reason why the Romane ensignes, with such a number of men of warre, should be put to trauell so far by sea and land, for the repelling and beating backe of a sort of scattering rouers and pilfring theeues. Wherfore they aduised the Britains to looke to their duties, and like men to indeuour themselues to defend their countrie by their owne force from the enimies inuasions. And because they iudged it might be an helpe to the Britains, they set in hand to build a wall yet once againe ouerthwart the Ile, in the same place where the emperour Seuerus caused his trench and rampire to be cast. This wall which the Romans now built with helpe of the Britains, was 8 foot in bredth and 12 in length, trauersing the land from east to west, & was made of stone.

A wall built ouerthwart the Iland. Beda.

After that this wall was finished, the Romans erhorted the Britains to plaie the men, and shewed them the way how to make armor & weapons. Besides this, on the coast of the east sea where their ships lay at rode, & where it was douted that the enimies would land, they caused towers to be erected, with spaces betwixt, out of the which the seas might be discouered. These things ordered, the Romans bad the Britains farewell, not minding to returne thither againe. The Romans then being gon out of the land, the Scots and Picts knowing thereof, by & by came againe by sea, & being more emboldened than before, bicause of the denial made by the Romans to come any more to the succor of the Britains, they tooke into possession all the north and vttermost bounds of the Ile, euen vnto the foresaid wall, therein to remaine as inhabitans. And whereas the Britains got them to their wall to defend the same, that the enimies should not passe further into the countrie, they were in the end beaten from it, and diuers of them slaine, so that the Scots and Picts entred vpon them and pursued them in more cruell maner than before, so that the Britains being chased out of their cities, townes, and dwelling houses, were constreined to flie into desert places, and there to remaine and liue after the maner of sauage people, and in the end began to rob and spoile one another, so to auoid the danger of staruing for lacke of food: and thus at the last the countrie was so destroied and wasted, that there was no other shift for them that was left aliue to liue by, except onelie by hunting and taking of wild beasts and foules. And to augment their miserie, the commons imputing the fault to rest in the lords and gouernors, arose against them in armes, but were vanquished and easilie put to flight at two seuerall times, being beaten downe and slaine (through lacke of skill) in such numbers, especiallie the latter time, that

Gyldas.

This chanced in the yere 4[illegible] as M.W. saith

Hector Boet. Rebellion.

that the reſidue which eſcaped, withdrew into the craggie mounteins, where within the buſhes and caues they kept themſelues cloſe, ſometimes comming downe and fetching away from the heards of beaſts and flocks of ſheepe which belonged to the nobles and gentlemen of the countrie, great booties to relieue them withall. But at length oppreſſed with extreme famine, when neither part could long remaine in this ſtate, as néeding one anothers helpe, neceſſitie made peace betwixt the lords and commons of the land, all iniuries being pardoned and cléerelie forgiuen. This ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, little leſſe than the tyrannicall practiſes of Maximus, for by the auoiding of the commons thus out of their houſes, the ground laie vntilled, whereof inſued ſuch famine for the ſpace of three yéeres togither, that a wonderfull number of people died for want of ſuſtenance.

Ciuill warre decaied the force of the Britains, what miſchiefs follow of ciuill warres.

Thus the Britains being brought generallie into ſuch extreame miſerie, they thought good to trie if they might purchaſe ſome aid of that noble man Actius, which at that time remained in France as yet called Gallia, gouerning the ſame as lieutenant vnder the emperor Honorius: and herevpon taking counſell togither, they wrote a letter to him, the tenor whereof inſueth.

Actius.

To Actius thriſe conſull.

THe lamentable requeſt of vs the Britains, beſeeching you of aid to bee miniſtred vnto the prouince of the Romane empire, vnto our countrie, vnto our wiues and children at this preſent, which ſtand in moſt extreame perill. For the barbarous people driue vs to the ſea, and the ſea driueth vs backe vnto them againe. Hereof riſe two kinds of death, for either we are ſlaine, or drowned, and againſt ſuch euils haue we no remedie nor helpe at all. Therefore in reſpect of your clemencie, ſuccor your owne we moſt inſtantlie require you, &c.

The Britains could get no aid frō the Romans.

Notwithſtanding the Britains thus ſought for aid at Actius hands as then the emperours lieutenant, yet could they get none; either for that Actius would not, as he that paſſed little how things went, bicauſe he bare diſpleaſure in his mind againſt Valentinian as then emperor; or elſe for that he could not, being otherwiſe conſtreined to imploie all his forces in other places againſt ſuch barbarous nations as then inuaded the Romane empire. And ſo by that means was Britaine loſt, and the tribute which the Britains were accuſtomed to pay to the Romans ceaſſed, iuſt fiue hundred yéeres after that Iulius Ceſar firſt entred the Ile.

The Britains being thus put to their ſhifts, manie of them as hunger-ſtarued were conſtrained to yéeld themſelues into the griping hands of their enimies, whereas other yet kéeping within the mounteins, woods and caues, brake out as occaſion ſerued vpon their aduerſaries, and then firſt (ſaith Gyldas) did the Britains not putting their truſt in man but in God (according to the ſaieng of Philo, Where mans helpe faileth, it is néedfull that Gods helpe be preſent) make ſlaughter of their enimies that had béene accuſtomed manie yéeres to rob and ſpoile them in maner as before is recited, and ſo the bold attempts of the enimies ceaſſed for a time, but the wickednelle of the Britiſh people ceaſſed not at all. The enimies departed out of the land, but the inhabitants departed not from their naughtie doings, being not ſo readie to put backe the common enimies, as to exerciſe ciuill warre and diſcord among themſelues. The wicked Iriſh people departed home, to make returne againe within a while after. But the Picts ſettled themſelues firſt at that ſeaſon in the vttermoſt bounds of the Ile, and there continued, making inſurrections oftentimes vpon their neighbours, and ſpoiling them of their goods.

Punniſhment ceaſeth, but ſin increaſeth.

This with more alſo hath Gyldas, and likewiſe Beda written of this great deſolation of the Britiſh people: wherein if the words of Gyldas be well weighed and conſidered, it maie lead vs to thinke, that the Scots had no habitations here in Britaine, but onelie in Ireland, till after this ſeaſon, and that at this preſent time the Picts, which before inhabited within the Iles of Orkenie, now placed themſelues in the north parts of Scotland, and after by proceſſe of time came and neſtled themſelues in Louthian, in the Mers, and other countries more nære to our borders. But to proceed.

Galfridus. Gyldas his words are to be conſidered.

The Britiſh hiſtories affirme, that whileſt the Britains were thus perſecuted by theſe two moſt cruell and fierce nations the Scots and Picts, the noble and chiefeſt men amongſt them conſulted togither, & concluded to ſend an honorable ambaſſage vnto Aldroenus as then king of little Britaine in Gallia, which Aldroenus was the fourth from Conan Meriadoc the firſt king there of the Britiſh nation. Of this ambaſſage the archbiſhop of London named Guetheline or Gosſeline was appointed the chiefe and principall, who paſſing ouer into little Britaine, and comming before the preſence of Aldroenus, ſo declared the effect of his meſſage, that his ſuit was granted. For Aldroenus agréed to ſend his brother Conſtantine ouer into great Britaine with a conuenient power, vpon condition, that the victorie being obteined againſt the enimies, the Britains ſhould make him king of great Britaine.

An ambaſſage ſent from the Britains vnto Aldroenus king of Britaine in France.

Conſtantine the brother of Aldroenus.

¶ Thus it is apparent, that this land of Britaine was without anie certeine gouernour (after that Gratian the vſurper was diſpatched) a number of yéeres togither, but how manie, writers in their account do varie. Fabian depoſeth by diuers coniectures that the ſpace betwixt the death of Gratian, and the beginning of the reigne of the ſaid Conſtantine, brother to Aldroenus, continued nine and thirtie yéeres, during which time the Britains were ſore and miſerablie afflicted by the inuaſions of the Scots and Picts, as before ye haue heard by teſtimonies taken out of Beda, Gyldas, Geffrey of Monmouth, and other writers both Britiſh and Engliſh.

Fabian.

What the Roman hiſtoriographer Marcellinus reporteth of the Scots, Picts, and Britains vnder the emperour Iulianus, Valentinianus and Valens, they ſend their vicegerents into Britaine, the diſquietneſſe of that time, London called Auguſta, the worthie exploits of Theodoſius in this Iland againſt the enimie, Valentinus a baniſhed malefactor deuiſeth his deſtruction, he is taken and executed, he reformeth manie diſorders and inconueniences, the firſt entring of the Saxons into Britaine, they are dawnted at the verie ſight of the Romane enſignes, the Saxons lieng in wait for their enimies are ſlaine euerie mothers ſonne.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

BVt now ſith no mention is made of the Scots in our hiſtories, till the daies of Maximus the vſurper or tyrant, as ſome call him, who began his reigne here in Britaine about the yéere of our Lord 383, and that till after he

Maximus.

he had bereft the land of the chiefest forces thereof, in taking the most part of the youth ouer with him: we find not in the same histories of anie troubles wrought to the Britains by that nation. Therefore we haue thought good heere to come backe to the former times, that we may shew what is found mentioned in the Romane histories, both before that time and after, as well concerning the Scots and Picts, as also the Saxons, and especiallie in Ammianus Marcellinus, where in the beginning of his twentith booke intreating of the doings of the emperour Julianus, he saith as followeth.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 20. The emperor Julianus.

In this state stood things in Illyricum or Slauonia, and in the east parts, at what time Constantius bare the office of consull the tenth time, and Julianus the third time, that is to say, in the yeere of our Lord 360, when in Britaine quietnesse being disturbed by roads made by the Scots and Picts, which are wild and sauage people, the frontiers of the countrie were wasted, and feare oppressed the prouinces wearied with the heape of passed losses. The emperor [he meaneth Julianus] as then remaining at Paris, and hauing his mind troubled with manie cares, doubted to go to the aid of them beyond the sea, as we haue shewed that Constantius did, least he should leaue them in Gallia without a ruler, the Almains being euen then prouoked and stirred vp to crueltie and warre.

360.

Scots and Picts trouble the state of this Ile.

Lupicinus sent into Britaine.

He thought good therefore to send Lupicinus vnto these places to bring things into frame and order, which Lupicinus was at that time maister of the armorie, a warlike person and skilfull in all points of chiualrie, but proud and high-minded beyond measure, and such one as it was doubted long whether he was more couetous or cruell. Herevpon the said Lupicinus setting forward the light armed men of the Heruli and Bataui, with diuers companies also of the people of Mesia now called Bulgarie; when winter was well entred and come on, he came himselfe to Bulleine, and there prouiding ships, and imbarking his men, when the wind serued his purpose, he transported ouer vnto Sandwich, and so marched forth vnto London, from thence purposing to set forward, as vpon aduise taken according to the qualitie of his businesse he should thinke meet and expedient.

Rutupis.

Of the displacing of these men the learned may see more in Am. Mar.

In the meane time, whilest Lupicinus was busie here in Britaine to represse the enimies, the emperour Constantius displaced certeine officers, and among other he deprined the same Lupicinus of the office of the maister of the armorie, appointing one Gumobarius to succeed him in that roome, before anie such thing was knowen in these parties. And where it was doubted least that Lupicinus (if he had vnderstood so much whilest he was yet in Britaine) would haue attempted some new trouble, as he was a man of a stout and loftie mind, he was called backe from thence, and withall there was sent a notarie vnto Bulleine, to watch that none should passe the seas ouer into Britaine till Lupicinus were returned: and so returning ouer from thence yer he had anie knowledge what was done by the emperour, he could make no sturre, hauing no such assistants in Gallia, as it was thought he might haue had in Britaine, if he should haue moued rebellion there.

Lib. 26.

The same Marcellinus speaking of the doings about the time that Valentinianus, being elected emperour, had admitted his brother Valens as fellow with him in gouernement, hath these words. In this season as though trumpets had blowne the sound to battell through out the whole Romane empire, most cruell nations being stirred vp, inuaded the borders next adioining, the Almans wasted and destroied the parts of Gallia and Rhetia, as the Sarmatians and Quadi did Pannonia, the Picts, the Saxons, the Scots, and the Attacots vexed the Britains with continuall troubles, and greeuous damages; the Austorians and the people of the Moores ouerran the countrie of Affrike more harpelie than in time past they had done; the pilfring troops of the Goths spoiled Thracia; the king of Persia set in hand to subdue the Armenians, and sought to bring them vnder his obeisance, hasting with all speed toward Numonia, pretending (though vniustlie) that now after the decease of Iouinius, with whome he had contracted a league and bond of peace, there was no cause of let that he ought not to recouer those things, which (as he alledged) did belong to his ancestors: and so forth.

The Quadi, Picts and Saxons.

Austorians.

The Goths.

Moreouer, the same Marcellinus in another place writeth in this wise, where he speaketh of the said Valentinianus. Departing therefore from Amiens, and hasting to Trier, he was troubled with greeuous newes that were brought him, giuing him to vnderstand, that Britaine by a conspiracie of the barbarous nations was brought to vtter pouertie, that Nectaridus one of the emperours house earle of the sea coast, hauing charge of the parties towards the sea, was slaine, and that the generall Bulchobaudes was circumuented by traines of the enimies. These things with great horrour being knowne, he sent Seuerus as then erle, or (as I may call him lord steward of his houshold) to reforme things that were amisse, if hap would so permit, who being shortlie called backe, Iouinius going thither, and with speed hasting forward, sent for more aid and a great power of men, as the instant necessitie then required. At length, for manie causes, and the same greatlie to be feared, the which were reported and aduertised out of that Ile, Theodosius was elected and appointed to go thither, a man of approued skill in warlike affaires, and calling togither an hardie youthfull number of the legions and cohorts of men of warre, he went forth, no small hope being conceiued of his good speed; the fame whereof sped and went afore him.

Lib. 27.

Comes maritimi tractus.

Comes domesticorum.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Theodosius sent into Britaine.

London called Augusta.

A little after, Marcellinus adding what people they were that troubled the Britains in this wise, saith thus. This shall suffice to be said, that in this season the Picts diuided into two nations Dicalidones, and Vecturiones, and in like maner the Attacotti a right warlike nation, and the Scots wandering here and there, made fowle worke in places where they came. The confines of France were disquieted by the Frankeners and Saxons borderers vnto them, euerie one as they could breaking forth, & doing great harme by cruell spoile, fire, and taking of prisoners. To withstand those doings if good fortune would giue him leaue, that most able capteine going vnto the vttermost bounds of the earth, when he came to the coast of Bullen which is seuered from the contrarie coast on the other side by the sea, with a narrow streight, where sometime the water goeth verie high and rough, & shortlie after becommeth calme & pleasant, without hurt to those that passe the same, transporting ouer at leasure, he arriued at Sandwich (or rather Richburrow) where there is a quiet road for vessels to lie at anchor. Whereupon the Batani and Heruli, with the souldiers of the legions called Iouij, and Victores, being companies that trusted well to their owne strength, marched forth & drew towards London, an ancient citie, which now of late hath bin called Augusta. Herewith dividing his armie into sundrie parts, he set vpon the troops of his enimies as they were abroad to forrey the countrie, pestered with burdens of their spoiles and pillage, and speedilie putting them to flight, as they were leading away those prisoners which they had taken, with their baties

Picts diuided into two nations.

Attacotti.

Theodosius passeth ouer into Britaine.

Batani Hollanders.

London called Augusta.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 26.

The Almans. The Sarmatians.

booties of cattell, he bereft them of their preie, the which the poore Britains that were tributaries had lost. To be briefe, reckoning the whole, except a small portion bestowed amongst the wearie souldiers, he entred the citie which before was oppressed with troubles, but now suddenlie refreshed, because there was hope of relefe and assured preseruation.

After this, when Theodosius was comforted with prosperous successe to attempt things of greater importance, and searching waies how with good aduise to worke suerlie: whilest he remained doubtfull what would insue, he learned as well by the confession of prisoners taken, as also by the information of such as were fled from the enimies, that the scattered people of sundrie nations which with practise of great crueltie were become fierce and vndanted, could not be subdued but by policie secretlie practised, and sudden inuasions. At length therefore setting forth his proclamations, and promising pardon to those that were gone awaie from their capteins or charge, he called them backe againe to serue: and also those that by licence were departed and laie scattered here and there in places abroad. By this meanes, when manie were returned, he being on the one side earnestlie prouoked, and on the other holden backe with thoughtfull cares, required to haue one Ciuilis by name sent to him to haue the rule of the prouinces in Britaine in steed of the other gouernours, a man of sharpe wit, and an earnest mainteiner of iustice. He likewise required that one Dulcitius a capteine renowmed in knowledge of warlike affaires might be sent ouer to him for his better assistance. These things were done in Britaine.

Theodosius requireth to haue Ciuilis sent to him.

Dulcitius.

Againe, in his eight and twentith booke, the same Marcellinus reciting further what the same Theodosius atchiued in Britaine, hath in effect these words: Theodosius verelie a capteine of worthie fame, taking a valiant courage to him, and departing from Augusta, which men of old time called London, with souldiers assembled by great diligence, did succour and relæue greatlie the decaied and troubled state of the Britains, preuenting euerie conuenient place where the barbarous people might lie in wait to do mischiefe: and nothing he commanded the meane souldiers to do, but that whereof he with a chéerefull mind would first take in hand to shew them an example. By this meanes accomplishing the rome of a valiant souldier, and fulfilling the charge of a noble capteine, he discomfited and put to slight sundrie nations, whome presumption (nourished by securitie) emboldened to inuade the Romane prouinces: and so the cities and castels that had béene sore endamaged by manifold losses and displeasures, were restored to their former state of wealth, the foundation of rest and quietnesse being laid for a long season after to insue.

London called Augusta.

But as these things were a doing, one wicked practise was in hand & like to haue burst forth, to the grieuous danger of setting things in broile, if it had not béene staied euen in the beginning of the first attempt. For there was one Ualentinus, borne in the parties of Ualeria adioining to Pannonia, now called Stiermarke, a man of a proud and loftie stomach, brother to the wife of Mariminus, which Ualentinus for some notable offense had béene banished into Britaine, where the naughtie man that could not rest in quiet, deuised how by some commotion he might destroy Theodosius, who as he saw was onelie able to resist his wicked purposes. And going about manie things both priuilie and apertlie, the force of his vnmeasurable desire to mischiefe still increasing, he sought to procure aswell other that were in semblable wise banished men, & inclined to mischiefe like him selfe, as also diuers of the souldiers, alluring them (as the time serued) with large promises of great wealth, if they would ioine with him in that enterprise. But euen now in the verie nicke, when they shuld haue gone in hand with their vngratious exploit, Theodosius warned of their intent, boldlie aduanced himselfe to see due punishment executed on the offendors that were forthwith taken and knowne to be guiltie in that conspiracie.

Ualentinus, Ualeria now Stiermarke.

Theodosius committed Ualentine with a few other of his trustie complices vnto the capteine Dulcitius, commanding him to see them put to death: but coniecturing by his warlike skill (wherein he passed all other in those daies) what might follow, he would not in anie wise haue anie further inquirie made of the other conspirators, least through feare that might be spread abroad in manie, the troubles of the prouinces now well quieted, should be againe reuiued. After this, Theodosius disposing himselfe to redresse manie things as need required, all danger was quite removed: so that it was most apparent, that fortune fauored him in such wise, that she left him not destitute of hir furtherance in anie one of all his attempts. He therefore restored the cities & castels that were appointed to be kept with garrisons, and the borders he caused to be defended and garded with sufficient numbers to keepe watch and ward in places necessarie. And hauing recouered the prouince which the enimies had gotten into their possession, he so restored it to the former state, that vpon his motion to haue it so, a lawfull gouernour was assigned to rule it, and the name was changed, so as from thencefoorth it should be called Ualentia for the princes pleasure.

Dulcitius is appointed to put Ualentinus to death.

A part of Britaine called Ualentia.

The Arcani, a kind of men ordeined in times past by our elders (of whome somewhat we haue spoken in the acts of the emperour Constance) being now by little and little fallen into vices, be remoued from their places of abiding, being openlie conuicted, that allured with bribes and faire promises, they had oftentimes bewraied vnto the barbarous nations what was done among the Romans: for this was their charge, to runne vp and downe by long iournies, and to giue warning to our captains, what sturre the people of the next confines were about to make.

Theodosius therefore hauing ordered these & other like things, most worthilie & to his high fame, was called home to the emperours court, who leauing the prouinces in most triumphant state, was highlie renowmed for his often and most profitable victories, as if he had béene an other Camillus or Cursor Papirius, and with the fauor and loue of all men was conueied vnto the sea side: and passing ouer with a gentle wind, came to the court, where he was receiued with great gladnesse and commendation, being immediatlie appointed to succéed in the rome of Ualence Iouinus that was maister of the horses. Finallie, he was called by the emperour Gratianus, to be associated with him in the imperiall estate, after the death of Ualence, in the yeare after the incarnation of our Sauior 379, and reigned emperour, surnamed Theodosius the great, about 16 yeares and 2 daies.

The praise of Theodosius.

379
Wil. Har.

Hereto also maie that be applied which the foresaid Marcellinus writeth in the same booke, touching the inuasion of the Sarons, the which (as Wolf. Lazius taketh it) entred then first into great Britaine, but were repelled of the emperour Ualentinianus the first, by the conduct and guiding of Seuerus. The same yéere (saith he) that the emperours were the third time consuls, there brake forth a multitude of Sarons, & passing the seas, entred strongle into the Romane confines: a nation fed oftentimes with the slaughter of our people, the brunt of

Wolf. Lazi.

Seuerus.

Nonnius Comes.

whoſe firſt inuaſion earle Nonnius ſuſteined, one which was appointed to defend thoſe parties, an approued capteine, & with continuall trauell in warres verie expert. But then incountring with deſperate and forlorne people, when he perceiued ſome of his ſouldiers to be ouerthrowne and beaten downe, and himſelfe wounded, not able to abide the often aſſaults of his enimies, he obteined this by informing the emperour what was neceſſarie and ought to be done, inſomuch that Seuerus, maiſter or (as I maie call him) coronell of the footmen, was ſent to helpe and releeue things that ſtood in danger: the which bringing a ſufficient power with him for the ſtate of that buſineſſe, when he came to thoſe places, he diuiding his armie into parts, put the Saxons in ſuch feare and trouble before they fought, that they did not ſo much as take weapon in hand to make reſiſtance, but being amazed with the ſight of the glittering enſignes, & the eagles figured in the Romane ſtandards, they ſtreight made ſute for peace, and at length after the matter was debated in ſundrie wiſe (becauſe it was iudged that it ſhould be profitable for the Romane commonwealth) truce was granted vnto them, and manie yong men (able for ſeruice in the warres) deliuered to the Romans according to the couenants concluded.

Seuerus coronell of the footmen.

After this the Saxons were permitted to depart without impeachment, & ſo to returne from whence they came, who being now out of all feare, and preparing to go their waies, diuers bands of footmen were ſent to lie priuilie in a certeine hid vallie ſo ambuſhed, as they might eaſilie breake forth vpon the enimies as they paſſed by them. But it chanced far otherwiſe than they ſuppoſed, for certeine of thoſe footmen ſtirred with the noiſe of them as they were comming, brake forth out of time, and being ſuddenlie diſcouered whileſt they haſted to vnite and knit themſelues togither, by the hideous crie and ſhout of the Saxons they were put to flight. Yet by and by cloſing togither againe, they ſtaied, and the extremitie of the chance miniſtring to them force (though not ſufficient) they were driuen to fight it out, and being beaten downe with great ſlaughter, had died euerie mothers ſonne, if a troope of horſſemen armed at all points (being in like maner placed in an other ſide at the entring of the waie to aſſaile the enimies as they ſhould paſſe) aduertiſed by the dolefull noiſe of them that fought, had not ſpedilie come to the ſuccour of their fellowes.

Then ran they togither more cruellie than before, and the Romans bending themſelues towards their enimies, compaſſed them in on each ſide, and with drawne ſwords ſlue them downe right, ſo that there was not one of them left to returne home to their natiue countrie to bring newes how they had ſped, nor one ſuffered to liue after anothers death, either to reuenge their ruine, or to lament their loſſe. Thus were the limits of the Romane empire preſerued at that time in Britaine, which ſhould ſeeme to be about the yeere of our Lord 399.

399

¶ Thus were the Romans, as commonlie in all their martiall affaires, ſo in this incounter verie fortunate, the happie iſſue of the conflict falling out on their ſide. And ſtrange it is to conſider and marke, how theſe people by a celeſtiall kind of influence were begotten and borne as it were to proweſſe and renowme; the courſe of their dealings in the field moſt aptlie anſwering to their name. For (as ſome ſuppoſe) the Romans were called of the Greeke word ῥώμη, ſignifieng power and mightineſſe: and in old time they were called Valentians, *A valendo*, of preuailing: ſo that it was no maruell though they were victorious ſubduers of forren people, ſithens they were by nature created and appointed to be conquerors, and thereof had their denomination.

Solinus. Adr. Iun.

What the poet Claudianus ſaith of the *ſtate of Britaine in the decaie of the* Romane empire, of the Scots and Picts cruellie *vexing the Britains, they are afflicted by inuaſion* of barbarous nations, the practiſe of the Saxons, *of the Scots firſt comming into this Iland, and from* whence, the Scotiſh chronographers noted for curioſitie and vanitie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

After this, in the time of the emperour Honorius, the Scots, Picts, and Saxons, did eftſoones inuade the frontiers of the Romane prouince in Britaine, as appeareth by that which the poet Claudianus writeth, in attributing the honour of preſeruing the ſame frontiers vnto the ſaid emperour, in his booke intituled *Panegericus tertij conſulatus* (which fell in the yeere 396) as thus:

Honorius the emperour.

396. Claudianus.

Ille leues Mauros nec falſo nomine Pictos
Edomuit, Scotumq; vago mucrone ſecutus,
Fregit Hyperboreas remis audacibus vndas,
Et geminis fulgens vtróq; ſub axe tropheis,
Tethyos alterna reſtuas calcauit arenas.

The nimble Mores and Picts by right
ſo cald, he hath ſubdude,
And with his wandring ſwoord likewiſe
the Scots he hath purſude:
He brake with bold couragious oare
the Hyperborean waue,
And ſhining vnder both the poles
with double trophies braue,
He marcht vpon the bubling ſands
of either ſwelling ſeas.

The ſame Claudianus vpon the fourth conſulſhip of Honorius, ſaith in a tetraſtichon as followeth:

Quid rigor æternus cæli? quid frigora proſunt?
Ignotumq; fretum? maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades, incaluit Pictonum ſanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos fleuit glacialis Hyberne.

What laſting cold? what did to them
the froſtie climats gaine?
And ſea vnknowne? bemoiſted all
with bloud of Saxons ſlaine
The Orknies were: with bloud of Picts
hath Thule waxed warme,
And yſie Ireland hath bewaild
the heaps of Scotiſh harme.

Thule ſome take to be Iſeland, ſome Scotland.

The ſame praiſe giueth he to Stilico the ſonne in law of Honorius, and maketh mention of a legion of ſouldiers ſent for out of Britaine in the periphraſis or circumlocution of the Gotiſh bloudie warres:

Venit & extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat fræna truci, ferróq; notatas
Perleget exanimes Picto moriente figuras.

A legion eke there came from out
the farthеſt Britains bent,
Which brideled hath the Scots ſo ſterne:
and marks with iron brent
Vpon their liueleſſe lims doth read,
whiles Picts their liues relent.

He rehearſeth the like in his ſecond *Panegericus* of Stilico, in moſt ample and pithie manner inſuing:

Inde Calidonio velata Britannia monſtro,
Ferro Picta genas, cuius veſtigia verrit
Cæruleus, Oceanúſq; æſtum mentitur amictus,
Me quoq; vicinis pereuntem gentibus inquit,
Muniuit Stilico, totam quum Scotus Hybernam
Mouit, & infeſto ſtrumauit remige Thetis,

Illius

Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, ne Pictum tremerem, ne littore toto
Proſpicerem dubijs venturum Saxona ventis.
Then Britaine whom the monſters did
of Calidone ſurround,
Whoſe cheekes were pearſt with ſcorching ſteele,
whoſe garments ſwept the ground,
Reſembling much the marble hew
of ocean ſeas that boile,
Said, She whom neighbour nations did
conſpire to bring to ſpoile,
Hath Stilico munited ſtrong, when
raiſd by Scots entice
All Ireland was, and enimies ores
the ſalt ſea ſome did ſlice,
His care hath cauſd, that I all feare
of Scotiſh broiles haue bard,
Ne doo I dread the Picts, ne looke
my countrie coaſts to gard
Gainſt Saxon troops, whom changing winds
ſent ſailing hitherward.

Britaine afflicted by inuaſion of barbarous nations.

Thus maie it appeare, that in the time when the Romane empire began to decaie, in like manner as other parts of the ſame empire were inuaded by barbarous nations, ſo was that part of Britaine which was ſubiect to the Romane emperors grieuouſlie aſſailed by the Scots and Picts, and alſo by the Saxons, the which in thoſe daies inhabiting all alongſt the ſea coaſts of low Germanie, euen from the Elbe vnto the Rhine, did not onelie trouble the ſea by continuall rouing, but alſo vſed to come on land into diuerſe parts of Britaine and Gallia, inuading the countries, and robbing the ſame with great rage and crueltie.

Sidon. Apol. li. 8. Epiſt.

To the which Sidonius Apollinaris thus alludeth, writing to Namatius. The meſſenger did aſſuredlie affirme, that latelie ye blew the trumpet to warre in your nation, and betwirt the office one while of a mariner, and another while of a ſouldier, waſted about the crooked ſhores of the ocean ſea againſt the fleet of the Saxons, of whome as manie rouers as ye behold, ſo manie archpirats ye ſuppoſe to ſee: ſo doo they altogither with one accord command, obeie, teach, and learne to plaie the parts of rouers, that euen now there is good occaſion to warne you to beware. This enimie is more cruell than all other enimies. He aſſaileth at vnwares, he eſcapeth by foreſeing the danger afore hand, he deſpiſeth thoſe that ſtand againſt him, he throweth downe the vnwarie: if he be followed he ſnappeth them vp that purſue him, if he flee he eſcapeth.

The piracie of the Saxons.

Of like effect for praiſe hereof be thoſe verſes which he wrote vnto Paulinus his panegyrike oration, following in Latine and in Engliſh verſe.

Tot maria intrauit duce te, longéq; remotas
Sole ſub occiduo gentes, victrix Cæſar
Signa Caledonios tranſnexit ad vſq; Britannos,
Fudérat & quanquam Scotum, & cum Saxone Pictum,
Hoſtes quæſiit quem iam natura vetabat,
Quærere plus homines, &c.
So manie ſeas I entred haue,
and nations farre by weſt,
By thy conduct, and Cæſar hath
his banners borne full preſt
Vnto the furtheſt Britiſh coaſt,
where Calidonians dwell,
The Scot and Pict with Saxons eke,
although he ſubdued fell,
Yet would he enimies ſeeke vnknowne
whom nature had forbid, &c.

Thus much haue we thought good to gather out of the Romane and other writers, that ye might perceiue the ſtate of Britaine the better in that time of the decaie of the Romane empire, and that ye might haue occaſion to marke by the waie, how not onelie the Scots, but alſo the Saxons had attempted to inuade the Britains, before anie mention is made of the ſame their attempts by the Britiſh and Engliſh writers. But whether the Scots had anie habitation within the bounds of Britaine, till the time ſuppoſed by the Britaine writers, we leaue that point to the iudgement of others that be trauelled in the ſearch of ſuch antiquities, onelie admoniſhing you, that in the Scotiſh chronicle you ſhall find the opinion which their writers haue conceiued of this matter, and alſo manie things touching the acts of the Romans done againſt diuerſe of the Britains, which they preſume to be done againſt their nation, though ſhadowed vnder the generall name of Britains, or of other particular names, at this daie to moſt men vnknowne. But whenſoeuer the Scots came into this Ile, they made the third nation that inhabited the ſame, comming firſt out of Scithia, or rather out of Spaine (as ſome ſuppoſe) into Ireland, and from thence into Britaine; next after the Picts, though their writers fetch a farre more ancient beginning (as in their chronicles at large apeereth) referring them to the reading thereof, that deſire to vnderſtand that matter as they ſet it forth. Polydor.

Thus farre the dominion and tribute of the Romans ouer this land of Britaine, which had continued (by the collection of ſome chronographers) the ſpace of 483. yeeres. And heere we thinke it conuenient to end this fourth booke.

THE FIFT BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of England.

Conſtantinus at the generall ſute of the Britains vndertaketh to gouerne this Iland, he is crowned king, his three ſonnes, he is traitorouſlie ſlaine of a Pict, Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of Conſtantine hauing bene a monke is created king, the ambitious & ſlie practiſes of duke Vortigerne to aſpire to the gouernment, he procureth certeine Picts and Scots to kill the king who had reteined them for the gard of his perſon, his craftie deuiſes and deepe diſſimulation vnder the pretenſe of innocencie, he winneth the peoples harts, and is choſen their king.

The firſt Chapter.

HAuing ended our former booke with the end of the Romane power ouer this Iland, wherein the ſtate of the Iland vnder them is at full deſcribed; it remaineth now that we proceed to declare, in what ſtate they were after the Romans had refuſed to gouerne them anie longer. Wherefore we will addreſſe our ſelues to ſaie ſomewhat touching the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as their hiſtories make mention.

Conſtantinus. Gal. Mon. Matt. Weſtm.

Conſtantinus the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, at the ſute and earneſt requeſt of the archbiſhop of London, made in name of all the Britains in the Ile of great Britaine, was ſent into the ſame Ile by his ſaid brother Aldroenus vpon couenants ratified in manner as before is recited, and brought with him a conuenient power, landing with the ſame at Totneſſe in Deuonſhire. Immediatlie after his cõming on land, he gathered to him a great power of Britains, which before his landing were hid in diuerſe places of the Ile. Then went he forth with them, and gaue battell to the enimies, whom he vanquiſhed: & ſlue that tyrannicall king Guanius there in the field (as ſome bookes haue.) Howbeit, this agreeth not with the Scotiſh writers, which affirme that they got the field, but yet loſt their king named Dongard (as in their hiſtorie ye maie read.)

Caxton ſaith 12000. but Gal. and others ſay but 2000.

The Britiſh hiſtorie diſagreeth from the Scotiſh.

But to proceed as our writers report the matter. When the Britains had thus ouercome their enimies, they conueied their capteine the ſaid Conſtantine vnto Ciceſter, and there in fulfilling their promiſe and couenant made to his brother, crowned him king of great Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 433, which was about the fift yeare of the emperour Valentinianus the ſecond, and third yeare of Clodius king of the Frankners after called Frenchmen, which then began to ſettle themſelues in Gallia, whereby the name of that countrie was afterwards changed and called France. Conſtantine being thus eſtabliſhed king, ruled the land well and noblie, and defended it from all inuaſion of enimies during his life. He begat of his wife three ſonnes (as the Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth) Conſtantius, Aurelius Ambroſius, and Uther ſurnamed Pendragon. The eldeſt, becauſe he perceiued him to be but dull of wit, and not verie toward, he made a monke, placing him within the abbie of Amphibalus in Wincheſter.

Match. Weſt. ſaith 435.

Finallie this Conſtantine, after he had reigned ten yeares, was traitorouſlie ſlaine one day in his owne chamber (as ſome write) by a Pict, who was in ſuch fauor with him, that he might at all times haue free acceſſe to him at his pleaſure. Neither the Romane writers, nor Beda, make ante mention of this Conſtantine: but of the other Conſtantine they write, which immediatlie after the vſurper Gratian was diſpatched out of the way (as before ye haue heard) was aduanced to the rule of this land, and title of emperour, onelie in hope of his name, and for no other reſpect of towardneſſe in him, afore time being but a meane ſouldier, without anie degree of honour. The ſaine Conſtantine (as writers record) going ouer into Gallia, adorned his ſonne Conſtantius with the title and dignitie of Ceſar, the which before was a monke, and finallie as well the one as the other were ſlaine, the father at Arles by earle Conſtantius, that was ſent againſt him by the emperour Honorius; and the ſonne at Vienna (as before ye haue heard) by one of his owne court called Gerontius (as in the Italian hiſtorie ye may ſee more at large.) This chanced about the yeare of our Lord 415.

In a grone of buſhes as Gal. ſaith, Matth. Weſt. Beda. Oroſius. Blondus.

415

¶ This haue we thought good to repeat in this place, for that ſome may ſuppoſe that this Conſtantine is the ſame that our writers take to be the brother of Aldroenus king of little Britaine, as the circumſtance of the time and other things to be conſidered may giue them occaſion to thinke, for that there is not ſo much credit to be yeelded to them that haue written the Britiſh hiſtories, but that in ſome part men may with iuſt cauſe doubt of ſundrie matters conteined in the ſame: and therfore haue we in this booke beene the more diligent to ſhew what the Romans and other forreine writers haue regiſtred in their bookes of hiſtories touching the affaires of Britaine, that the reader may be the better ſatiſfied in the truth. But now to returne to the ſequele of the hiſtorie as we find the ſame written by the Britiſh chronicklers.

After that Conſtantine was murthered (as before ye haue heard) one Uortigerus, or Uortigernus, a man of great authoritie amongſt the Britains, wrought ſo with the reſidue of the Britiſh nobilitie, that Conſtantius the eldeſt ſonne of their king the fore-remembred Conſtantine, was taken out of the abbie of Wincheſter where he remained, and was ſtreight-

This Uortigerne was duke of the Cruiſles and Cornewall, as Rad. Ceſt. reporteth. Gal. Mon.

ſtreight waies created king, as lawfull inheritour to his father.

Ye haue heard how Conſtantius was made a monke in his fathers life time, becauſe he was thought to be too ſoft and childiſh in wit, to haue anie publike rule committed to his hands: but for that cauſe ſpeciallie did Vortigerne ſéeke t' aduance him, to the end that the king being not able to gouerne of himſelfe, he might haue the chiefeſt ſwaie, and ſo rule all things as it were vnder him, preparing thereby a way for himſelfe to atteine at length to the kingdome as by that which followed was more apparentlie perceiued.

Conſtantius. Matt. Weſt. ſaith 445.

THis Conſtantius then the ſonne of Conſtantine, by the helpe (as before ye haue heard) of Vortigerne, was made king of Britaine, in the yere of our Lord 443. But Conſtantius bare but the name of king: for Vortigerne abuſing his innocencie and ſimple diſcretion to order things as was requiſite, had all the rule of the land, and did what pleaſed him. Whereupon firſt, where there had béene a league concluded betwixt the Britains, Scots and Picts, in the daies of the late king Conſtantine, Vortigerne cauſed the ſame league to be renewed, & waged an hundred Picts, and as manie Scots to be attendant as a gard vpon the kings perſon, diuers of the which (corrupting them with faire promiſes) he procured by ſubtile meanes in the end to murther the king, and immediatlie vpon the deed done, he cauſed the murtherers to be ſtrangled, that they ſhould not afterwards diſcloſe by whoſe procurement they did that déed. Then cauſed he all the reſidue of the Scots and Picts to be apprehended, and as it had béene vpon a zeale to ſée the death of Conſtantius reuerelie puniſhed, he framed ſuch inditements and accuſations againſt them, that chieflie by his meanes (as appeared) the giltleſſe perſons were condemned and hanged, the multitude of the Britiſh people being wonderfullie pleaſed therewith, and giuing great commendations to Vortigerne for that deed. Thus Conſtantius was made awaie in maner as before ye haue heard, after he had reigned (as moſt writers affirme) the ſpace of fiue yéeres.

Hector Boet.

Conſtantius murthered.

The ſubtile dealing of Vortigerne.

After his death was knowne, thoſe that had the bringing vp and cuſtodie of his two yonger brethren, Aurelius Ambroſe, and Uter Pendragon, miſtruſting the wicked intent of Vortigerne, whoſe diſſimulation and miſchieuous meaning by ſome great likelihods they ſuſpected, with all ſpéed got them to the ſea, and fled into little Britaine, there keeping them till it pleaſed God otherwiſe to prouide for them. But Vortigerne could ſo well diſſemble his craftie workings, and with ſuch conueiance and cloked maner could ſhadow and colour the matter, that moſt men thought and iudged him verie innocent and void of euill meaning: inſomuch that he obteined the fauour of the people ſo greatlie, that he was reputed for the onelie ſtaie and defender of the common wealth. Herevpon it came to paſſe, that when the councell was aſſembled to elect a new king, for ſo much as the other ſonnes of king Conſtantine were not of age ſufficient to rule, Vortigerne himſelfe was choſen, diuers of the nobles (whom he had procured thereto) giuing their voices to this his preferment, as to one beſt deſeruing the ſame in their opinion and iudgement. This Vortigerne, as by indirect meanes and ſiniſter procéedings he aſpired to the regiment, hauing no title thereunto, otherwiſe than as blind fortune vouchſafed him the preferment: ſo when he was poſſeſſed, but not intereſſed in the ſame, he vncaſed the crooked conditions which he had couertlie concealed, and in the end (as by the ſequele you ſhall ſée) did pull ſhame and infamie vpon himſelfe.

Aurelius Ambroſius. Uter Pendragon.

Vortigerne choſen king of Britaine.

Vortigerne furniſheth the tower with a garriſon, he bewraieth his cruelties, Aurelius and Pendragon brethren to the late king Conſtantius flie into Britaine Armorike, what common abuſes and ſinnes did vniuerſally concurre with a plentifull yeere, the Scots and Picts reuenge the death of their countrimen, Vortigerne is in doubt of his eſtate, the Britains ſend for ſuccour to the Saxons, they come vnder the conduct of Hengiſt and Horſus two brethren, where they are aſſigned to be ſeated, they vanquiſh the Scots, diſagreement in writers touching the Saxons firſt comming into this Iland.

The ſecond Chapter.

Vorti-gerne.

VOrtigerne, by ſuch diuelliſh meanes and vnconſtionable practiſes (as you heare) ſtealing away the hearts of the people, was choſen and made king of Britaine, in the yére of our Lord 446, in the conſulſhip of Aetius, 1197 of Rome, 4 of the 305 Olympiad, 4112 of the world, the dominicall letter going by F, the prime by 10, which fell about the 21 yére of the emperour Valentinianus, the ſame yere that Peronens began to reigne ouer the Frenchmen. Before he was made king, he was earle or duke of the Genuiſſes, a people which held that part of Britaine where afterwards the weſt Saxons inhabited. Now when he had with treaſon, fraud, and great deceit at length obteined that for the which he had long loked, he firſt of all furniſhed the tower of London with a ſtrong garriſon of men of warre. 446

Hector Boet.

Then ſtudieng to aduance ſuch onelie as he knew to be his ſpeciall friends and fauorers, he ſought by all meanes how to oppreſſe other, of whoſe good will he had neuer ſo little miſtruſt, and namelie thoſe that were affectionate towards the linage of Conſtantine he hated deadlie, and deuiſed by ſecret meanes which way he might beſt deſtroy them. But theſe his practiſes being at the firſt perceiued, cauſed ſuch as had the gouernance of the two yong gentlemen with all ſpéed to get them ouer (as ye haue heard) into Britaine Armorike, there to remaine out of danger with their vncle the king of that land. Diuers of the Britains alſo, that knew themſelues to be in Vortigernes diſpleaſure, failed ouer dailie vnto them, which thing brought Vortigerne into great doubt and feare of his eſtate. 415

Fabian.

It chanced alſo the ſame time, that there was great plentie of corne, & ſtore of fruit, the like wherof had not béene ſeene in manie yéeres before, and therevpon inſued riot, ſtrife, lecherie, and other vices verie heinous, & yet accounted as then for ſmall or rather none offenſes at all. Theſe abuſes & great enormities reigned not onelie in the temporaltie, but alſo in the ſpiritualtie and cheefe rulers in the ſame: ſo that euerie man turned the point of his ſpeare (euen as he had conſented of purpoſe) againſt the true and innocent perſon. The commons alſo gaue themſelues to voluptuous luſt, drunkenneſſe, and idle loitering, whereof followed fighting, contention, enuie, and much debate. Of this plentie therefore inſued great pride, and of this abundance no leſſe hautineſſe of mind, wherevpon followed great wickedneſſe, lacke of good gouernement and ſober temperancie, and in the necke of theſe as a iuſt puniſhment, death and mortalitie, ſo that in ſome countries ſcarſe the quicke ſufficed to burie the dead.

Gyldas.

Plentie of wealth accompanied with ſtore of ſinnes.

And for an augmentation of more miſchéefe, the Scots and Picts hearing how their countrimen

Scots and

Picts innade the Britains.

through the false suggestion of Uortigerne, had bene wrongfullie and most cruellie put to death at London, began with fire & sword to make sharpe & cruell warre against the Britains, wasting their countrie, spoiling and burning their townes, and giuing them the ouerthrow in a pitcht field, as in the Scotish historie more plainlie appeareth. To be breefe, the Britains were brought into such danger and miserie, that they knew not what way to take for remedie in such present perill, likelie to be ouerrun and vtterlie vanquished of their enimies. In the meane time Uortigerne not onelie troubled with these imminent euils, but fearing also the returne of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter Pendragon, began to consider of the state of things, and esteeming it most sure to worke by aduise, called togither the principall lords and chefe men of the realme to haue their counsell and opinion, how to proceed in such a weightie businesse: and so debating the matter with them, measured both his owne force, and also the force of his enimies, and according to the condition and state of the time, diligentlie considered and searched out what remedie was to be had and prouided.

At length after they had throughlie pondered all things, the more part of the nobles with the king also were of this mind, that there could be no better way deuised, than to send into Germanie for the Saxons to come to their aid: the which Saxons in that season were highlie renowmed for their valiancie in armes, and manifold aduentures heretofore atchiued. And so forthwith messengers were dispatched into Germanie, the which with monie, gifts, and promises, might procure the Saxons to come to the aid of the Britains against the Scots and Picts. The Saxons glad of this message, as people desirous of intertainment to serue in warres, chosing forth a picked companie of lustie yong men vnder the leading of two brethren Hingist and Horsus, got them aboord into certeine vessels appointed for the purpose, and so with all speed directed their course towards great Britaine.

Gyldas. Wil. Malm. Beda. The Saxons sent for.

10000 hath Hector Boet. Gyldas and Beda mention onelie but of 3 plates or gallies, but Hector Boet. hath 30.

This was in the yeare of our Lord 449, and in the second yeare of Uortigerns reigne, as the most autentike writers both British and English seeme to gather, although the Scotish writers, and name- 449
Hector Boetius do varie herein, touching the iust account of yeares, as to the perusers of the writings aswell of the one as the other may appeare. But others take it to be in the 4 yeare of his reigne: whereto Beda seemeth to agree, who noteth it in the same yeare that Martianus the emperour began to rule the empire, which was (as appeareth by the consularie table) in the consulship of Protogenes and Auserius, and third yeare of Peroneus king of France. Wil. Malm.

These Saxons thus arriuing in Britaine, were courteoulie receiued, & hartilie welcomed of king Uortigerne, who assigned to them places in Kent to inhabit, and forthwith led them against the Scots and Picts, which were entred into Britaine, wasting & destroieng the countrie before them. Herevpon comming to ioine in battell, there was a sore fight betwixt the parties for a while. But at length when the Saxons called to their remembrance that the same was the day which should either purchase to them an euerlasting name of manhood by victorie, or else of reproch by repulse, began to renew the fight with such violence, that the enimies not able to abide their fierce charge, were scattered and beaten downe on ech side with great slaughter.

Scots vanquished by the Saxons.

The king hauing gotten this victorie, highlie rewarded the strangers according to their well deseruings, as by whose prowesse he had thus vanquished his enimies, which (as some write) were come as farre as Stamford, and vsed at that time to fight with long darts and speares, whereas the Saxons fought onelie with long swords and axes. Henrie Hunt.

¶Some haue written that the Saxons were not sent for, but came by chance into the Ile, and the occasion to be this. There was an ancient custome among the English Saxons a people in Germanie, as was also at the first among other nations, that when the multitude of them was so increased, that the countrie was not able to sustein and find them, by commandement of their princes, they should chose out by lots a number of yong and able personages fit for the warrs, which should go forth to seeke them new habitations: and so it chanced to these, that they came into great Britaine, and promised to serue the king for wages in his warres. Gal. Mon.

Hengistus the Saxon shooteth at the *crowne and scepter of the kingdome by* craftie and subtile practises, a great number of *forren people arriue in Britaine for the augmen*tation of his power, of the faire ladie Rowen his *daughter, whereof Wednesdaie and Fridaie tooke their name,* of the Iutes, Saxons, and Angles, Vortigerne being inflamed with the loue of Hengists daughter forsaketh his owne wife and marrieth hir, Vortigerne giueth Hengist all Kent, the Saxons come ouer by heaps to inhabit the land, the British nobilitie moue the king to auoid them, he is depriued of his kingdome, the miserable destruction made by the Saxons in this land, skirmishes betwixt them and the Britains.

The third Chapter.

Hengist purposeth at the first to conquere the Britains.

NOw Hengistus, being a man of great wit, rare policie, and high wisedome, vnderstanding the kings mind, who wholie trusted to the valiancie of the Saxons, & herewithall perceiuing the fruitfulnesse of the countrie, presentlie began to consider with himselfe, by what wiles and craft he might by little little settle heere, and obteine a kingdome in the Ile, and so establish the same to him and his for euer.

Polydor.

Therefore first he indeuored with all speed possible to sense that part of the countrie, which was giuen him and his people, and to inlarge and furnish it with garisons appointed in places most conuenient. After this he did what he could to persuade the king, that a great power of men might be brought ouer out of Germanie, that the land being fortified with such strength, the enimies might be put in feare, and his subiects holden in rest. The king not foreseeing the hap that was to come, did not despise this counsell tending to the destruction of his kingdome, and so was more aid sent for into Germanie: whereupon now at this second time there arriued heere 16 vessels fraught with people, and at the same time came the ladie Rowen or Ronir (daughter to Hengist) a maid of excellent beautie and comelinesse, able to delight the eies of them that should behold hir, and speciallie to win the heart of Uortigerne with the dart of concupiscence, whereunto he was of nature much inclined, and that did Hengist well perceiue.

Wil. Malm. 18 Foists or plates saie the Scotish writers, and 5000 men in the same.

The Saxons call these vessels Ceoles, or Keeles, and our old histories Cogues.

There came ouer into this land at that time, and some after, three maner of people of the Germane nation, as Saxons, Vitæ or Iutes, and Angles, ouer the which the said Hengist and Horse being brethren, were capteines & rulers, men of right noble parentage in their countrie, as descended of that ancient prince Woden, of whom the English Saxon kings

The Vitæ or Iutæ are called Ibitti. Alex. Now.

kings do for the more part fetch their pedegrée, as lineallie deſcended from him, vnto whome alſo the Engliſh people (falſelie reputing him for a god) conſecrated the fourth daie of the weeke, as they did the firſt to his wife Frea: ſo that the ſame daies toke name of them, the one being called Wodenſdaie, and the other Freadaie, which words after in continuance of time by corruption of ſpéech were ſomewhat altered, though not much, as from Wodenſdaie, to Wedneſdaie, and from Freadaie to Fridaie. The foreſaid Woden was father to Weca, the father of Wetgiſius that was father to the foreſaid Hengiſtus and Horſus.

Wednesdaie, and Fridaie, whereof they came.

But now to rehearſe further touching thoſe thrée people which at this time came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie. Of the Vites or Iutes (as Beda recordeth) are the Kentiſhmen deſcended, and the people of the Ile of Wight, with thoſe alſo that inhabit ouer againſt the ſame Ile. Of the Sarons came the eaſt, the ſouth, & the weſt Sarons. Moreouer, of the Angles proceéded the eaſt Angles, the middle Angles or Mercies, and the Northerne men. That theſe Angles were a people of Germanie, it appeareth alſo by Cornelius Tacitus, who called them Anglij, which word is of thrée ſyllables (as Polydor ſaith:) but ſome write it Angli, with two ſyllables. And that theſe Angli, or Anglij were of no ſmall force and authoritie in Germanie before their comming into this land, maie appeare, in that they are numbred amongſt the twelue nations there, which had lawes and ancient ordinances apart by themſelues, according to the which the ſtate of their common wealth was gouerned, they being the ſame and one people with the Thuringers, as in the title of the old Thuringers lawes we find recorded, which is thus: *Lex Angliorum & Werinorum, hoc eſt Thuringorum*, The law of the Angles and Werinians that is to ſaie the Thuringers, which Thuringers are a people in Saronie, as in the deſcription of that countrie it maie appeare.

Cor. Tacitus.

Polydor.

But now to the matter. Hengiſt perceiuing that his people were highlie in Vortigernes fauour, began to handle him craftilie, deuiſing by what means he might bring him in loue with his daughter Ronir, or Rowen, or Ronowen (as ſome write) which he beléeued well would eaſilie be brought to paſſe, becauſe he vnderſtood that the king was much giuen to ſenſuall luſt, which is the thing that often blindeth wiſe mens vnderſtanding, and maketh them to dote, and to loſe their perfect wits: yea, and oftentimes bringeth them to deſtruction, though by ſuch pleaſant poiſon they féele no bitter taſte, till they be brought to the extreame point of confuſion in déed.

Rowen, or Ronowen Hengiſts daughter.

Wil. Malm.

A great ſupper therefore was prepared by Hengiſt, at the which it pleaſed the king to be preſent, and appointed his daughter, when euerie man began to be ſomewhat merrie with drinke, to bring in a cup of gold full of wine, and pleaſant wine, and to preſent it to the king ſaieng; Waſſail. Which ſhe did in ſuch comelie and decent maner, as ſhe that knew how to do it well inough, ſo as the king marueled greatlie thereat, and not vnderſtanding what ſhe ment by that ſalutation, demanded what it ſignified. To whom it was anſwered by Hengiſt, that ſhe wiſhed him well, and the meaning of it was, that he ſhould drinke after hir, ioining thereto this anſwer, Drinke haile. Whereupon the king (as he was informed) toke the cup at the damſels hand, and dranke.

Gal. Mon.

Waſſail, what it ſignifieth.

Finallie, this yong ladie behaued hir ſelfe with ſuch pleaſant words, comelie countenance, and amiable grace, that the king beheld hir ſo long, till he felt himſelfe ſo farre in loue with hir perſon, that he burned in continuall deſire to inioy the ſame: inſomuch that ſhortlie after he forſoke his owne wife, by the which he had thrée ſonnes, named Vortimerus, Catagrinus, and Paſcentius, and required of Hengiſt to haue his daughter, the ſaid Rowen, or Ronowen in mariage. Hengiſt at the firſt ſéemed ſtrange to grant to his requeſt, and excuſed the matter, for that his daughter was not of eſtate and dignitie méet to be matched with his maieſtie. But at length as it had béene halfe againſt his will he conſented, and ſo the mariage was concluded & ſolemnized, all Kent being aſſigned vnto Hengiſt in reward, the which countrie was before that time gouerned by one Gworongus (though not with moſt equall iuſtice) which Gworongus was ſubiect vnto Vortigerne, as all other the potentats of the Ile were.

Polydor. Fabian.

Wil. Malm.

This mariage and liberalitie of the king towards the ſtrangers much offended the minds of his ſubiects, and haſtened the finall deſtruction of the land. For the Sarons now vnderſtanding the affinitie had betwixt the king and Hengiſt, came ſo faſt ouer to inhabit héere, that it was wonder to conſider in how ſhort a time ſuch a multitude could come together: ſo that bicauſe of their great number and approued puiſſance in warres, they began to be a terrour to the former inhabitants the Britains. But Hengiſt being no leſſe politike in counſell than valiant in armes, abuſing the kings lacke of diſcretion, to ſerue his owne turne, perſuaded him to call out of Germanie his brother Occa and his ſonne named Ebuſa, being men of great valure, to the end that as Hengiſt defended the land in the ſouth part: ſo might they kéepe backe the Scots in the north.

Wil. Malm.

Gal. ſaith he was Hengiſts ſonne, and Ebuſa his vncles ſonne.

Hérevpon by the kings conſent, they came with a power out of Germanie, and coaſting about the land, they ſailed to the Iles of Orknie, and ſore vexed the people there, and likewiſe the Scots and Picts alſo, and finallie arriued in the north parts of the realme, now called Northumberland, where they ſetled themſelues at that preſent, and ſo continued there euer after: but none of them taking vpon him the title of king, till about 99 yéres after their firſt comming into that countrie, but in the meane time remaining as ſubiects vnto the Saron kings of Kent. After their arriuall in that prouince, they oftentimes fought with the old inhabitants there, and ouercame them, chaſing away ſuch as made reſiſtance, and appeaſed the reſidue by receiuing them vnder allegiance.

Occa and Ebuſa leaders of Saxons.

Wil. Malm. de Regib.

When the nobles of Britaine ſaw and perceiued in what danger the land ſtood, by the dailie repaire of the huge number of Sarons into the ſame, they firſt conſulted togither, and after reſorting to the king, moued him that ſome order might be taken for the auoiding of them, or the more part of them, leaſt they ſhould with their power and great multitude vtterlie oppreſſe the Britiſh nation. But all was in vaine, for Vortigerne ſo eſteemed and highlie fauoured the Sarons, and namelie by reaſon of the great loue which he bare to his wife, that he little regarded his owne nation, no nor yet anie thing eſteemed his owne naturall kinſmen and chiefe friends, by reaſon whereof the Britains in fine depriued him of all kinglie honour, after that he had reigned 16 yéares, and in his ſtéed crowned his ſonne Vortimer.

Fabian. The great numbers of ſtrangers ſuſpected to the Britains.

Vortigerne depriued.

Gyldas and Beda make no mention of Vortimer, but declare that after the Sarons were receiued into this land, there was a couenant made betwixt them and the Britains, that the Sarons ſhould defend the countrie from the inuaſion of enimies by their knightlie force: and that in conſideration hereof, the Britains ſhould find them prouiſion of victuels: wherewith they held them contented for a time. But afterwards they began to pike quarrels, as though they were not ſufficientlie furniſhed of their due proportion of victuels, threatening that if they were

Gyldas. Beda. H. Hunt.

were not prouided more largelie thereof, they would ſurelie ſpoile the countrie. So that without deferring of time, they performed their words with effect of deeds, beginning in the eaſt part of the Ile, & with fire and ſword paſſed forth, waſting and deſtroieng the countrie, till they came to the vttermoſt part of the weſt: ſo that from ſea to ſea, the land was waſted and deſtroied in ſuch cruell and outragious manner, that neither citie, towne, nor church was regarded, but all committed to the fire: the prieſts ſlaine and murthered euen afore the altars, and the prelats with the people without anie reuerence of their eſtate or degree diſpatched with fire and ſword, moſt lamentablie to behold.

The miſerable deſtruction made by the Saxons in this land.

Manie of the Britains ſéeing the demeanour of the Saxons, fled to the mounteins, of the which diuers being apprehended, were cruellie ſlaine, and other were glad to come forth and yéeld themſelues to eternall bondage, for to haue reléeſe of meate and drinke to aſſwage their extremitie of hunger. Some other got them out of the realme into ſtrange lands, ſo to ſaue themſelues; and others abiding ſtill in their countrie, kept them within the thicke woods and craggie rocks, whither they were fled, liuing there a more wretched life, in great feare and vnquietneſſe of mind.

But after that the Saxons were departed and withdrawne to their houſes, the Britains began to take courage to them againe, iſſuing forth of thoſe places where they had lien hid, and with one conſent calling for aid at Gods hand, that they might be preſerued from vtter deſtruction, they began vnder the conduct of their leader Aurelius Ambroſe, to prouoke the Saxons to battell, and by the helpe of God they obteined victorie, according to their owne deſires. And from thence forth, one while the Britains, and an other while the Saxons were victors. So that in this Britiſh people, God (according to his accuſtomed maner) as it were preſent Iſraell, tried them from time to time, whether they loued him or no, vntill the yeare of the ſiege of Badon hill, where afterwards no ſmall ſlaughter was made of the enimies: which chanced the ſame yeare in the which Gyldas was borne (as he himſelfe witneſſeth) being about the 44 yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine.

Gyldas was borne in the yeare of our Lord 493.

Thus haue Gyldas & Beda (following by likelihood the authoritie of the ſame Gyldas) written of theſe firſt warres begun betweene the Saxons and Britains. But now to go forth with the hiſtorie, according to the order of our chronicles, as we doo find recorded touching the doings of Uortimer that was elected king (as ye haue heard) to gouerne in place of his father Uortigerne.

Vortimer is created king in the roome of his father Vortigerne, he giueth the Saxons ſore and ſharpe battels, a combat fought betweene Catigerne the brother of Vortimer and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, wherein they were both ſlaine, the Britains driue the Saxons into the Ile of Tenet, Rowen the daughter of Hengiſt procureth Vortimer to be poiſoned, the Saxons returne into Germanie as ſome writers report, they ioine with the Scots and Picts againſt the Britains and diſcomfit them.

The fourth Chapter.

Vortimer. Fabian. Galf. Mon. Matth. Weſt. ſaith 454. 464

THis Uortimer being eldeſt ſonne to Uortigerne, by the common aſſent of the Britains was made king of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 464, which was in the fourth yeare of the emperour Leo the firſt, and about the firſt yeare of Childericus king of France, as our common account runneth, which is far diſagreeing from that whereof W. Harriſon doth ſpeake in his chronologie, who noteth Uortigerne to be depoſed in the 8 after his exaltation to the crowne, 454 of Chriſt, and 5 currant after the comming of the Saxons, which concurreth with the 4420 of the world, and 8 of Meroneus, as by his chronologie doth more at large appeare.

But to proceed, Uortimer being thus aduanced to the gouernment of the realme, in all haſt made ſore warre againſt the Saxons, and gaue vnto them a great battell vpon the riuer of Derwent, where he had of them the vpper hand. And the ſecond time he fought with them at a place called Epiſford, or Aglisthrop, in the which incounter Catagrine or Catigernus the brother of Uortimer, and Horſus the brother of Hengiſt, after a long combat betwixt them two, either of them ſlue other: but the Britains obteined the field (as ſaith the Britiſh hiſtorie.) The third battell Uortimer fought with them néere to the ſea ſide, where alſo the Britains chaſed the Saxons, & droue them into the Ile of Tenet. The fourth battell was ſtricken néere to a more called Colcmore, the which was ſore fought by the Saxons, and long continued with great danger to the Britains, becauſe the foreſaid more incloſed a part of their hoſt ſo ſtronglie, that the Britains could not approch to them, being beaten off with the enimies ſhot, albeit in the end the Saxons were put to flight, & manie of them drowned and ſwallowed vp in the ſame more. Beſide theſe foure principall battels, Uortimer had diuers other conflicts with the Saxons, as in Kent and at Tetford in Norfolke, alſo néere to Colcheſter in Eſſex: for he left not till he had bereft them of the more part of all ſuch poſſeſſions as before time they had got, ſo that they were conſtrained to kéepe them within the Ile of Tenet, where he oftentimes aſſailed them with ſuch ſhips as he then had. When Ronowen the daughter of Hengiſt perceiued the great loſſe that the Saxons ſuſteined by the martiall proweſſe of Uortimer, ſhe found means that within a while the ſaid Uortimer was poiſoned, after he had ruled the Britains by the ſpace of 6 or 7 yeares and od moneths.

The riuer of Derwent. Epiſford. The Ile of Tenet. Hen. Hunt. Colemore. Fabian. Tetford in Norfolke. Colcheſter.

¶ By the Britiſh hiſtorie it ſhould ſéeme, that Uortimer before his death handled the Saxons ſo hardlie, kéeping them beſieged within the Ile of Tenet, till at length they were conſtrained to ſue for licence to depart home into Germanie in ſafetie: and the better to bring this to paſs, they ſent Uortigerne, (whome they had kept ſtill with them in all theſe battels) vnto his ſonne Uortimer, to be a meane for the obteining of their ſute. But whileſt this treatie was in hand, they got them into their ſhips, and leauing their wiues and children behind them, returned into Germanie. Thus far Gal. Mon. But how vnlikelie this is to be true, I will not make anie further diſcourſe, but onelie refer euerie man to that which in old autentike hiſtorigraphers of the Engliſh nation is found recorded, as in Will. Malmeſ. Henr. Hunt. Marianus, and others: vnto whome in theſe matters concerning the doings betwixt the Saxons and Britains, we maie vndoubtedlie and ſafelie giue moſt credit.

Will. Malmeſ.

William Malmeſ. writing of this Uortimer, or Guortigerne, and of the warres which he had againſt the Saxons, varieth in a maner altogither from Geffrey of Monmouth, as by his words here following ye maie perceiue. Guortimer, the ſonne of Uortimer (ſaith he) thinking not good long to diſſemble the matter, for that he ſaw himſelfe and his countriemen the Britains preuented by the craft of the Engliſh Saxons, ſet his full purpoſe to driue them

them out of the realme, and kindled his father to the like attempt. He therefore being the author and procurer, ſeuen yeares after their firſt comming into this land, the league was broken, and by the ſpace of 20 yeares they fought oftentimes togither in manie light incounters, but foure times they fought puiſſance againſt puiſſance in open field: in the firſt battell they departed with like fortune, whileſt the one part, that is to meane, the Saxons loſt their capteine Horſe that was brother to Hengiſt, and the Britains loſt Catigerne an other of Vortigerns ſonnes.

Hengiſt had the victorie in this battell ſaith Ra. Hig. Horſe and Catigerne ſlaine.

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In the other battels, when the Engliſhmen went euer awaie with the vpper hand, at length a peace was concluded, Guortimer being taken out of this world by courſe of fatall death, the which much differing from the ſoft and milde nature of his father, right noblie would haue gouerned the realme, if God had ſuffered him to haue liued. But theſe battels which Vortimer gaue to the Saxons (as before is mentioned) ſhould appeare by that which ſome writers haue recorded, to haue chanced before the ſuppoſed time of Vortimers or Guortimers atteining to the crowne, about the 6 or 7 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this realme with Hengiſt. And hereto W. Hariſon giueth his conſent, referring the mutuall ſlaughter of Horſus and Catigerne to the 6 years of Martianus, 455 of Chriſt. Howbeit Polydor Virgil ſaith, that Vortimer ſucceeded his father, and that after his fathers deceaſſe the Engliſh Saxons, of whome there was a great number then in the Ile, comming ouer daily like ſwarmes of bees, and hauing in poſſeſſion not onelie Kent, but alſo the north parts of the realme towards Scotland, togither with a great part of the weſt countrie, thought it now a fit time to attempt the fortune of warre: and firſt therefore concluding a league with the Scots and Picts, vpon the ſudden they turned their weapons points againſt the Britains, and moſt cruellie purſued them, as though they had receiued ſome great iniurie at their hands, and no benefit at all. The Britains were marueilouſlie abaſhed herewith, perceiuing that they ſhould haue to doo with Hengiſt, a capteine of ſo high renowme, and alſo with their ancient enimies the Scots and Picts, thus all at one time, and that there was no remedie but either they muſt fight or elſe become ſlaues. Wherefore at length, dread of bondage ſtirred vp manhood in them, ſo that they aſſembled togither, and boldlie began to reſiſt their enimies on ech ſide: but being too weake, they were eaſilie diſcomfited and put to flight, ſo that all hope of defenſe by force of armes being vtterlie taken awaie, as men in deſpaire to preuaile againſt their enimies, they fled as ſheepe ſcattered abroad, ſome following one capteine and ſome another, getting them into deſart places, woods and marſh grounds, and moreouer left ſuch townes and fortreſſes as were of no notable ſtrength, as a preie vnto their enimies.

Polydor.

The Britains diſcomfited by the Scots.

Thus ſaith Polydor Virgil of the firſt breaking of the warres betwixt the Saxons and the Britains, which chanced not (as ſhould appeare by that which he writeth thereof) till after the death of Vortigerne. Howbeit he denieth not that Hengiſt at his firſt comming got ſeates for him and his people within the countie of Kent, and there began to inhabit. This ought not to be forgotten, that king Vortimer (as Sigebertus hath written) reſtored the chriſtian religion after he had vanquiſhed the Saxons, in ſuch places where the ſame was decaied by the enimies inuaſion, whoſe drift was not onelie to ouerrun the land with violence, but alſo to erect their owne lawes and liberties without regard of clemencie.

Sigebertus.

Vortigerne is reſtored to his regiment, *in what place he abode during the time of* his ſonnes reigne, Hengiſt with his Saxons re*enter the land, the Saxons and Britains are ap*pointed to meet on Salisburie plaine, the priuie *treaſon of Hengiſt and his power whereby the Britains were ſlaine like ſheepe, the manhood of Edol earle of Gloceſter, Vortigerne is taken priſoner, Hengiſt is in poſſeſſion of three prouinces of this land, a deſcription of Kent.*

The fift Chapter.

After all theſe bloudie broiles and tempeſtuous tumults ended, Vortigerne was reſtored and ſet againe into the kingdome of Britaine, in the yeare of our Lord 471. All the time of his ſonnes reigne, he had remained in the parties now called Wales, where (as ſome write) in that meane time he builded a ſtrong caſtle called Generon, or Guaneren, in the weſt ſide of Wales nere to the riuer of Guana, vpon a mounteine called Cloarieus, which ſome referre to be builded in his ſecond returne into Wales, as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter. And it is ſo much the more likelie, for that an old chronicle, which Fabian had ſight of, affirmeth, that Vortigerne was kept vnder the rule of certeine gouernors to him appointed in the towne of Caerlegion, and behaued himſelfe in ſuch commendable ſort towards his ſonne, in aiding him with his counſell, and otherwiſe in the meane ſeaſon whileſt his ſonne reigned, that the Britains by reaſon thereof began ſo to fauour him, that after the death of Vortimer they made him king againe.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 461. 471

Caerleon Arwiſke.

Shortlie after that Vortigerne was reſtored to the rule of the kingdom, Hengiſt aduertiſed thereof, returned into the land with a mightie armie of Saxons, whereof Vortigerne being admoniſhed, aſſembled his Britains, and with all ſpeed made towards him. When Hengiſt had knowledge of the huge hoſt of the Britains that was comming againſt him, he required to come to a communication with Vortigerne, which requeſt was granted, ſo that it was concluded, that on Maie day a certeine number of Britains, and as manie of the Saxons ſhould meet togither vpon the plaine of Saliſburie. Hengiſt hauing deuiſed a new kind of treaſon, when the day of their appointed meeting was come, cauſed euerie one of his allowed number ſecretlie to put into his hoſe a long knife (where it was ordeined that no man ſhould bring anie weapon with him at all) and that at the verie inſtant when this watchword ſhould be vttered by him, Nempt your ſexes, then ſhould euerie of them plucke out his knife, and ſlea the Britaine that chanced to be next to him, except the ſame ſhould be Vortigerne, whom he willed to be apprehended, but not ſlaine.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 4000. He might eaſilie returne, for except I be deceiued he was neuer driuen out after he had once ſet foot within this Ile.

Nempt your ſexes, what it it were meſſes

At the day aſſigned, the king with his appointed number or traine of the Britains, miſtruſting nothing leſſe than anie ſuch maner of vnfaithfull dealing, came vnto the place in order before preſcribed, without armor or weapon, where he found Hengiſt readie with his Saxons, the which receiued the king with amiable countenance and in moſt louing ſort: but after they were a little entred into communication, Hengiſt meaning to accompliſh his deuiſed purpoſe, gaue the watchword, immediatlie whereupon the Saxons drew out their kniues, and ſuddenlie fell on the Britains, and ſlue them as ſheepe being fallen within the danger of wolues. For the Britains

There died of the nobles of Britaine 450. as Gal. ſaith

Britains had no weapons to defend themselues, except anie of them by his strength and manhood got the knife of his enimie.

Ran.Cestren. Fabian. Amongst other of the Britains, there was one Edol earle of Glocester, or (as other say) Chester, which got a stake out of an hedge, or else where, and with the same so defended himselfe and laid about him, that he slue 17 of the Saxons, and escaped to the towne of Ambrie, now called Salisburie, and so saued his owne life. Vortiger was taken and kept as prisoner by Hengist, till he was constreined to deliuer vnto Hengist three prouinces or countries of this realme, that is to say, Kent & Esser, or as some write, that part where the south Saxons after did inhabit, as Sussex and other: the third was the countrie where the Essangles planted themselues, which was in Norfolke and Suffolke. Then Hengist being in possession of those three prouinces, suffered Vortigerne to depart, & to be at his libertie.

Gal.saith 70. Matth.West. Ran.Cestren.

Wil. Malm. ¶ William Malmesburie writeth somewhat otherwise of this taking of Vortigerne, during whose reigne, after the decease of his sonne Vortimer, nothing was attempted against the Saxons, but in the meane time Hengist by colorable craft procured his sonne in law Vortigerne to come to a banket at his house, with three hundred other Britains, and when he had made them well and warme with often quaffing and emptieng of cups, and of purpose touched euerie of them with one bitter tawnt or other, they first fell to multiplieng of malicious words, and after to blowes that the Britains were slaine, euerie mothers sonne so yelding vp their ghosts euen amongst their pots. The king himselfe was taken, and to redeeme himselfe out of prison, gaue to the Saxons three prouinces, and so escaped out of bondage.

Thus by what meane soeuer it came to passe, truth it is (as all writers agree) that Hengist got possession of Kent, and of other countries in this realme, and began to reigne there as absolute lord & gouernor, in the yere of our Lord (as some write) 476, about the fift yere of Vortigerns last reigne: but after other, which take the beginning of this kingdome of Kent to be when Hengist had first gift thereof, the same kingdome began in the yere 455, and conteined the countrie that stretcheth from the east Ocean vnto the riuer of Thames, hauing on the southeast Southerie, and vpon the west London, vpon the northeast the riuer of Thames aforesaid, and the countrie of Esser.

476.

Kingdome of Kent.

rulers of some small dominion: so that Hengist is counted a little king, who when he had got into his hands the foresaid three prouinces, he caused more Saxons to come into Britaine, and bestowed them in places abroad in the countrie, by reason whereof the christian religion greatlie decaied within the land, for the Saxons being pagans, did what they could to extinguish the faith of Christ, and to plant againe in all places their heathenish religion, and worshipping of false gods: and not onelie hereby was the true faith of the Christians brought in danger dailie to decaie, but also the erroneous opinions of the Pelagians greatlie preuailed here amongst the Britains, by meanes of such vnsound preachers as in that troublesome season did set forth false doctrine amongst the people, without all maner of reprehension.

The decay of christian religion.

Certeine yeers before the comming of the Saxons, that heresie began to spread within this land verie much, by the lewd industrie of one Leporius Agricola, the sonne of Seuerus Sulpitius (as Bale saith) a bishop of that lore. But Pelagius the author of this heresie was borne in Wales, and held opinion that a man might obteine saluation by his owne free will and merit, and without assistance of grace, as he that was borne without originall sinne, &c.

Beda.

This erroneous doctrine being taught therefore, and mainteined in this troublesome time of warres with the Saxons, sore disquieted the godlie minded men amongst the Britains, who not meaning to receiue it, nor yet able well to confute the craftie and wicked persuasions vsed by the professors thereof, thought good to send ouer into Gallia, requiring of the bishops there, that some godlie and profound learned men might be sent ouer from thence into this land, to defend the cause of the true doctrine against the naughtie teachers of so blasphemous an error. Wherupon the bishops of Gallia sore lamenting the miserable state of the Britains, and desirous to relieue their present need, speciallie in that case of religion, called a synod, and therein taking counsell to consider who were most met to be sent, it was decreed by all their consents in the end, that one Germane the bishop of Aurerre, and Lupus bishop of Trois should passe ouer into Britaine to confirme the Christians there in the faith of the celestiall grace. And so those two vertuous learned men taking their iournie, finallie arriued in Britaine, though not without some danger by sea, through stormes & rage of winds, stirred (as hath beene thought of the superstitious) by the malice of wicked spirits, who purposed to haue hindered their procéedings in this their good and well purposed iournie. After they were come ouer, they did so much good with conuincing the wicked arguments of the aduersaries of the truth, by the inuincible power of the word of God, and holinesse of life, that those which were in the wrong waie, were sone brought into the right path againe.

Beda.

A synod called in Gallia.

Germanus and Lupus.

About the same time also, one Palladius was sent from Celestinus bishop of Rome, vnto the Scots, to instruct them in the faith of Christ, and to purge them from the heresie of the said Pelagius. This Palladius exhorted Constantinus the king of Scots, that in no wise he should aid the Saxons being infidels against the Britains: whose exhortation toke so good effect, that the said Constantinus did not onelie forbeare to assist the Saxons, but contrarilie holpe the Britains in their warres against them, which thing did mainteine the state of the Britains for a time from falling into vtter ruine and decaie. In the meane time, the Saxons renewed their league with the Picts, so that their powers being ioined togither, they began afresh to make sore warres vpon the Britains,

Beda. Palladius.

Constantine king of Scots.

P. Hunt. Beda.

The heptarchie or seuen kingdoms of *this land, Hengist causeth Britaine to be* peopled with Saxons, the decaie of Christian *religion, the Pelagians with their hereticall and* false doctrine infect the Britains, a synod summoned *in Gallia for the redresse thereof, the Scots assist the Britains* against the Saxons, who renew their league with the Picts, Germane and Lupus two bishops of Germanie procure the British armie to be newlie christened, the terror that the Britains vnder bishop Germans fortunate conduct draue into the Saxons by the outerie of Alleluia, and got the victorie, bishop Germane departeth out of the land, and to redresse the Pelagian heresie commeth againe at the clergies request, he confirmeth his doctrine by a miracle, banisheth the Pelagians out of the land, the death of Germane, murther requited with murther.

The vj. Chapter.

HEngist and all other the Saxon kings which ruled (as after shall appeare) in seuen parts of this realme, are called by writers Reguli, that is, little kings or

Britains, who of neceſſitie were conſtreined to aſ-
ſemble an armie, & miſtruſting their owne ſtrength,
required aid of the two biſhops, Germane and Lu-
pus, who haſting forward with all ſpeed came into
the armie, bringing with them no ſmall hope of good
lucke to all the Britains there being aſſembled. This
was done in Kent.

Now ſuch was the diligence of the biſhops, that
(the people being inſtructed with continuall preа-
ching) in renouncing the error of the Pelagians,
earneſtlie came by troops to receiue the grace of
God offred in baptiſme, ſo that on Eaſter day which
then inſued, the more part of the armie was baptiſed,
and ſo went forth againſt the enimies, who hearing
thereof, made haſt towards the Britains, in hope to
ouercome them at pleaſure. But their approch being
knowne, biſhop Germane toke vpon him the lea-
ding of the Britiſh hoſt, and ouer againſt the paſſage
The armie of the Britains newlie chri-ſtened. thorough the which the enimies were appointed to
come, he choſe forth a faire vallie incloſed with high
mounteins, and within the ſame he placed his new
waſhed armie. And when he ſaw the enimies now at
hand, he commanded that euerie man with one ge-
nerall voice ſhould anſwer him, crieng aloud the
ſame crie that he ſhould begin. So that euen as the
enimies were readie to giue the charge vpon the
Britains, ſuppoſing that they ſhould haue taken
them at vnwares, and before anie warning had beеn
giuen, ſuddenlie biſhop Germane and the prieſts
Alleluia. with a lowd and ſhrill voice called Alleluia, thrice: and
therewith all the multitudes of the Britains with
one voice cried the ſame crie, with ſuch a lowd ſhout,
that the Saxons were therewith ſo amazed and aſto-
nied (the echo from the rocks and hils adioining,
redoubling in ſuch wiſe the crie) that they thought
not onelie the rocks and cliffs had fallen vpon
them, but that euen the ſkie it ſelfe had broken in pee-
ces and come tumbling downe vpon their heads:
herewith therefore throwing awaie their weapons,
they toke them to their feet, and glad was he that
might get to be formoſt in running awaie. Manie of
them for haſt were drowned in a riuer which they had
to paſſe. Polydor taketh that riuer to be Trent. The
Britains hauing thus vanquiſhed their enimies, ga-
thered the ſpoile at good leaſure, & gaue God thanks
for the victorie thus got without bloud, for the which
the holie biſhops alſo triumphed as beſt became
them. Now after they had ſetled all things in good
quiet within the Ile, as was thought expedient, they
returned into Gallia or France, from whence they
came (as is before rehearſed.)

Math. Weſt. 448. By one author it ſhould appeare that this battell
was wonne againſt the Scots and Picts, about the
yeare of our Lord 448, a little before the comming
of the Saxons into this land vnder Hengiſt, in which
yeare Germane firſt came hither to weed out the he-
reſie of Pelagius, as by the ſame author more at
large is affirmed. Howbeit, ſome chronographers
alledge out of Proſper & other, and note the firſt com-
ming of Germane to haue beene in the 429 yeare of
Chriſt, and vnder the conſulſhip of Florentius and
Dionyſius. And this ſhould ſeeme to agree with the
truth, for that after ſome, the foreſaid Germane
ſhould die at Rauenna, about the yeare of our Lord
450, as Vincentius noteth, which was the verie yeare
of the comming of the Saxons: notwithſtanding,
when or whereſoeuer he died, it was not long after
his returne into Gallia, vpon his firſt iournie made
hither into this land, who no ſooner obteined the vic-
torie before mentioned, but word was brought againe
vnto him, that eftſoones the hereſie of the Pelagians
was ſpread abroad in Britaine, and therefore all the
prieſts or clergie made requeſt to him that it might
ſtand with his pleaſure to come ouer againe, and de-
fend the cauſe of true religion which he had before
confirmed.

Germane returneth againe into Britaine. Heere vpon biſhop Germane granted to doo, and
therefore taking with him one Seuerus (that was
diſciple vnto Lupus, and ordeined at that time bi-
ſhop of Triers) toke the ſea, and came againe into
Britaine, where he found the multitude of the people
ſtedfaſt in the ſame beliefe wherein he had left them,
& perceiued the fault to reſt in a few: whereupon in-
quiring out the authors, he condemned them to exile
(as it is written) and with a manifeſt miracle by re-
ſtoring a young man that was lame (as they ſaie) vn-
to the right vſe of his limbs, he confirmed his doc-
trine. Then followed preaching to perſuade amend-
ment of errors, and by the generall conſent of all
men, the authors of the wicked doctrine being baniſ-
hed the land, were deliuered vnto biſhop Germane
and to his fellow Seuerus, to conueie them away in
their companie vnto the parties beyond the ſeas,
that the region might ſo be deliuered of further dan-
ger, and they receiue the benefit of due amendment.

By this meanes it came to paſſe, that the true
faith continued in Britaine ſound and perfect a long
time after. Things being thus ſet in good order, thoſe
holie men returned into their countries, the foreна-
med biſhop Germane went to Rauenna to ſue for
peace to be granted vnto the people of Britaine
Armorike, where being receiued of the emperor Va-
lentinian and his mother Placida in moſt reuerend
manner, he departed in that citie out of this tranſito-
rie life, to the eternall ioies of heauen. His bodie was
afterwards conueied to the citie of Autrerre, where
he had beene biſhop with great opinion of holines for
his ſincere doctrine and pure and innocent life. Short-
lie after was the emperour Valentinian ſlaine by
the friends of that noble man named Aetius, whome
he had before cauſed to be put to death.

Anno 450, as Vincentius no-teth, lib. 20. ca. 15.

The empe-rour Valen-tinian ſlaine.

¶ By this it maie appeare, that biſhop Germane
came into this realme both the firſt and ſecond time,
whileſt as well Hengiſt, as alſo Vortigerne were li-
uing: for the ſaid Valentinian was murthered a-
bout the yeare of our Lord 454, where the ſaid kings
liued and reigned long after that time, as maie ap-
peare both before and after in this preſent booke.

454

What part of the realme the Saxons poſſeſſed, Vortigerne buildeth a caſtell in Wales for his ſafetie, Aurelius and Vter both brethren returne into Britaine, they aſſalt the vſurper Vortigerne, and with wild fire burne both him, his people, his fort, and all the furniture in the ſame, Vortigerne committeth inceſt with his owne daughter, feined and ridiculous woonders of S. Germane, a ſheepherd made a king.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

NOw will we returne to Vortigerne, of whome we
read in the Britiſh hiſtorie, that after the Saxons had
conſtreined him to deliuer into their hands a great part
of the ſouth and eaſt parts of the realme, ſo that they had in
poſſeſſion London, Yorke, Lincolne, & Wincheſter, with other cities & townes, Galfrid.
he not onelie fearing their puiſſance, but alſo the re-
turne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and his brother Vter
pendragon, withdrew him into Wales, where he be-
gan to build a ſtrong caſtell vpon a mountcine called Caxton.
Breigh, or after other Cloaric, neere to the riuer of Fabian.
Guana, which is in the weſt ſide of Wales in a place Polychron.
within the compaſſe of the ſame hill called Generon

Mount Erie he calleth it in one place of his booke.

or Guetneren. Of the building of this caſtell, and of the hinderance in erecting the ſame, with the monſtrous birth of Merlin and his knowledge in propheſieng, the Britiſh hiſtories tell a long proceſſe, the which in Caxton, and in Galfrides bookes is alſo ſet forth, as there ye maie ſee: but for that the ſame ſeemeth not of ſuch credit as deſerueth to be regiſtred in anie ſound hiſtorie, we haue with ſilence paſſed it ouer.

Aurelius and Uter brethren returne into Britaine.

Whileſt Uortigerne was buſied in building of this caſtell, the two foreſaid brethren Aurelius and Uter prepared a nauie of ſhips, and an armie of men, by helpe of ſuch their kinſmen and freends as they found in Britaine Armorike, and ſo paſſed the ſea, and landed at Totneſſe: whereof when the Britains were aduertiſed, the which were ſcattered abroad and ſeuered in diuers parties and countries, they drew vnto the ſaid two brethren with all ſpeed that might be. When Aurelius and his brother Uter perceiued that they were ſufficientlie furniſhed of people, they marched forth towards Wales againſt Uortigerne, who hauing knowledge of their approch, had fortified his caſtell verie ſtrongly with men, munition and vittels, but yet all auailed him nothing, for in the end after his enimies had giuen diuers aſſaults to the ſaid caſtell, they found meanes with wild fire to burne it downe to the earth, and ſo conſumed it by fire togither with the king, and all other that were within it.

Uortigerne burnt to death.

Wild fire not yet inuented as ſome think.

Thus did Uortigerne end his life (as in the Britiſh hiſtorie is recorded.) Much euill is reported of him by the ſame hiſtorie, and alſo by other writers, and among other things it is written, that he ſhould lie by his owne daughter, and of hir beget a ſonne, in hope that kings ſhould come of him, and therefore he was excommunicated by S. Germane. It is alſo ſaid, that when the ſame S. Germane came into Britaine (as before ye haue heard) this Uortigerne on a time ſhould denie the ſame S. Germane harbour: but one that kept the kings heards of cattell receiued him into his houſe, and lodged him, and ſlue a calfe for his ſupper, which calfe after ſupper was ended, S. Germane reſtored againe to life: and on the morrow by the ordinance of God, he cauſed Uortigerne to be depoſed from his kinglie eſtate, and toke the heardman and made him king. But Ranulfe Hig. in his Polychronicon, alledging Gyldas for his author, ſaith that this chand to a cekings that ruled in Powſey, whoſe name was Bulie, and not to Uortigerne: ſo that the ſucceſſors of that Bulie reigning in that ſide of Wales, came of the linage of the ſame heardman.

Polychron.

A feined tale of S. Germane.

A caitiſh narration.

H. Hunt.

Moreouer it hath beene ſaid (as one writer recordeth) that when Uortigerne refuſed to heare the preaching of ſaint Germane, and fled from him as he would haue inſtructed him, one night there fell fire from heauen vpon the caſtell wherein the king was lodged, and ſo the king being deſtroied with the fall of the houſe and the fire togither, was neuer after ſeene. ¶ But theſe are fables, and therfore I paſſe them ouer, hoping that it ſhall ſuffice to ſhew here with what ſtuffe our old hiſtoriographers haue farced vp their huge volumes, not ſo much regarding the credit of an hiſtorie, as ſatisfieng the vanitie of their owne fond fantaſies, ſtudieng with a preteded ſkilfulneſſe to caſt glorious colours vpon lies, that the readers (whom they preſuppoſed either ignorant or credulous) would be led away with a flowing ſtreme of words void of reaſon and common ſenſe. Which kind of men knew not (belike) that the nature of an hiſtorie (defined to be *Rei verè geſtæ memoria*) will not beare the burthen or lode of a lie, ſith the ſame is to heauie: otherwiſe they would haue depoſed matters conſpiring with the truth.

Aurelius Ambroſius the brother to *Conſtantius created king of Britaine*, he incountereth with the Saxons, Hengiſt their *generall is beheaded*, *Occa his ſonne ſubmitteth* himſelfe to Aurelius, he putteth all the Saxons *out of the land, repaireth places decaied, and reſtoreth religion*, the memorable monument of the ſtones that are ſo much ſpoken of on Salisburie plaine, the exploits of Paſcentius Vortigerns yongeſt ſonne, Aurelius lieth ſicke, Vter goeth againſt Paſcentius and giueth him the ouerthrow, Aurelius is poiſoned of a counterfet moonke, the place of his buriall, Polydor Virgils report of the acts and deeds of Aurelius againſt the Saxons, Hengiſt is ſlaine, Oſca and Occa his two ſonnes make a fowle ſpoile of the weſt part of the land, Vortimer dieth, the diſagreement of writers touching matters interchangeablie paſſed betwene the Britains and Saxons.

The eight Chapter.

Aurelius Ambroſius.

AUrelius Ambroſe, the ſecond ſonne of king Conſtantine, brother to Conſtantius, and murthered by the treaſon of Uortigerne (as before ye haue heard) was made king of Britaine in the yeere of our Lord 481, which was about the third yeere of the reigne of the emperour Zeno, and the 23 of Childericus king of France, Odocer king of the Herulians then vſurping the gouernment of Italie. When this Aurelius Ambroſius had diſpatched Uortigerne, and was now eſtabliſhed king of the Britains, he made towards Yorke, and paſſing the riuer of Humber, incountred with the Saxons at a place called Maeſbell, and ouerthrew them in a ſtrong battell, from the which as Hengiſt was fleeing to haue ſaued himſelfe, he was taken by Edoll earle of Gloceſter, or (as ſome ſay) Cheſter, and by him led to Conningſborow, where he was beheaded by the counſell of Eldad then biſhop of Colcheſter.

Matt. Weſt. saith 466.

Gal. Mon.

Polydor.

Hengiſt taken and beheaded.

Howbeit there be ſome that write, how that Hengiſt was taken at another battell fought vpon the riuer of Dune, in the yeere of our Lord 489, and not in the chaſe of the battell which was fought at Maelbell in the yeere 487, as the ſame authors do alledge. Occa the ſon of Hengiſt by flight eſcaped to Yorke, and being there beſieged, at length was conſtreined to yeeld himſelfe to Aurelius: who dealing fauourablie with him, aſſigned vnto him and other of the Saxons a countrie bordering neere to the Scots, which (as ſome affirme) was Galloway, where the ſaid Occa and the Saxons began to inhabit. Then did Aurelius Ambroſius put the Saxons out of all other parts of the land, & repaired ſuch cities, townes and alſo churches, as by them had beene deſtroied or defaced, and placed againe prieſts, and ſuch other as ſhould attend on the miniſterie and ſeruice of God in the ſame churches.

Matth. Weſt.

Occa.

Alſo for a perpetuall memorie of thoſe Britains that were ſlaine on the plaine of Salisburie by the treaſon of Hengiſt, he cauſed ſtones to be fetched out of Ireland, and to be ſet vp in the ſame place where that ſlaughter was committed, and called the place Stoneheng, which name continueth vnto this day. Fiftéene thouſand men (as Galfrid ſaith) were ſent for thoſe ſtones, vnder the leading of Uter Pendragon the kings brother, who giuing battell vnto Gillomanus king of Ireland that went about to reſiſt the Britains, and would not permit them to fetch awaie the ſame ſtones out of his countrie, diſcomfited him and his people, and ſo (maugre his hart) brought the ſtones away with him.

Stoneheng.

Gal. Mon.

Hengiſt is ſlaine.

Shortlie

Shortlie after, Paſcentius that was Vortigerns yongeſt ſonne, and had eſcaped into Ireland (when Aurelius Ambroſius came into Britaine) returned with a great power of ſtrange nations, and tooke the citie of Menevia in Wales, afterwards called ſaint Dauids, and did much hurt in the countrie with fire and ſword. At which time the ſame Aurelius Ambroſius lay ſicke at Wincheſter, and being not able to go forth himſelfe, deſired his brother Uter Pendragon to aſſemble an armie of Britains, and to go againſt Paſcentius and his adherents. Uter, according to his brothers requeſt, gathering his people, went forth, and incountering with the enimies gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue Paſcentius and Gillomare or Gilloman king of Ireland, that was come ouer with him in aid againſt the Britains.

In the meane while, a Saxon or ſome other ſtranger, whoſe name was Eopa or Copa, not long before procured thereto by Paſcentius, fained himſelfe to be a Britaine, and for a colour counterfeiting himſelfe a monke, and to haue great knowledge in phyſicke, was admitted to miniſter as it were medicins to Aurelius: but in ſtead of that which ſhould haue brought him health, he gaue him poiſon, whereof he died ſhortlie after at Wincheſter aforeſaid, when he had reigned after moſt accord of writers ninténe yéares: his bodie was conueied to Stoneheng and there buried. ¶ Thus find we in the Britiſh and common Engliſh hiſtories of the doings of Aurelius Ambroſius, who (as ye haue hard) makes him a Britaine borne, and deſcended of the bloud of the ancient Britains. But Gyldas and Beda report him to be a Romane by deſcent, as before is mentioned.

Polydor Virgil writeth in this ſort of the victorious acts atchiued by the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius. Then (ſaith he) the Saxons hauing alreadie gotten the whole rule of the Ile, practiſed their outragious cruelties ſpeciallie againſt the princes of the Britains, to the end that the ſaid princes being ouercome and deſtroied, they might with more eaſe obteine poſſeſſion of the whole Ile, which thing they onlie ſought. But the fauour of almightie God was not wanting to the miſerable Britains in that great neceſſitie. For behold, Aurelius Ambroſius was at hand, who had no ſooner cauſed the trumpet to ſound to armor, but euerie man for himſelfe prepared and repaired vnto him, praieng & beſeeching him to helpe to defend them, and that it might ſtand with his pleaſure to go forth with them againſt the enimies in all ſpeed.

Thus an armie being aſſembled, Aurelius Ambroſius went againſt them, and valiantlie aſſailed them, ſo that within the ſpace of a few daies they fought three battels with great fiercenelſe on both ſides, in triall of their high diſpleaſures and vttermoſt forces, in which at length the Britains put the Saxons to flight, Horſus the brother of Hengiſt being ſlaine with a great number of his people. But yet notwithſtanding the enimies rage was little abated hereby, for within a few daies after receiuing out of Germanie a new ſupplie of men, they brake forth vpon the Britains with great confidence of victorie. Aurelius Ambroſius was no ſooner aduertiſed thereof, but that without delaie he ſet forward towards Yorke, from whence the enimies ſhould come, and hearing by the way that Hengiſt was incamped about ſeuen & twentie miles diſtant from that citie, nére to the banke of a riuer at this day called Done, in the place where Doncaſter now ſtandeth, he returned out of his waie, and marched towards that place, and the next day ſet on the enimie and vanquiſhed him, Hengiſt at the firſt meeting of the battell being ſlaine, with a great number of the Germans. The fame of this victorie (ſaith Polydor) is had in memorie with the inhabitants of thoſe parties euen vnto this day, which victorie did ſore diminiſh the power of the Saxons, inſomuch that they began now to thinke it ſhould be more for their profit to ſit in reſt with that diſhonour, than to make anie new warres to their great diſaduantage and likelihod of preſent loſſe.

Hengiſt left behind him two ſonnes, Oeſa and Occa, which as men moſt ſorowfull for the ouerthrow of late receiued, aſſembled ſuch power as they could together, and remoued therewith towards the weſt part of the Ile, ſuppoſing it to be better for them to draw that way forth, than to returne into Kent, where they thought was alreadie a ſufficient number of their people to reſiſt the Britains on that ſide. Now therefore when they came into the weſt parts of the land, they waſted the countrie, burnt villages, and abſteined from no maner of crueltie that might be ſhewed. Theſe things being reported vnto Aurelius Ambroſius, he ſtraightwaies haſted thither to reſiſt thoſe enimies, and ſo giuing them battell, eſſones diſcomfited them: but he himſelfe receiuing a wound, died thereof within a few daies after. The Engliſh Saxons hauing thus ſuſteined ſo manie loſſes within a few moneths together, were contented to be quiet now that the Britains ſtirred nothing againſt them, by reaſon they were brought into ſome trouble by the death of ſuch a noble capteine as they had now loſt. In the meane time Mortimer died, whome Uter ſurnamed Pendragon ſucceeded.

Aurelius dieth of a wound

Mortimer departeth this life.

Thus hath Polydor written of the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius, not naming him to be king of Britaine, and differing in deed in ſundrie points in this behalfe from diuerſe ancient writers of the Engliſh hiſtories: for where he attributeth the victorie to the Britains in the battell fought, wherein Horſus the brother of Hengiſt was ſlaine, by the report of Polychronicon, and others, the Saxons had the victorie in that reincounter: and William of Malmesburie ſaith, that they departed from that batell with equall fortune, the Saxons loſing their capteine Horſus, and the Britains their capteine Katigerne (as before ye haue heard.) But there is ſuch contrarietie in writers touching the doings betwixt the Britains and Saxons in thoſe daies, as well in account of yéares, as in report of things done, that ſetting affection aſide, hard it is to iudge to which part a man ſhould giue credit.

Wil. Malm.

Katigerne.

For Fabian and other authors write, that Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne ouer the Britains about the yéare of our Lord 481, and Horſus was ſlaine about the yéare 458, during the reigne of Mortimer, as aboue is mentioned, ſo that it cannot ſtand with the truth of the Britiſh hiſtories (the which Fabian followeth) that Horſus was ſlaine by Aurelius Ambroſius, if according to the ſame hiſtories he returned not into Britaine, till the time there ſuppoſed. But diuerſe ſuch manner of contrarieties ſhall ye find, in peruſing of thoſe writers that haue written the chronicles of the Britains and Saxons, the which in euerie point to recite, would be too tedious and comberſome a matter, and therefore we are forced to paſſe the ſame ouer, not knowing how to bring them to anie iuſt accord for the ſatiſfieng of all mens minds, ſpeciallie the curious, which may with diligent ſearch ſatiſfie themſelues happilie much better, than anie other ſhall be able to do in vttering his opinion neuer ſo much at large, and agreeable to a truth. This therefore haue we thought good as it were by the waie to touch, what diuerſe authors do write, leauing it ſo to euerie mans iudgement to conſtrue thereof, as his affection leadeth him. We find in the writings of thoſe that haue regiſtred the doings of theſe times, that Aurelius hauing vanquiſhed

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Hengiſt is ſlaine.

Sigebertus.

quiſhed the Saxons, reſtored churches to the furtherance of the chriſtian religion, which by the inuaſion of the Saxons was greatlie decaied in diuerſe parts of Britaine, and this chanced in the daies of the emperour Theodoſius the yonger.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 488.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Southſaxons commonlie called Suſſex, the* Britains with their rulers giue battell to Ella the *Saxon & his three ſonnes, diſagreement betweene* the Engliſh and Britiſh chronographers about *the battels fought by Hengiſt and his death, the beginning of the Kentiſh kingdome*, a battell fought betweene the Britains and Saxons, the firſt are conquered, the laſt are conquerors.

The ninth Chapter.

Ella entred this land as Matt. Weſt. ſaith ann. 477.

IN the time of the foreſaid Aurelius Ambroſius, one Ella a Saxon with his 3 ſonnes Cymen, Plettinger and Ciſſa, came out of Germanie with three ſhips, and landed in the ſouth parts of Britaine, and being incountred with a power of Britains at a place called Cuneueſhore, diſcomfited them, and chaſed them vnto a wood then called Andredeſceſter, and ſo toke that countrie, and inhabited there with his people the Saxons which he brought with him, and made himſelfe king and lord thereof, in ſomuch that afterwards the ſame countrie was named the kingdome of the Southſaxons, which had for limits on the eaſt ſide Kent, on the ſouth the ſea and Ile of Wight, on the weſt Hamſhire, and on the north part Southerie. This kingdome (after ſome) began vnder the foreſaid Ella, about the 32 yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this land, which by following that account, ſhould be about the ſecond yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Ambroſius, and about the yeare of our Lord 482. But other write, that it did begin about the 30 yeare after the firſt comming of Hengiſt, which ſhould be two yeares ſooner.

The kingdom of the Southſaxons doth begin.

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William Hariſon differing from all other, noteth it to begin in the fourth yeare after the death of Hengiſt, 4458 of the world, 2 of the 317 Olympiad, 1243 of Rome, 492 of Chriſt, and 43 after the comming of the Saxons: his words are theſe. Ella erected the kingdome of the Southſaxons, in the 15 after his arriuall, and reigned 32 yeares, the chiefe citie of his kingdome alſo was Chicheſter, and after he had inioied the ſame his kingdome a while, he ouerthrew the citie called Andredeſceſter, which as then was taken for one of the moſt famous in all the ſouth ſide of England. ¶ For my part I thinke my dutie diſcharged, if I ſhew the opinions of the writers: for if I ſhould therto adde mine owne, I ſhould but increaſe coniectures, whereof alreadie we haue ſuperfluous ſtore. To proceed therefore as I find.

About the ninth yeare after the comming of Ella, the Britains perceiuing that he with his Saxons ſtill inlarged the bounds of his lordſhip by entring further into the land, aſſembled themſelues togither vnder their kings and rulers, and gaue battell to Ella and his ſonnes at Mecredeſbourne, where they departed with doubtfull victorie, the armies on both ſides being ſore diminiſhed, and ſo returned to their homes. Ella after this battell ſent into his countrie for more aid.

But now touching Hengiſt, who as ye haue heard, reigned as king in the prouince of Kent, the writers of the Engliſh kings varie ſomewhat from the Britiſh hiſtories, both in report of the battels by him fought againſt the Britains, and alſo for the maner of his death: as thus. After that Uortimer was dead, who departed this life (as ſome write) in the firſt yeare of the emperor Leo, ſurnamed the great, and firſt of that name that gouerned the empire, who began to rule in the yeare of our Lord 457, we find that Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca gathered their people togither that were before ſparkled, and hauing alſo receiued new aid out of Germanie, fought with the Britans at a place called Crekenford, where were ſlaine of the Britains foure dukes or capteins, and foure thouſand of other men, the reſidue were chaſed by Hengiſt out of Kent vnto London, ſo that they neuer returned afterwards againe into Kent: thus the kingdome of Kent began vnder Hengiſt the twelfe yeare after the comming of the Saxons into Britaine, and Hengiſt reigned in Kent after this (as the ſame writers agree) foure and twentie yeares.

Polychron. 457 Henrie of Hunt. Wil. Malm. Creford. Britons ouerthrowne.

It is remembred that thoſe Germans which lately were come ouer to the aid of Hengiſt, being choſen men, mightie and ſtrong of bodie, with their ares and ſwords made great ſlaughter of the Britains in that battell at Crekenford or Creiford, which Britains were ranged in foure battels vnder their aforeſaid foure dukes or capteins, and were (as before is mentioned) ſlaine in the ſame battell. About the firſt yeare of the ſaid emperor Leo, which was in the 17 yeare after the comming of the Saxons, Hengiſt and his ſonne Occa or Oſca fought at Wipets field in Kent, neere to a place called Long with the Britains, and ſlue of them twelue dukes or capteins, on the part of the Saxons was ſlaine beſide common ſouldiers but onlie one capteine called Wipet, of whom the place after that daie toke name.

Polychron. Hen. Hunt. Wipets field. Matth. Weſt. This battell was fought anno 473. as the ſame Matth. Weſt. noteth, wipet. H. Hunt.

This victorie was nothing pleſant to the Saxons, by reaſon of the great loſſe which they ſuſteined, as well by the death of the ſaid Wipet, as of a great number of others: and ſo of a long time neither did the Saxons enter into the confines of the Britains, nor the Britains preſumed to come into Kent. But whileſt outward wars ceaſſed among the Britains, they exerciſed ciuill battell, falling togither by the eares among themſelues, one ſtriuing againſt another. Finallie, Hengiſt departed this life by courſe of nature, in the 39 yeare after his firſt comming into Britaine, hauing proceeded in his buſineſſe no leſſe with craft and guile than with force and ſtrength, following therewith his natiue crueltie, ſo that he rather did all things with rigour than with gentlenеſſe. After him ſucceeded a ſonne whom he left behind him, who being attentiue rather to defend than to inlarge his kingdome, neuer ſet foot out of his fathers bounds, during the ſpace of 24 yeares, in the which he reigned.

Fortie yeares ſaith H. Hunt. By this it is euident that he was not driuen out of the land after he had once ſet foot within it. Matt. Weſt. H. Hunt. The citie of Andredeſceſter.

About three yeares after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, a new ſupplie of men of warre came out of Germanie vnto the aid of Ella king of Suſſer, who hauing his power increaſed, beſieged the citie of Andredeſceſter, which was verie ſtrong and well furniſhed with men and all things neceſſarie. The Britains alſo aſſembling togither in companies, greatlie annoied the Saxons as they lay there at ſiege, laieng ambuſhes to deſtroie ſuch as went abroad, and ceaſſing not to giue alarums to the campe in the night ſeaſon: and the Saxons could no ſooner prepare themſelues to giue the aſſalt, but the Britains were readie to aſſaile them on the backs, till at length the Saxons diuiding themſelues into two companies, appointed the one to giue the aſſalt, and the other to incounter with the armie of the Britains without, and ſo finallie by that meanes preuailed, toke the citie, and deſtroied man, woman and child. Neither ſo conten-

contented, they did alſo vtterlie race the ſaid citie, ſo as it was neuer after that daie builded or reedified againe.

The eaſt Angles kingdome beginneth, *the arriuall of Cerdic and Kenric with fiue* ſhips of warre in this land, he putteth the Britains *to flight, the weſt Saxons kingdom begineth,* Vter Pendragon made king of Britaine, the etymon *of his name, he taketh Occa and Oſca the two ſonnes of Hengiſt* priſoners, how Hector Boetius varieth from other chronographers in the relation of things concerning Pendragon, he falleth in loue with the duke of Cornewalls wife, killeth him, and marieth hir. Occa and Oſca eſcape out of priſon, they freſhlie aſſault the Britains, they are both ſlaine in a foughten field, the Saxons ſend and looke for aid out of Germanie, Pendragon is poiſoned.

The tenth Chapter.

The kingdome of the eaſt Angles began not till Iurchius Conanus reigned. 561

MOreouer, in the daies of the afore-named Aurelius Ambroſius, about the yeare of our Lord 561, the kingdome of the eaſt Angles began vnder a Saxon named Uffa. This ſame kingdome conteined Northfolke and Suffolke, hauing on the eaſt and north parts the ſea, on the northweſt Cambridgeſhire, and on the weſt ſaint Edmunds ditch with a part of Hertfordſhire, and on the ſouthſide lieth Eſſex. At the firſt it was called Uffines dominion, and the kings that reigned, or the people that inhabited there, were at the firſt named Uffines, but at length they were called eaſt Angles.

Cerdic. Wil. Malm. 495 Fabian. Polychron. Wil. Malm.

FVrthermore, about the yeare of our Lord 495, and in the eight yeare after that Hengiſt was dead, one Cerdicus and his ſonne Kenricus came out of Germanie with fiue ſhips, and landed at a place called Cerdicſhore, which as ſome thinke is called Yermouth in Northfolke. Ye was at the firſt receiued with battell by the Britains, but being an old ſkilfull warriour, he eaſilie beate backe and repelled the inconſtant multitude of his enimies, and cauſed them to flee: by which good ſucceſſe he procured both vndoubted aſſurance to himſelfe for the time to come, and to the inhabitants good and perfect quietnes. For they thinking good neuer after to prouoke him more by reſiſtance, ſubmitted themſelues to his pleaſure: but yet did not he then giue himſelfe to ſlouthfull reſt, but rather extending his often atchiued victories on ech ſide, in the 24 yeare after his comming into this land, he obteined the rule of the weſt parts thereof, and gouerned there as king, ſo that the kingdome of the weſt Saxons began vnder the ſaid Cerdicus in the 519 of Chriſt, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

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¶ Thus ye maie ſee, that Aurelius Ambroſius did ſucceed Uortigerne, and reigned in the time ſuppoſed by the Britiſh hiſtories, as before is alledged, the land euen in his daies was full of trouble, and the old inhabitants the Britains ſore vexed by the Saxons that entred the ſame, ſo that the Britains were dailie hampered, and brought vnder ſubiection to the valiant Saxons, or elſe driuen to remoue further off, and to giue place to the victors. But now to proceed with the ſucceſſion of the Britiſh kings, as in their hiſtories we find them regiſtred, which I deliuer ſuch as I find, but not ſuch as I dow wiſh, being written with no ſuch colour of credit as we maie ſafelie put forth the ſame for an vndoubted truth.

After that Aurelius Ambroſius was dead, his brother Uter Pendragon (whome ſome call Aurelius Uterius Ambroſianus) was made king in the yeare of our Lord 500, in the ſeuenth yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, and in the fiftéenth yeare of Clodoueus king of the Frenchmen. The cauſe why he was ſurnamed Pendragon, was, for that Merline the great prophet likened him to a dragons head, that at the time of his natiuitie marueloulie appeared in the firmament at the corner of a blaſing ſtar, as is reported. But others ſuppoſed he was ſo called of his wiſedome and ſerpentine ſubtiltie, or for that he gaue the dragons head in his banner. This Uter, hearing that the Saxons with their capteins Occa or Otta the ſonne of Hengiſt, and his brother Oſca had beſieged the citie of Yorke, haſted thither, and giuing them battell, diſcomfited their power, and toke the ſaid Occa and Oſca priſoners. Matth. Weſt. noteth. 500

From this variety Hector Boetius in his chronicle of Scotland, writing of theſe doings in Britaine: for he affirmeth, that the counterfeit monke, which poiſoned Aurelius Ambroſius, was ſuborned and ſent to worke that feat by Occa, and not by his brother Paſcentius: and further, that about the ſelfeſame time of Aurelius his death, his brother Uter Pendragon lay in Wales, not as yet fullie recouered of a ſore ſickneſſe, wherewith of late he had béene much vexed. Yet the lords of Britaine after the buriall of Aurelius Ambroſius, came vnto him and crowned him king: and though he was not able to go againſt the Saxons (which as then by reaſon of Aurelius Ambroſius his death were verie buſie, and more earneſt in purſuing the warre than before) yet an armie was prepared and ſent forth with all conuenient ſpéed vnder the leading of one Nathaliod, a man neither of anie great ancient houſe, nor yet of ſkill in warlike affaires. Hector Boet.

The noble men were nothing pleaſed herewith, as miſliking altogither the lacke of diſcretion in their new king, & doubted ſore, leaſt in time to come he would haue more delight to aduance the men of baſe degrée, than ſuch as were deſcended of noble parentage. Yet becauſe they would not put the ſtate of the common wealth in danger through anie mutinie, they agréed to go forth with him in that iournie. Occa had aduertiſement giuen him by certeine letters ſent to him from ſome cloſe friends amongeſt the Britains of the whole matter: and therefore in hope of the better ſpéed, he haſted forth to incounter the Britains, and ſo the whole armie comming within ſight of the other, they prepared to the battell, and ſhortlie after buckling togither, the Britains were ſone diſcomfited, by reaſon that one of their chiefeſt capteins called Gothlois diſdaining to be at the appointment of Nathaliod, got him vp to the nert hill with the next battell which he led, leauing the other Britains in all the danger: which they ſéeing began by & by to flée. There died no great number of the Britains, except thoſe that were killed in the fight: for Occa miſtruſting what Gothlois meant by his withdrawing aſide, would not ſuffer the Saxons to follow the chaſe, but in the night following Gothlois got him awaie, and reſted not till he was out of danger. Occa then perceiuing himſelfe to haue the vpper hand, ſent an herald vnto king Uter with a certeine meſſage, threatning deſtruction to him and to his people, if he refuſed to doo that which he ſhould appoint.

Uter perceiuing what diſloialtie reſted in the harts of his owne ſubiects, agréed that the matter might be committed to eight graue and wiſe counſellors, foure Britains and foure Saxons, which might haue full power to make an end of all con-

troueꝛſies and vaꝛiances depending betwixt the two nations. Occa was likewiſe contented therewith, wherevpon were named on either part foure perſons, of ſuch wiſedome, knowledge and experience, as were thought meetеſt foꝛ the oꝛdering of ſuch a weightie matter. So that by the arbitrement, awaꝛd and doome of thoſe eight perſons authoꝛiſed thereto, a league was concluded vpon certeine aꝛticles of agreement, amongſt the which the chiefeſt was, that the Saxons from thenceforth ſhould quietlie inioy all that part of Britaine which lieth foꝛe againſt the Almaine ſeas, the ſame to be called euer after Engliſhlaund, and all the reſidue ſhould remaine to the Britains as their owne rightfull and ancient inheritance. Thus far Hector Boetius.

But now to returne vnto Vter accoꝛding to that we find in the Britiſh hiſtoꝛies, and to pꝛoceed after our owne hiſtoꝛians; we find, that when he had vanquiſhed the Saxons and taken their two chiefe teins pꝛiſoners, in pꝛoceſſe of time he fell in loue with a verie beautifull ladie called Igwarne oꝛ Igerna, wife to one Goꝛolus oꝛ Goꝛlois duke of Coꝛnewall, the which duke he ſlue at length neere to his owne caſtell called Diuuliоc in Coꝛnewall, to the end that he might inioy the ſaid ladie, whome he afteꝛwaꝛds maꝛied, and begot on hiꝛ that noble knight Aꝛthuꝛ, and a daughteꝛ named Amie oꝛ Anna. Occa and Oſca eſcaping alſo out of pꝛiſon aſſembled eſſoones a powꝛe of Saxons, and made waꝛre againſt the Britains, whereof Vter hauing aduertiſement pꝛepaꝛed to reſiſt them, and finallie went himſelfe in perſon againſt them, and at ſaint Albans (as ſome wꝛite) gaue them battell, and ſlue them both in the field.

Goꝛolus duke of Coꝛnewall.

Harding.

By that which Polydoꝛ Virgil wꝛiteth, it ſhould ſeeme that Germane the biſhop of Aurerre came into Britaine in the daies of this Vter, by whoſe pꝛeſence the Britains had victoꝛie againſt the Saxons (as befoꝛe ye haue heard) after which victoꝛie both reſted from troubling either other foꝛ a time. The Saxons as it were aſtonied with that pꝛeſent miracle, & the Britains not following their good ſucceſſe; ſhoꝛtlie after fell at diſcoꝛd amongſt themſelues, which finallie bꝛought them to vtter decaie, as after ſhall appeare. But the Saxons deſiꝛous to ſpoile the Britains of the whole poſſeſſion of that part of the Ile which they held, whereas they accounted the cities and townes of ſmall ſtrength to be defended, they got them to an high mounteine called Badon hill, which Polydoꝛ ſuppoſeth to be Blackamoꝛe that lieth neere to the water of Theiſe, which diuideth the biſhoppꝛike of Durham from Yoꝛkeſhire, hauing at the mouth thereof an hauen meet to receiue ſuch ſhips as come out of Germanie, from whence the Saxons loked foꝛ aid, hauing alreadie ſent thither foꝛ the ſame.

Badon hill.

The Britains being thereof aduertiſed, made haſt towards the place, and beſieged it on euerie ſide. They alſo laie the ſea coaſts full of ſouldiers, to keepe ſuch of the enimies from landing as ſhould come out of Germanie. The Saxons kept themſelues foꝛ a certeine ſpace aloft vpon the high ground, but in the end conſtreined thꝛough want of vittels, they came downe with their armie in oꝛdeꝛ of battell to the nеꝛt plaines, and offeꝛing to fight, the battell was anon begun, which continued from the moꝛning till faꝛ in the day, with ſuch ſlaughteꝛ, that the earth on euerie ſide flowed with bloud: but the Saxons ſuſteined the greater loſſe, their capteins Occa and Oſca being both ſlaine, ſo that the Britains might ſeeme quite deliuered of all danger of thoſe enimies: but the fatall deſtinie could not be auoided, as hereafter may appeare. And thus was the ſlaughteꝛ made of the Saxons at Badon hill, whereof Gyldas maketh mention, and chanced the ſame yeare that he was boꝛne, which was in the yeare after the firſt comming of the Saxons into this land, the yeare of Grace 492, & 15 indiction.

Gyldas. 44

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About the ſame time Vter departed out of this life (ſaith Polydoꝛ) ſo that this account agreeth nothing with the common account of thoſe authoꝛs, whome Fabian and other haue followed. Foꝛ either we muſt pꝛeſuppoſe, that Vter reigned befoꝛe the time appointed to him by the ſaid authoꝛs, either elſe that the ſiege of Badon hill was befoꝛe he began to reigne, as it ſhould ſeeme in deed by that which Wil. Malmesburie wꝛiteth thereof, as hereafter ſhall be alſo ſhewed. Finallie (accoꝛding to the agreement of the Engliſh wꝛiters) Vter Pendꝛagon died by poiſon, when he had gouerned this land by the full terme of 16 yeaꝛs, & was after buried by his bꝛother Aurelius at Stoneheng, otherwiſe called *Chorea Gigantum*, leauing his ſonne Aꝛthuꝛ to ſucceed him. ¶ Here ye muſt note that the Scotiſh chꝛonicles declare, that in all the waꝛres foꝛ the moꝛe part wherein the Britains obteined victoꝛie againſt the Saxons, the Scots aided them in the ſame waꝛres, and ſo likewiſe did the Picts, but the ſame chꝛonicles do not onelie vaꝛie from the Britiſh wꝛiters in account of yeaꝛes, but alſo in the oꝛdeꝛ of things done, as in the ſame chꝛonicles moꝛe plainelie may appeare, & namelie in the diſcourſe of the accidents which chanced during the reigne of this Vter. Foꝛ whereas the Britiſh hiſtoꝛies, as ye haue heard, attribute great pꝛaiſe vnto the ſame Vter foꝛ his victoꝛies atchiued againſt the Saxons and their king Occa, whome he ſlue in battell, and obteined a great victoꝛie, the Scotiſh wꝛiters make other wepoꝛt, affiꝛming in deed that by the pꝛeſence of biſhop Germane he obteined victoꝛie in one battell againſt them: but ſhoꝛtlie after the Britains fought againe with the Saxons, and were diſcomfited, although Occa in following the chaſe ouer raſhlie chanced to be ſlaine: after whoſe deceaſſe the Saxons oꝛdeined his ſonne named alſo Occa to ſucceed in his place, who to make himſelfe ſtꝛong againſt all his enimies, ſent into Germanie foꝛ one Colgerne, the which with a great powꝛe of Dutchmen came ouer into this our Britaine, and conquered by Occas appointment the countꝛie of Noꝛthumbeꝛland, ſituate betweene Tine and Tweed, as in the Scotiſh chꝛonicles may further appeare.

The diſcent of Vter Pendꝛagon.

Stoneheng. Chorea Gigantum.

Alſo this is to be remembꝛed, that the victoꝛie which was got againſt the Saxons by the Britains, at what time Germane biſhop of Aurerre was pꝛeſent: Hector Boetius affiꝛmeth (by authoꝛitie of Veremond that wꝛote the Scotiſh chꝛonicles) to haue chanced the ſecond time of his comming ouer into this land, where Beda auoucheth it to be at his firſt being heere. Againe the ſame Boetius wꝛiteth, that the ſame victoꝛie chanced in the daies of Vter Pendꝛagon. Which can not be, if it be true that Beda wꝛiteth, touching the time of the death of the ſaid Germane: foꝛ where he departed this life befoꝛe the yeare of our Loꝛd 459, as aboue is ſaid, Vter Pendꝛagon began not his reigne till the yeare of our Loꝛd 500 oꝛ as the ſame Hector Boetius ſaith 503, ſo that biſhop Germane was dead long befoꝛe that Vter began to reigne.

In deed ſome wꝛiters haue noted, that the third battell which Woꝛtimer fought againſt the Saxons, was the ſame wherein S Germane was pꝛeſent, and pꝛocured the victoꝛie with the cꝛie of Alleluia, as befoꝛe ye haue heard. Which ſeemeth to be moꝛe agreeable to truth, and to ſtand alſo with that which holie Beda hath wꝛitten, touching the time of the being heere of the ſaid Germane, that the opinion of other, which affiꝛme that it was in the time of the

reigne

reigne of Uter. The like is to be found in the reſidue of Hector Boetius his booke, touching the time ſpeciallie of the reignes of the Britiſh kings that gouerned Britaine about that ſeaſon. For as he affirmeth, Aurelius Ambroſius began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 498, and ruled but ſeuen yeares, and then ſucceeded Uter, which reigned 18 yeares, and departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 521.

¶ Notwithſtanding the premiſſes, here is to be remembred, that whatſoeuer the Britiſh writers haue recorded touching the victories of this Uter had againſt the Saxons, and how that Oſca the ſonne of Hengiſt ſhould be ſlaine in battell by him and his power: in thoſe old writers which haue regiſtred the acts of the Engliſh Saxon kings we find no ſuch matter, but rather that after the deceaſſe of Hengiſt, his ſonne Oſca or Occa reigned in Kent 24 yeares, defending his kingdome onelie, and not ſeeking to inlarge it (as before is touched.) After whoſe death his ſonne Oth, and Irmenrike ſonne to the ſame Oth ſucceeded, more reſembling their father than their grandfather or great grandfather. To their reignes are aſſigned fiftie and three yeares by the chronicles: but whether they reigned ſiontlie togither, or ſeuerallie & apart either after other, it is not certeinlie perceiued.

Oſca. 34 saith Henrie Hunt. in corrupted copies.

Porth the Saxon arriueth at Porteſmouth, warre betweene Nazaleod king of the Britains and the Saxons, the Britains are ouethrowen and ſlaine, the kingdome of the weſt Saxons beginneth, the compaſſe or continent thereof, the meanes whereby it was inlarged.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw will we breefelie diſcourſe vpon the incidents which firſt happened during the reigne of Uter Pendragon. We find that one Porth a Saxon with his two ſons Wegla and Weda came on land at Porteſmouth in Suſſex, about the beginning of the ſaid Uters reigne, and ſlue a noble yong man of the Britains, and manie other of the meaner ſort with him. Of this Porth the towne & hauen of Porteſmouth tooke the name, as ſome haue thought. Moreouer, about 40 yeares after the comming of the Saxons into this land with their leader Hengiſt, one Nazaleod, a mightie king amongſt the Britains, aſſembled all the power he could make to fight with Certicus king of the Weſtſaxons, who vnderſtanding of the great power of his enimies, required aid of Oſca king of Kent, alſo of Elle king of Suſſex, and of Porth and his ſonnes which were latelie before arriued as ye haue heard. Certicus being then furniſhed with a conuenient armie, diuided the ſame into two battels, reſeruing the one to himſelfe, and the other he appointed to his ſonne Kenrike. King Nazaleod perceiuing that the wing which Certicus led, was of more ſtrength than the other which Kenrike gouerned, he ſet firſt vpon Certicus, thinking that if he might diſtreſſe that part of the enimies armie, he ſhould eaſilie ouercome the other. Herevpon he gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon that wing, that by verie force he opened the ſame, and ſo ouerthrew the Saxons on that ſide, making great ſlaughter of them as they were ſcattered. Which maner of dealing when Kenrike ſaw, he made forward with all ſpeed to ſuccour his father, and rushing in amongſt the Britains on their backs, he brake their armie in peeces, and ſlue their king Nazaleod, and withall put his people to flight. There died of the Britains that daie 5000 men, and the reſidue eſcaped by fleeing as well as they might. In the firſt yeare after this battell, Stuff and Wightgar that were nephues to Certicus, came with three ſhips, and landed at Certicesford, and ouerthrew a number of Britains that came againſt them in order of battell, and ſo by the comming of thoſe his nephues being baliant and hardie captains, the part of Certicus became much ſtronger. About the ſame time Elle king of the Southſaxons departed this life, after whome ſucceeded his ſonne Cilla, of whome we find little left in writing to be made account of.

The Britains ouerthrowne. Math. Weſt. Henr. Hunt. Stuff and Wightgar. Math. Weſt. noteth the yeare of their arriuall to be 514.

About the yeare of our Lord 519, and in the yeare after the comming of the Saxons 71, which was in the 26 yeare of the emperour Anaſtaſius, the Britains fought with Certicus and his ſonne Kenrike at Certicesford, where the captains of the Britains ſtood to it manfullie: but in the end they were diſcomfited, and great ſlaughter was made there of them by the Saxons, and greater had beene, if the night comming on had not parted them, and ſo manie were ſaued.

Henr. Hunt. Britains ouerthrowne by the Saxons.

From that day forward Certicus was reputed & taken for king of Weſtſaxons, & ſo began the ſame kingdome at that time, which was (as W. Harriſon noteth) in the yeare of Chriſt 519, after the building of Rome 1270, of the world 4485, of the comming of the Saxons 70, of Juſtinus Anicius emperour of the eaſt, the firſt and third of the renowmed prince Patricius Arthurus then reigning ouer the Britains. The ſaid kingdome alſo conteined the countries of Wiltſhire, Summerſetſhire, Barkeſhire, Dorſetſhire, and Cornewall, hauing on the eaſt Hamſhire, on the north the riuer of Thames, and on the ſouth and weſt the Ocean ſea. Howbeit, at the firſt the kings of the Weſtſaxons had not ſo large dominions, but they dailie wan ground vpon the Britains, and ſo in the end by inlarging their confines, they came to inioy all the foreſaid countries, and the whole at the laſt.

The kingdom of weſtſaxons

In the ninth yeare of the reigne of Certicus, he eſſoines fought with the Saxons at Certicesford aforeſaid, where great ſlaughter was made on both parts. This Certicesford was in times paſt called Nazaleoy of the late remembred Nazaleod king of the Britains. About this ſeaſon at ſundrie times diuers great companies of the Saxons came ouer into Britaine out of Germanie, and got poſſeſſion of the countries of Mercia and Eaſtangle: but as yet thoſe of Mercia had no one king that gouerned them, but were vnder certeine noble men that got poſſeſſion of diuers parts in that countrie, by means wherof great warres and manie incounters inſued, with a common waſte of land both arable and habitable, whiles each one being ambitiouſlie minded, & heaping to themſelues ſuch powers as they were able to make, by ſword and bloudſhed choſe rather to haue their fortune decided, than by reaſon to ſuppreſſe the rage of their vnrulie affections. For ſuch is the nature of men in gouernement, whether they be intereſſed to it by ſucceſſion, or poſſeſſed of it by vſurpation, or placed in it by lawfull conſtitution, (vnleſſe they be guided by ſome ſupernaturall influence of diuine conceit) if they be more than one, they cannot away with equalitie, for regiment admitteth no companion: but euerie one ſeeketh to aduance himſelfe to a ſingularitie of honour, wherein he will not (to die for it) participate with another, which maie eaſilie be obſerued in this our hiſtoricall diſcourſe.

Certicesford.

Porth entred this land about the yeare of our Lord 501 as Math. Weſt. noteth.

Harriſon ſuppoſeth the riuer to be called Dor, as for the word mouth, to the fall of anie freſh riuer into the ſea.

The beginning of the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons, what it conteined, of Arthur* king of Britaine, his twelue victories ouer the *Saxons against whome he mainteined continuall* warre, why the Scots and Picts enuied him his roialtie *and empire, a league betwixt Arthur and Loth king of* the Picts, Howell king of little Britaine aideth Arthur against Cheldrike king of Germanie, who taking the ouerthrow, is slaine by the duke of Cornewall, the Picts are discomfited, the Irishmen with their king put to flight, and the Scots subdued, Arthurs sundrie conquests against diuers people, the vanitie of the British writers noted.

The twelfe Chapter.

Erchenwin. The kingdom of the Eastsaxons.

IN those daies also the kingdome of the Eastsaxons began, the chéefe citie whereof was London. It conteined in effect so much as at this présent belongeth to the diocesse of London. One Erchenwin a Saxon was the first king thereof, the which was sonne to one Offa, the first in lineall descent from one Sarnot, from whom the kings of that countrie fetched their originall. Harison noteth the exact yéere of the creation of the kingdome of the Eastsaxons to begin with the end of the eight of Cerdicus king of the Westsaxons, that is, the 527 of Christ, and 78 after the comming of the Saxons. In the 13 yéere of the reigne of Cerdicus, he with his sonne Kenrike, and other of the Saxon capteins fought with the Britains in the Ile of Wight at Witgarsbridge, where they slue a great number of Britains, and so conquered the Ile, the which about foure yéeres after was giuen by Cerdicus vnto his nephues Stuffe and Witgar.

Arthur.

AFter the decease of Uter Pendragon (as we doo find in the British histories) his sonne Arthur, a yong towardlie gentleman, of the age of 15 yéeres or thereabouts, began his reigne ouer the Britains in the yéere of our Lord 516, or as Matt. Westmin. saith 517, in the 28 yéere of the emperour Anastasius, and in the third yéere of the reignes of Childebert, Clothare, Clodamire, and Theodorike, brethren that were kings of the Frenchmen. Of this Arthur manie things are written beyond credit, for that there is no ancient author of authoritie that confirmeth the same: but surelie as may be thought he was some worthie man, and by all likelihood a great enimie to the Saxons, by reason whereof the Welshmen which are the verie Britains in déed, haue him in famous remembrance. He fought (as the common report goeth of him) 12 notable battels against the Saxons, & in euerie of them went away with the victorie, but yet he could not driue them quite out of the land, but that they kept still the countries which they had in possession, as Kent, Sutherie, Norfolke, and others: howbeit some writers testifie, that they held these countries as tributaries to Arthur.

516 Matth. West. hath noted 518

But truth it is (as diuers authors agrée) that he held continuall warre against them, and also against the Picts, the which were allied with the Saxons: for as in the Scotish histories is conteined, euen at the first beginning of his reigne, the two kings of the Scots and Picts séemed to enuie his aduancement to the crowne of Britaine, bicause they had maried the two sisters of the two brethren, Aurelius Ambrosius, and Uter Pendragon, that is to say, Loth king of Picts had married Anne their eldest sister, and Conran king of Scots had in mariage Alda their yonger sister, so that bicause Arthur was begotten out of wedlocke, they thought it stood with more reason, that the kingdome of the Britains should haue descended vnto the sisters sonnes, rather than to a bastard, namelie Loth the Pictish king, which had issue by his wife Anna, sore repined at the matter.

Wherefore at the first, when he saw that by suit he could not preuaile, he ioined in league with the Saxons, and aiding them against Arthur, lost many of his men of warre being ouerthrowne in battell, which he had sent vnto the succours of Colgerne the Saxon prince that ruled as then in the north parts. But finallie a league was concluded betwixt Arthur and the foresaid Loth king of Picts, vpon certeine conditions, as in the Scotish historie is expressed, where ye may read the same, with many other things touching the acts of Arthur, somewhat in other order than our writers haue recorded.

¶ The British authors declare, that Arthur (immediatlie after he had receiued the crowne of Dubright bishop of Caerleon) went with his power of Britains against the Saxons of Northumberland, which had to their capteine (as before is said) one Colgrime or Colgerne, whome Arthur discomfited and chased into the citie of Yorke, within which place Arthur besieged him, till at length the same Colgrime escaped out of the citie, & leauing it in charge with his brother called Bladulfe, passed ouer into Germanie vnto Cheldrike king of that countrie, of whom he obteined succor, so that the said Cheldrike made prouision of men and ships, and came himselfe ouer into Scotland, hauing in his companie fiftéene hundred sailes one with an other.

Yorke besieged.

Cheldrike commeth in aid of Colgrime. Matt. West. saith but 700.

When Arthur was aduertised thereof, he raised his siege, and withdrew to London, sending letters with all spéed vnto Howell king of little Britaine in France, that was his sisters sonne, requiring of him in most earnest wise his aid. Howell incontinentlie assembled his people, to the number of fiftéene thousand men, and taking the sea, landed with them at Southhampton, where Arthur was readie to receiue him with great ioy and gladnesse. From thence they drew northwards, where both the hosts of Arthur and Howell being assembled togither, marched forward to Lincolne, which citie Cheldrike did as then besiege. Here Arthur and Howell assailed the Saxons with great force & no lesse manhood, and at length after great slaughter made of the enimies, they obteined the victorie, and chased Cheldrike (with the residue of the Saxons that were left aliue) vnto a wood, where they compassed them about within the same, in such wise, that in the ende they were constreined to yéeld themselues, with condition that they might be suffered to depart on foot to their ships, and so auoid the land, leauing their horsse, armour, and other furniture vnto the Britains.

Howell king of Britaine commeth sur in aid of Arthur.

Cheldrike ouerthrowne in battell.

Hereupon the Britains taking good hostages for assurance, permitted the Saxons to go their waies, and so Cheldrike and his people got them to their ships, in purpose to returne into their countrie: but being on the sea, they were forced by wind to change their course, and comming on the coasts of the west parts of Britaine, they arriued at Totnesse, and contrarie to the couenanted articles of their last composition with Arthur, inuaded the countrie anew, and taking such armour as they could find, marched forth in robbing and spoiling the people, till they came to Bath, which towne the Britains kept and defended against them, not suffering them by anie meanes to enter there, whereupon the Saxons inuironed it with a strong siege. Arthur informed hereof, with all spéed hasted thither, and giuing the enimies battell, slue the most part of Cheldrikes men.

Bath besieged.

men.

The Saxons ouerthrow Colgrime and Bladulfe.

There were ſlaine both Colgrime and Bladulfe, howbeit Theldrike himſelfe fled out of the field towards his ſhips, but being purſued by Cador earle of Cornwall (that had with him ten thouſand men) by Arthurs appointment, he was ouertaken and in fight ſlaine with all his people. Arthur himſelfe returned from this battell foughten at Bath with all ſpeed towards the marches of Scotland, for that he had receiued aduertiſement, how the Scots had beſieged Howell K. of Britaine there, as he lay ſicke. Also when Cador had accomplished his enterpriſe and ſlaine Theldrike, he returned with as much ſpeed as was poſſible towards Arthur, & found him in Scotland, where he reſcued Howell, and afterwards purſued the Scots which fled before him by heaps.

Theldrike ſlaine by Cador duke of Cornwall.

K. Howell beſieged by the Scots.

About the ſame time, one Guillomer king of Ireland arriued in Scotland with a mightie power of Iriſhmen (neere the place where Arthur lodged) to helpe the Scots againſt the Britains: whereupon Arthur turning his forces towards the ſame Guillomer, vanquiſhed him, and chaſed him into Ireland. This done, he continued in purſute of the Scots, till he cauſed them to ſue for pardon, and to ſubmit themſelues wholie to him, and ſo receiuing them to mercie, & taking homage of them, he returned to Yorke, and ſhortlie after tooke to wife one Guenhera a right beautifull ladie, that was neere kinſwoman to Cador earle of Cornwall.

Guillomer.

Guenhera.

In the yeere following, which ſome note to be 525, he went into Ireland, and diſcomfited king Guillomer in battell, he conſtreined him to yeeld, and to acknowledge by doing his fealtie to hold the realme of Ireland of him. It is further remembred in thoſe Britiſh hiſtories, that he ſubdued Gothland and Iſeland, with all the Iles in and about thoſe ſeas. Also that he ouercame the Romans in the countrie about Paris, with their captaine Lucius, and waſted the moſt part of all France, and ſlue in ſingular combats certeine giants that were of paſſing force and hugeneſſe of ſtature. And if he had not beene reuoked and called home to reſiſt his couſen Mordred, that was ſonne to Loth king of Pightland that rebelled in his countrie, he had paſſed to Rome, intending to make himſelfe emperor, and afterward to vanquiſh the other emperor, who then ruled the empire. ¶ But for ſo much as there is not anie approued author who doth ſpeake of anie ſuch doings, the Britains are thought to haue regiſtred meere fables in ſted of true matters, vpon a vaine deſire to aduance more than reaſon would, this Arthur their noble champion, as the Frenchmen haue done their Rouland, and diuerſe others.

W. Harison. 525.

Gothland.

Arthur is reſiſted by Mordred the vſurper from arriuing in his owne land, they ioine battell, Gawaine is ſlaine and his death lamented by Arthur, Mordred taketh flight, he is ſlaine, and Arthur mortallie wounded, his death, the place of his buriall, his bodie digged vp, his bigneſſe coniecturable by his bones, a croſſe found in his toome with an inſcription thereupon, his wife Guenhera buried with him, a rare report of hir haire, Iohn Lelands epitaph in memorie of prince Arthur.

The xiij. Chapter.

KIng Arthur at his returne into Britaine, found that Mordred had cauſed himſelfe to be made king, & hauing alied himſelfe with Theldrike a Saxon (not him whome Galfride, as ye haue heard, ſuppoſeth to haue beene wounded & ſlaine before) was readie to reſiſt his landing, ſo that before he could come on land, he loſt manie of his men: but yet at length he repelled the enimies, and ſo tooke land at Sandwich, where he firſt arriued, and ioining in battell with his enimies, he diſcomfited them, but not without great loſſe of his people: ſpecially he ſore lamented the death of Gawaine the brother of Mordred, which like a faithfull gentleman, regarding more his honour and loiall truth than nereneſſe of bloud and conſenage, choſe rather to fight in the quarrell of his liege king and louing maiſter, than to take part with his naturall brother in an vniuſt cauſe, and ſo there in the battell was ſlaine, togither alſo with Anguſſell, to whom Arthur afore time had committed the gouernment of Scotland. Mordred fled from this battell, and getting ſhips ſailed weſtward, and finallie landed in Cornwall. King Arthur cauſed the corps of Gawaine to be buried at Douer (as ſome hold opinion:) but William Malmeſburie ſuppoſeth, he was buried in Wales, as after ſhall be ſhewed. The dead bodie of Anguſſell was conueied into Scotland, and was there buried. When that Arthur had put his enimies to flight, and had knowledge into what parts Mordred was withdrawne, with all ſpeed he reinforced his armie with new ſupplies of ſouldiers called out of diuerſe parties, and with his whole puiſſance haſted forward not reſting till he came neere to the place where Mordred was incamped, with ſuch an armie as he could aſſemble togither out of all parties where he had anie friends. ¶ Heere (as it appeareth by Iohn Leland, in his booke intituled, The aſſertion of Arthur) it may be douted in what place Mordred was incamped: but Geffrey of Monmouth ſheweth, that after Arthur had diſcomfited Mordred in Kent at the firſt landing, it chanced ſo that Mordred eſcaped and fled to Wincheſter, whither Arthur followed him, and there giuing him battell the ſecond time, did alſo put him to flight. And following him from thence, fought eſſſones with him at a place called Camblane, or Kemelene in Cornwall, or (as ſome authors haue) neere vnto Glaſtenburie.

Rather Cerdicke as Leland thinketh.

Gawaine buried at Douer

This battell was fought to ſuch proſe, that finallie Mordred was ſlaine, with the more part of his whole armie, and Arthur receiuing diuers mortall wounds died of the ſame ſhortlie after, when he had reigned ouer the Britains by the tearme of 26 yeeres. His corps was buried at Glaſtenburie aforeſaid, in the churchyard, betwixt two pillers: where it was found in the daies of king Henrie the ſecond, about the yeere of our Lord 1191, which was in the laſt yeere of the reigne of the ſame Henrie, more than ſix hundred yeeres after the buriall thereof. He was laid 16 foot deepe vnder ground, for doubt that his enimies the Sarons ſhould haue found him. But thoſe that digged the ground there to find his bodie, after they had entered about ſeuen foot deepe into the earth, they found a mightie broad ſtone with a leaden croſſe faſtened to that part which laie downewards toward the corps, conteining this inſcription:

Richard Turner.

Hic iacet ſepultus inclytus rex Arthurius in inſula Aualoniæ.

This inſcription was grauen on that ſide of the croſſe which was next to the ſtone: ſo that till the croſſe was taken from the ſtone, it was vnſeene. His bodie was found, not incloſed within a tome of marble or other ſtone curiouſlie wrought, but within a great tree made hollowe for the nonce like a trunke, the which being found and digged vp, was opened, and therein were found the kings bones, of ſuch marueilous bigneſſe, that the ſhinbone of his leg being ſet on the ground, reached vp to the middle thigh of a verie tall man: as a monke of that abbeie hath

hath written, which did liue in thoſe dates, and ſaw it. ¶ But Gyraldus Cambrenſis (who alſo liued in thoſe dates, and ſpake with the abbat of the place, by whom the bones of this Arthur were then found) affirmeth, that by report of the ſame abbat, he learned, that the ſhinbone of the ſaid Arthur being ſet vp by the leg of a verie tall man (the which the abbat ſhewed to the ſame Gyraldus) came aboue the knée of the ſame man the length of three fingers breadth, which is a great deale more likelie than the other. Furthermore the ſkull of his head was of a wonderfull largeneſſe, ſo that the ſpace of his forehead betwixt his two eies was a ſpan broad. There appéered in his head the ſignes and prints of ten wounds or more: all the which were growne into one wem, except onelie that whereof it ſhould ſéeme he died, which being greater than the reſidue, appéered verie plaine. Alſo in opening the tome of his wife quéene Gueneuer, that was buried with him, they found the treſſes of hir haire whole and perfect, and finelie platted, of colour like to the burniſhed gold, which being touched, immediatlie fell to duſt. The abbat, which then was gouernour of the houſe, was named Stephan, or Henrie de Blois, otherwiſe de Sullie, nephue to king Henrie the ſecond (by whoſe commandement he had ſerched for the graue of Arthur) tranſlated the bones as well of him as of quéene Gueneuer, being ſo found, into the great church, and there buried them in a faire double tome of marble, laieng the bodie of the king at the head of the tome, and the bodie of the quéene at his féet towards the weſt part. ¶ The writer of the hiſtorie of Cambria now called Wales ſaith, that the bones of the ſaid Arthur, and Gueneuer his wife were found in the Ile of Aualon (that is, the Ile of Alpes) without the abbeie of Glaſtenburie, fifteene féet within the ground, & that his graue was found by the meanes of a Bardh, whome the king heard at Penbroke ſinging the acts of prince Arthur, and the place of his buriall.

Henricus Blecenſis ſeu Soliacenſis.
Io. Leland.
Dauid Pow. pag. 238, 239.

Iohn Leland in his booke intituled Aſſertio Arthuri, *hath for the woorthie memorie of ſo noble a prince, honored him with a learned epitaph, as heere followeth.*

SAxonicas toties qui fudit Marte cruento
Who vanquiſhs Saxon troops ſo oft, with baſtels blondie broiles,
Turmas, & peperit ſpolijs ſibi nomen opimis,
And purchaſt to himſelfe a name with warlike wealthie ſpoiles,
Fulmineo toties Pictos qui contudit enſe,
Who hath with ſhmering ſhining ſword, the Picts ſo oft diſmaid,
Impoſuitque iugum Scoti ceruicibus ingens:
And eke vnweldie ſeruile yoke on necke of Scots hath laid:
Qui tumidos Gallos, Germanos quique feroces
Who Frenchmen puſh with pride, and who the Germans fierce in fight
Perculit, & Dacos bello confregit aperto:
Diſcomfited, and danted Danes with maine and martiall might:
Denique Mordredum è medio qui ſuſtulit illud
Who of that murdring Mordred did the vitall breath expell,
Monſtrum, horrendum, ingens, dirum, ſæuúmque tyrannum,
That monſter griſlie, lothſome, huge, that direſome tyrant fell,
Hoc iacet extinctus monumento Arthurius alto,
Heere liueleſſe Arthur lies intoomd, within this ſtatelie hearſe,
Militiæ clarum decus, & virtutis alumnus:
Of chiualrie the bright renowme, and vertues nurſling fearſe:
Gloria nunc cuius terram circumuolat omnem,
Whoſe glorie great now ouer all the world dooth compaſſe flie,
Aetherijque petit ſublimia tecta Tonantis.
And of the airie thunder ſkales the loftie building hie.
Vos igitur gentis proles generoſa Britannæ,
Therefore you noble progenie of Britaine line and race,
Induperatori ter magno aſſurgite veſtro,
Ariſe vnto your emperour great, of thrice renowned grace,
Et tumulo ſacro roſeas inferte corollas,
And caſt vpon his ſacred toome the roſeall garlands gaie,
Officij teſtes redolentia munera veſtri.
That fragrant ſmell may witneſſe well your duties you diſplaie.

¶ Theſe verſes I haue the more willinglie inſerted, for that I had the ſame deliuered to me turned into Engliſh by maiſter Nicholas Roſcarocke, both right aptlie yeelding the ſenſe, and alſo properlie anſwering the Latine, verſe for verſe.

Vpon what occaſion the graue of king *Arthur was ſought for, the follie of ſuch* diſcouered as beleeued that he ſhould returne *and reigne againe as king in Britaine, whether it* be a fiction or a veritie that there was ſuch an Arthur *or no; diſcordance among writers about the place of Gawains* buriall and Arthurs death; of queene Gueneuer the wife of king Arthur, hir beautie and diſhoneſt life, great diſagreement among writers touching Arthur and his wiues to the impeachment of the hiſtorie, of his life and death.

The xiiij. Chapter.

THe occaſion that moued king Henrie the ſecond to cauſe his nephue the foreſaid abbat to ſearch for the graue of king Arthur, was, for that he vnderſtood by a Welſh minſtrell or Bardh (as they call him) that could ſing manie hiſtories in the Welſh language of the acts of the ancient Britains, that in the foreſaid churchyard at Glaſtenburie, betwixt the ſaid two pillers the bodie of Arthur was to be found ſixteene foot déepe vnder the ground. Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth, that the trée in the which Arthurs bodie was found ſo incloſed, was an oke, but other ſuppoſe that it was an alder trée, bicauſe that in the ſame place a great number of that kind of trées do grow, and alſo for that it is not vnknowne, that an alder lieng vnder ground where moiſture is, will long continue without rotting.

¶ By the finding thus of the bodie of Arthur buried (as before ye haue heard) ſuch as hitherto beléeued that he was not dead, but conueied awaie by the fairies into ſome pleaſant place, where he ſhould remaine for a time, and then to returne againe, and reigne in as great authoritie as euer he did before, might well perceiue themſelues deceiued in crediting ſo vaine a fable. But yet (where it might otherwiſe be doubted, whether anie ſuch Arthur was at all, as the Britiſh hiſtories mention, bicauſe neither Gyldas nor Beda in their workes ſpeake anie thing of him) it may appéere, the circumſtances conſidered, that ſuerly ſuch one there was of that name, hardie and valiant in armes, though not in diuerſe points ſo famous as ſome writers paint him out. William Malmeſburie a writer of good credit and authoritie amongſt the learned, hath theſe words in his firſt booke intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, ſaieng: But he being dead [meaning Mortimer] the force of the Britains waxed féeble, their decaied hope went backward apace: and euen then ſuerlie had they gon to deſtruction, if Ambroſius (who alone of the Romans remained yet aliue, and was king after Mortigerne) had not kept vnder and ſtaied the loftie barbarous people, that is to ſay the Saxons, by the notable aid and aſſiſtance of the valiant Arthur.

This is the ſame Arthur, of whom the trifling tales of the Britains euen to this day fantaſticallie do deſcant and report wonders: but worthie was he doubtleſſe, of whom feined fables ſhould not haue ſo dreamed, but rather that true hiſtories might haue ſet forth his worthie praiſes, as he that did for a long ſeaſon ſuſteine and hold vp his countrie that was readie to go to vtter ruine and decaie, incouraging the bold harts of the Britains vnto the warre, and finallie in the ſiege of Badon hill, he ſet vpon nine hundred of the enimies, and with incredible ſlaugh-

As for example in a caue neére a water called pond perillous at Salisburie, where he and his knights ſhould ſléepe armed, till an other knight ſhould be borne that ſhould come and awake them.

Will. Malmſ. *lib. 1. de regibus Ang.*

ter

ter did put them all to flight. On the contrarie part, the Engliſh Saxons, although they were toſſed with ſundrie haps of fortune, yet ſtill they renewed their bands with new ſupplies of their countriemen that came out of Germanie, and ſo with bolder courage aſſailed their enimies, and by little and little cauſing them to giue place, ſpread themſelues ouer the whole Ile. For although there were manie battels, in the which ſometime the Saxons and ſometime the Britains got the better, yet the greater number of Saxons that were ſlaine, the greater number of them ſtill came ouer to the ſuccour of their countriemen, being called in and ſent for out of euerie quarter about them.

Here is alſo to be noted, that where the Britiſh hiſtorie declareth, that Gawaine or Gallowine being ſlaine in the battell fought betwixt Arthur and Mordred in Kent, was buried at Douer, ſo that his bones remained there to be ſhewed a long time after: yet by that which the foreſaid William Malmeſburie writeth in the third booke of his volume intituled *De regibus Anglorum*, the contrarie maie ſeeme true: his words are theſe. Then (ſaith he) in the prouince of Wales, which is called Roſſe, the ſepulture of Gallowine was found, who was nephue to Arthur by his ſiſter, not going out of kind from ſo worthie an vncle. He reigned in that part of Britaine which vnto this day is called Walwichia, a knight for his high proweſſe moſt highlie renowned, but expelled out of his kingdome by the brother and nephue of Hengiſt, of whome in the firſt booke we haue made mention, firſt requiting his baniſhment with great detriment and loſſe to thoſe his enimies, wherein he was partaker by iuſt deſert of his vncles worthie praiſe, for that he ſtaied (for a great manie yeres) the deſtruction of his countrie, which was now running headlong into vtter ruine and decaie. But Arthurs graue no where appeareth: yet the others tome (as I haue ſaid) was found in the daies of William the conqueror, king of England, vpon the ſea ſide, and conteined in length foureteene foot, where he was (as ſome ſay) wounded by his enimies, and caſt vp by ſhipwracke. But other write, that he was ſlaine at a publike feaſt or banket by his owne countriemen. Thus ſaith William Malmeſburie.

Gawaine where he is buried.

Will. Malm. lib. 3. de regib.

¶ But here you muſt conſider, that the ſaid Malmeſburie departed this life about the beginning of the reigne of king Henrie the ſecond, certeine yeers before the bones of Arthur were found (as ye haue heard.) But omitting this point as needles to be controuerſſed, & letting all diſſonant opinions of writers paſſe, as a matter of no ſuch moment that we ſhould need to ſticke therein as in a glewpot; we will proceed in the reſidue of ſuch collections as we find neceſſarilie pertinent to the continuation of this hiſtorie; and now we will ſay ſomewhat of queene Guenhera or Guenouer, the wife of the foreſaid king Arthur.

Some iudge that ſhe tooke hir name of hir excellent beautie, becauſe Guinne or Guenne in the Welſh tong ſignifieth faire, ſo that ſhe was named Guennere or rather Guenlhean, cuen (as you would ſay) the faire or beautifull Elenor or Helen. She was brought vp in the houſe of one Cador earle of Cornewall before Arthur maried hir: and as it appeareth by writers, ſhe was euill reported of, as noted of incontinencie & breach of faith to hir huſband, in maner as for the more part women of excellent beautie hardlie eſcape the venemous blaſt of euill tongs, and the ſharpe aſſaults of the followers of Venus. The Britiſh hiſtorie affirmeth, that ſhe did not onelie abuſe hir ſelfe by vnlawfull companie with Mordred, but that alſo in Arthurs abſence ſhe conſented to take him to huſband. It is likewiſe found recorded by an old writer, that Arthur beſieged on a time the marſhes neere to Glaſſenburie, for diſpleaſure that he bare to a certeine lord called Melua, who had raviſhed Guenever, and led hir into thoſe marſhes, and there did keepe hir. Hir corps notwithſtanding (as before is recited) was interred togither with Arthurs, ſo that it is thought ſhe liued not long after his deceaſſe.

Arthur had two wiues (as Gyraldus Cambrenſis affirmeth) of which the latter (ſaith he) was buried with him, and hir bones found with his in one ſepulchre, but yet ſo diuided, that two parts of the tome towards the head were appointed to receiue the bones of the man, and the third part towards the fæt conteined the womans bones, apart by themſelues. Here is to be remembred, that Hector Boetius writeth otherwiſe of the death of Arthur than before in this booke is mentioned, & alſo that Guenever being taking priſoner by the Picts, was conueied into Scotland, where finallie ſhe died, and was there buried in Angus, as in the Scotiſh chronicles further appeareth. And this may be true, if he had three ſundrie wiues, each of them bearing the name of Guenever, as ſir Iohn Price doth auouch that he had. Now becauſe of contrarietie in writers touching the great acts atchiued by this Arthur, and alſo for that ſome difference there is amongſt them, about the time in which he ſhould reigne, manie haue doubted of the whole hiſtorie which of him is written (as before ye haue heard.) ¶ But others there be of a conſtant beleefe, who hold it for a grounded truth, that ſuch a prince there was; and among all other a late writer, who falling into neceſſarie mention of prince Arthur, frameth a ſpeech apologeticall in his and their behalfe that were princes of the Britiſh bloud, diſcharging a ſhort but yet a ſharpe inuectiue againſt William Paruus, Polydor Virgil, and their complices, whom he accuſeth of lieng tongs, enuious detraction, malicious ſlander, reprochfull and venemous language, wilfull ignorance, dogged enuie, and cankerd minds; for that they ſpeake vnreuerentlie and contrarie to the knowne truth concerning thoſe thriſenoble princes. Which defenſitiue he would not haue depoſed, but that he takes the monuments of their memories for vndoubted verities.

David Powel pag. 238, 239.

The Britiſh hiſtories and alſo the Scotiſh chronicles do agree, that he liued in the daies of the emperour Iuſtinian, about the fiftéenth yeere of whoſe reigne he died, which was in the yeere of our Lord 542, as diuerſe do affirme. Howbeit ſome write farther from all likelihood, that he was about the time of the emperor Zeno, who began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 474. The writer of the booke intituled *Aurea hiſtoria* affirmeth, that in the tenth yeere of Cerdicus king of Weſtſaxons, Arthur the warriour roſe againſt the Britains. Alſo Diouionenſis writeth, that Cerdicus fighting oftentimes with Arthur, if he were ouercome in one moneth, he aroſe in an other moneth more fierce and ſtrong to giue battell than before. At length Arthur wearied with irkeſomnes, after the twelfth yeere of the comming of Cerdicus, gaue vnto him vpon his homage done and fealtie receiued, the ſhires of Southampton and Somerſet, the which countries Cerdicus named Weſtſaxon. This Cerdicus or Cerdicus came into Britaine about the yeere of our Lord 495. In the 24 yere after his comming hither, that is to ſay, about the yeere of your Lord 519, he began his reigne ouer the Weſtſaxons, and gouerned them as king by the ſpace of 15 yeeres, as before ye haue heard. But to follow the courſe of our chronicles accordinglie as we haue begun, we muſt allow of their accounts herein as in other places, and ſo proceed.

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Aurea hiſtoria. I. Leland.

Weſtſaxon.

The

The decaie of chriſtian religion and re-ceiuing of the Pelagian hereſie in Britaine by what meanes they were procured and by whom redreſſed: Conſtantine ſucceedeth Arthur in the kingdome, ciuill warre about ſucceſſion to the crowne, the chalengers are purſued and ſlaine, Conſtantine is vnkindlie killed of his kinſman, a bitter and reprochfull inuectiue of Gyldas againſt the Britiſh rulers of his time, and namelie againſt Conſtantine, Conan that ſlue Conſtantine reigneth in Britaine, his vertues and vices, his two yeeres regiment, the ſeuere reprehenſions of Gyldas vttered againſt Conan, diſcouering the courſe of his life, and a ſecret propheſie of his death.

The xv Chapter.

IN this meane while that the realme was diſquieted with ſore & continuall warres betwixt the Britains and Saxons (as before ye haue heard) the chriſtian religion was not onelie aboliſhed in places where the Saxons got habitations, but alſo among the Britains the right faith was brought into danger, by the remnant of the Pelagian hereſie, which began againe to be broched by diuers naughtie perſons. But Dubritius that was firſt biſhop of Landaffe, and after archbiſhop of Caerleon Arwiſke, and his ſucceſſour Dauid, with other learned men earneſtlie both by preaching and writing defended the contrarie cauſe, to the confuting of thoſe errors, and reſtabliſhing of the truth.

The hereſie of the Pelagians reuiued, Hiſt. Mag.

Dubritius & Dauid lerned biſhops.

Conſtantine.

AFter the death of Arthur, his coſine Conſtantine the ſonne of Cador, duke or earle of Cornewall began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yere of our Lord 542, which was about the 15 yeere of the emperour Juſtinianus almoſt ended, the 29 of Childebert king of France, and the firſt yeere well neere complet of the reigne of Totilas king of the Goths in Italie. Arthur when he perceiued that he ſhuld die, ordeined this Conſtantine to ſucceed him, and ſo by the conſent of the more part of the Britains he was crowned king: but the ſonnes of Mordred ſore repined thereat, as they that claimed the rule of the land by iuſt title and claime of inheritance to them from their father deſcended. Herevpon followed ciuill warre, ſo that diuers battels were ſtriken betweene them, and in the end the two brethren were conſtreined to withdraw for refuge, the one to London, and the other to Wincheſter: but Conſtantine purſuing them, firſt came to Wincheſter, and by force entered the citie, and ſlue the one brother that was fled thither within the church of ſaint Amphibalus: and after comming to London, entered that citie alſo, and finding the other brother within a church there, ſlue him in like maner as he had done the other. And ſo hauing diſpatched his aduerſaries, he thought to haue purchaſed to himſelfe ſafetie: but ſhortlie after, his owne kinſman, one Aurelius Conanus arrered warre againſt him, who ioining with him in battell ſlue him in the field, after he had reigned foure yeeres. His bodie was conueied to Stonheng, and there buried beſide his anceſtour Uter Pendragon.

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Galfrid. Matth. Weſt.

Ciuill warre.

Aurelius Conanus. Conſtantine ſlaine.

Gyldas.

Of this Conſtantine that ſeemeth to be ment, which Gyldas writeth in his booke intituled *De excidio Britanniæ*, where inueieng againſt the rulers of the Britains in his time, he writeth thus: Britaine hath kings, but the ſame be tyrants; iudges it hath, but they be wicked, offentines peeling and harming the innocent people, reuenging and defending, but whom? ſuch as be guiltie perſons and robbers; hauing manie wiues, but yet breaking wedlocke; oftentimes ſwearing, and yet forſwearing themſelues; vowing, and for the more part lieng; warring, but mainteining ciuill & vniuſt warres; purſuing indeed theeues that are abroad in the countrie, and yet not onelie cheriſhing thoſe that ſit euen at table with them, but alſo highlie rewarding them: giuing almeſſe largelie, but on the other part heaping vp a mightie mount of ſinnes; ſitting in the ſeat of ſentence, but ſeldome ſeeking the rule of righteous iudgement; deſpiſing the innocent and humble perſons, and exalting ſo farre as in them lieth, euen vp to the heauens, moſt bloudie and proud murtherers, theeues and adulterers, yea the verie profeſſed enimies of God; if he would ſo permit: keeping manie in priſon, whome they oppreſſe, in loding them with irons, through craft rather to ſerue their owne purpoſe, than for anie gilt of the perſons ſo impriſoned: taking ſolemne oths before the altars, and ſhortlie after, deſpiſing the ſame altars as vile and filthie ſtones.

Of this hainous and wicked offenſe Conſtantine the tyrannicall whelpe of the lioneſſe of Deuonſhire is not ignorant, who this yeare, after the receiuing of his dreadfull oth, whereby he bound himſelfe that in no wiſe he ſhould hurt his ſubiects (God firſt, and then his oth, with the companie of ſaints, and his mother being there preſent) did notwithſtanding in the reuerent laps of the two mothers, as the church, and their carnall mother, vnder the coule of the holie abbat, deuoure with ſword and ſpeare in ſtead of teeth, the tender ſides, yea and the entrailes of two children of noble and kinglie race, and likewiſe of their two gouernours, yea and that (as I ſaid) amongeſt the ſacred altars: the armes of which perſons ſo ſlaine, not ſtretched forth to defend themſelues with weapons (the which few in thoſe daies handled more valiantlie than they) but ſtretched forth (I ſaie) to God and to his altar in the day of iudgement, ſhall ſet vp the reuerent enſignes of their patience and faith at the gates of the citie of Chriſt, which ſo haue couered the ſeat of the celeſtiall ſacrifice, as it were with the red mantle of their cluttered bloud.

These things he did not after anie good déeds done by him deſeruing praiſe: for manie yeares before, ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, & forſaking his lawfull wife contrarie to the lawes of God, &c: he now brought forth this crime of quelling his owne kinſmen, and violating the church, but neither being loſed from the ſnares of his former euils, he increaſeth the new with the old. ¶ Thus in effect hath Gyldas written of this Conſtantine, with more: for turning his tale to him, he reproueth him of his faults, and counſelleth him to repent.

Conanus.

AFter that Aurelius Conanus had ſlaine the foreſaid Conſtantine, as in the Britiſh hiſtories is mentioned, the ſame Conan was made king of Britaine in the yeare of our Lord 546, in the 20 yeare of Juſtinianus, and in the 33 of the reigne of Childebert king of the Frenchmen. This Aurelius Conanus (as is recorded by ſome writers) was of a noble heart, free and liberall, but giuen much to the maintenance of ſtrife and diſcord amongſt his people, light of credit, and namelie had an open eare to receiue and heare the reports of ſuch as accuſed other. Moreouer he was noted of crueltie, as he that toke his vncle, who of right ſhould haue beene king, and kept him in priſon, and not ſo ſatiſfied ſlue in tyrannous maner the two ſons of his ſaid vncle. But God would not ſuffer him long to inioy the rule of the land in ſuch vniuſt dealing, for he

546.

Matth. Weſt. writeth that he reigned 32. yeares.

he died after he had reigned the ſpace of two yeares, and left a ſonne behind him called Voꝛtipoꝛus, which ſucceeded him in the kingdome, as authoꝛs doo recoꝛd. Of this Aurelius Conanus Gyldas wꝛiteth, calling vnto him after he had made an end with his predeceſſoꝛ Conſtantine, ſaieng in this wiſe: And thou lions whelpe, as ſaith the pꝛophet, Aurelius Conanus what dooſt thou? Art thou not ſwallowed vp in the filthie mire of murthering thy kinſmen, of committing foꝛnications and adulteries like to the other befoꝛe mentioned, if not moꝛe deadlie, as it were with the waues and ſurges of the dꝛenching ſeas ouerwhelming thée with hir vnmercifull rage? Dweſt thou not in hating the peace of thy countrie as a deadlie ſerpent, and thirſting after ciuill wars and ſpoiles (oftentimes vnluſtlie gotten) ſhut vp againſt thy ſoule the gates of celeſtiall peace and refreſhment? Thou being left alone as a withering tꝛée in the middle of a field, call to remembꝛance (I pꝛaie thée) the vaine youthfull fantaſie and ouertimelie death of thy fathers and thy bꝛethꝛen. Shalt thou being ſet apart, and choſen foꝛth of all thy linage foꝛ thy godlie deſerts, be reſerued to liue an hundꝛed yeares, oꝛ remaine on earth till thou be as old as Methuſalem? No no. And after theſe repꝛehenſions, with further thꝛeatnings of Gods vengeance, he exhoꝛted him to amendment of life, and ſo pꝛoceedeth to talke with Voꝛtipoꝛus, whome he nameth the king, oꝛ rather the tyꝛant of Southwales, as after ſhall be rehearſed.

The beginning of the kingdome of *Brenitia, of whome the king of Kent, Mercia*, and weſt Saxons deſcended, Ida the Saxon *commended, the originall of the kingdome of* Deira, the circuit and bounds theꝛof, of Ella the gouernour *of the ſame, when the partition of the kingdome of* Northumberland chanced; Vortiporus reigneth ouer the Britains, he vanquiſheth the Saxons; Gyldas ſharplie repꝛoueth Vortiporus for manie greeuous offenſes, and exhoꝛteth him to amendement.

The xvj. Chapter.

Ida. 547. H. Hunt. The kingdom of Brenitia. began.

IN the yeare of the Loꝛd 547, which was about the firſt yeare of the reigne of Aurelius Conanus, the kingdome of Bꝛenitia began vnder a Saxon ruler there called Ida, deſcended of Woden, foꝛ where the ſaid Woden had thꝛee ſonnes, Weldegius, Withlegis, and Beldecius: of the firſt, the kings of Kent were lineallie extracted: of the ſeconde, the kings of Mercia: and of the third ſonne came the kings of Weſt ſaxon, and alſo of him was this Ida deſcended, being the ninth in lineall ſucceſſion from the ſaid Beldecius and the tenth from Woden. The ſame Ida was vndoubtedlie a right noble perſonage, and changed firſt that dukedome into a kingdome, where befoꝛe that time the Saxons that ruled there, were ſubiects vnto the kings of Kent. Whether he tooke vpon him of his owne accoꝛd to vſurpe the kinglie title and roiall authoꝛitie, oꝛ whether that the ſame was giuen to him by conſent of other, the certeintie appeareth not. But ſure it is, that he being a woꝛthie pꝛince, did not degenerate from his noble anceſtoꝛs inuincible in warre abꝛoad and at home, qualifieng his kinglie ſeueritie with a naturall kind of courteous humanitie. The bounds of his kingdome called (as is ſaid) Bꝛenitia, began in the ſouth at the riuer of Tine, and ended in the noꝛth at the Foꝛth in Scotland, in the Bꝛitiſh tong called Werd.

Ella. 561. The beginning of the kingdome of Deira.

About the ſame time, oꝛ rather about 14 yeares after, one Ella a Saxon alſo reigned as king in Deira, which kingdome began at the ſaid riuer of Tine in the noꝛth, & ended at the riuer of Humber toward the ſouth. Theſe two kingdomes were ſometime gouerned by two ſeuerall kings, and afterwards at other times they were ioined in one, and gouerned by one onelie king, and named the kingdome of Noꝛthumberland, which in pꝛoceſſe of time was much inlarged, ſo that it included the ſhires of Yoꝛke, Notingham, Darbie, Lancaſter, the biſhoꝛpꝛike of Durham, Copland, and other countries betwixt the eaſt and the weſt ſeas, euen vnto the riuer of Merſie. The foꝛeſaid Ella was ſonne to Iffus, being deſcended from Woden, as the 12 in ſucceſſion from him, though not by right line as William Malmesburie hath noted. Ida (as the ſame Malmesburie doth teſtifie) reigned 14 yeares. The riuer of Merſie.

Now Ella who was ſucceſſoꝛ to Ida (as he ſaith) reigned thiꝛtie yeares, and verie valiantlie inlarged his kingdome. But one authoꝛ wꝛiteth how Ida reigned but 12 yeares, and that he builded the caſtell of Bamburge, firſt fenſing it with pales, and after with a wall of ſtone. The ſame Ida had by his wife ſix ſonnes, begotten in lawfull bed, Ada, Ebꝛic, Theodoꝛic, Athelric, Olner, and Theofred. Moꝛeouer he begat of certeine concubines (which he kept) ſix baſtaꝛd ſonnes, Oga, Alꝛic, Ettha, Odbale, Segoꝛ, and Segother. Theſe came altogither into this land, and aꝛꝛiued at Flemesburke with foꝛtie ſhips, as Matthæus Weſtmonaſterienſis hath recoꝛded. The partition of the kingdome of Noꝛthumberland chanced after the deceaſſe of Ida, as the ſame authoꝛ ſignifieth: foꝛ Ada the ſonne of the foꝛeſaid Ida ſucceeded his father in the kingdome of Bꝛenitia, reigning theꝛein ſeuen yeares: and Ella the ſonne of Yffꝛia, a moſt valiant duke, began to gouerne Deira, as both the ſaid Matth. Weſtm. and others doo affiꝛme. Hen. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

Vortiporus.

VOtipoꝛus the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus ſucceeded his father, and began to reigne ouer the Bꝛitains, in the yeꝛe of our Loꝛd 576, in the 11, yeare of the emperour Flauius Anicius Juſtinus, in the fourth yeare of the reigne of Chilꝛeric king of France, and in the fourth yeare of Clephis the Gothiſh king in Italie. This Voꝛtipoꝛus vanquiſhed the Saxons in batteil, as the Bꝛitiſh hiſtoꝛies make mention, and valiantlie defended his land and ſubiects the Bꝛitains, from the danger of them and other their allies. In the time of this kings reigne, the foꝛeſaid Ella began to rule in the ſouth part of the kingdome of Noꝛthumberland called Deira, as befoꝛe is mentioned, accoꝛding to the accoũt of ſome authoꝛs, who alſo take this Voꝛtipoꝛus to begin his reigne in the yeare 548. After that Voꝛtipoꝛus had ruled the Bꝛitans the ſpace of 4 yeares, he departed this life, and left no iſſue behind him to ſucceed him in the kingdome. Matth. Weſt. noteth 578. Matth. Weſt. noteth 3 years

Againſt this Voꝛtipoꝛus Gyldas alſo whetting his tong, beginneth with him thus: And why ſtandeſt thou as one ſtarke amazed? Thou (I ſay) Voꝛtipoꝛus the tyꝛant of Southwales, like to the panther in maner and wickednelle diuerſlie ſpotted as it were with manie coloꝛs, with thy hoarie head in thy thꝛone, full of deceits, crafts and wiles, and defiled euen from the loweſt part of thy bodie to the cꝛowne of thy head, with diuers & ſundꝛie murthers committed on thine owne kin, and filthie adulteries, thus pꝛoning a naughtie ſonne of a good king, as Manaſſes was to Ezechias. How chanceth it that the violent ſtreames of ſinnes which thou ſwalloweſt vp like pleaſant wine, oꝛ rather art deuoured of them, (the end of thy life by little and little now dꝛawing nére)

cc nére) can not yet ſatiſfie the? What meanest thou
cc that with fornication of all euils, as it were the full
cc heape, thine owne wife being put away, thou by hir
cc honeſt death doest oppreſſe thy ſoule with a certeine
cc burthen that can not be auoided, of thine vnthame-
cc fast daughter? Conſume not (I pray thée) the reſi-
cc due of thy daies to the offense of God, &c. These and the like words vttered he, exhorting him to repentance, with admonitions taken out of the ſcriptures both for his comfort and warning.

¶ If the circumſtance of this that Gyldas writeth of Uortiporus be marked, it may be perceiued, that Geffrey of Monmouth, and alſo Matthew of Weſtminſter, the author of the floures of hiſtories, are deceiued, in that they take him to be the ſonne of Aurelius Conanus: and rather it may be gathered, that not onlie the ſame Aurelius Conanus and Uortiporus, but alſo Conſtantinus, yea & Cuneglaſus, and Paglocunus, of the which he alſo intreateth (as partlie ſhall be hereafter touched) liued and reigned all at one time in ſeuerall parts of this Ile, and not as monarchs of the whole Britiſh nation, but as rulers each of them in his quarter, after the maner as the ſtate of Ireland hath béene in times paſt before the countrie came vnder the Engliſh ſubiection, if my coniecture herein do not deceiue me.

Malgo reigneth ouer the Britains, the *noble qualities wherewith he was beautified* by his filthie ſinnes are blemiſhed, Gyldas *reproueth Cuneglaſus for making warre againſt* God and man, and this Malgo for his manifold offenſes, *the vile iniquities whereunto the Britiſh rulers were inclined*, the valiantneſſe of Kenrike king of the Weſtſaxons, his victories againſt diuers people his enimies, ſucceſſion in the gouernment of the Weſtſaxons, Northumberland, and Kentiſh Saxons; the firſt battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons in this Iland, Cheuling with his Weſtſaxons encounter with the Britains and get the vpper hand, three kings of the Britains ſlaine, and their people ſpoiled of their lands, goods and liues.

The xvij. Chapter.

Malgo.

After the deceaſſe of Uortiporus, Malgo the nephue of Aurelius Conanus (as ſome write) was made king of Britaine, & began his reigne ouer the Britaines, in the yére of our Lord 580, in the fiftéenth yére of the emperour Iuſtinian, and in the 37 yére of the reigne of Childerike king of the Frenchmen. This Malgo is reported to haue béene the comlieſt gentleman in beautie and ſhape of perſonage that was to be found in thoſe daies amongſt all the Britains, and therewith of a bold and hardie courage. He manfullie defended the country which he had in gouernance from the malice of the Saxons, and ſubdued the out Iles, as Orkenie and others. But notwithſtanding the noble qualities with the which his perſon was adorned, yet he ſpotted them all with the filthie ſinne of Sodomie, ſo that he fell into the hatred of almightie God, and being purſued of the Saxons, receiued manie ouerthrowes at their hands; as by the report of the Engliſh writers is gathered more at large. Finallie, when he had reigned fiue yéeres and od moneths, he departed this life.

Matth. Weſt. hath noted 581

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Gal. Mon.

Matt. Weſtm. counteth not paſt fiue yeres to his reigne though other affirme that he reigned 35 yéres.

It ſéemeth that this Malgo is named by Gyldas, Maglocunus, the which Gyldas (before he ſpeaketh of him) inueieth againſt one Cuneglaſus, whom he reproueth, for that he warred both againſt God and man: againſt God, with grieuous ſinnes, as namelie adulterie, in forſaking the companie of his lawfull wife, and keeping to concubine a ſiſter of hirs, that had profeſſed chaſtitie: & againſt man with materiall armor and weapons, which he vſed to the deſtruction of his owne countrimen, with whom he kept warres, and not againſt the enimies of the common wealth.

From Cuneglaſus he commeth to the foreſaid Maglocunus, whome he nameth the dragon of the Iles, and the expeller of manie tyrants, not onelie out of their kingdoms, but alſo out of life, the laſt of whom he treateth (as he himſelfe ſaith) but the firſt in all miſchéefe & euill, greater than manie in power, and likewiſe in malice: verie liberall in giuing, but more plentifull in ſinne, ſtrong and valiant in arms, but ſtronger in deſtruction of his owne ſoule. And ſo proceeding, chargeth him with the ſinne of the Sodomits, & ſore blameth him, for that where it had pleaſed God to make him higher than all other dukes of Britaine in kingdome and degrée, he did not ſhew himſelfe better, but contrarilie far worſe than they both in maners and conditions. He declareth alſo a little after, that this Maglocune in his yong yéeres ſlue in battell his vncle being king, with the moſt valiant ſouldiers in maner that he had. Alſo that where the ſaid Maglocune toke vpon him the profeſſion of a monke, he after renounced the ſame, and became a worſſe liuer than euer he was before, abandoning his wife, and keeping his brothers ſonnes wife, while hir huſband yet liued.

Thus by that which Gyldas writeth of the kings and rulers of the Britains, which liued in his daies, ye may perceiue that they were giuen to all manner of wickedneſſe, and namelie to ciuill diſſention, rapine, adulterie, and fornication: ſo that it may be thought, that GOD ſtirred vp the Saxons to be a ſcourge to them, and to worke his iuſt vengeance vpon them for their wickednelles and abhominable offenſes dailie cõmitted againſt his diuine maieſtie, ſo that we find recorded by writers, how that the Saxons in diuers conflicts againſt the Britains had the better, and alſo toke from them diuers townes, as alreadie partly hath béene and alſo hereafter ſhall be ſhewed.

It is furthermore to be remembred, that about the 14 yéere of the Britaine king Conanus his reigne, which was about the end of the yere of Chriſt 559, Kenrike king of the Weſtſaxons departed this life, after he had reigned xxv. yéeres complet. This Kenrike was a victorious prince, and fought diuers battels againſt the Britains. In the 18 yéere of his reigne, which was the 551 of Chriſt, we find that he fought againſt them, being come at that time vnto Saliſburie, and after great ſlaughter made on both parts, at length the victorie remained with the Saxons, and the Britains were chaſed. Againe in the two and twentith yéere of his reigne, and 555 yéere of Chriſt, the ſame Kenrike and his ſonne Cheuling fought with a great power of Britains at Bramburie.

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Hen. Hunt.

The Britains were diuided into nine companies, three in the fore ward, three in the battell, and three in the rere ward, with their horſſemen and archers, after the maner of the Romans. The Saxons being ranged in one entire battell, valiantlie aſſailed them, and notwithſtanding the ſhot of the Britains, yet they brought the matter to the triall of handſtrokes, till at length by the comming on of the night, the victorie remained doubtfull: and no maruell is to be made therof (ſaith Henrie archdeacon of Huntingtõ) for the Saxons were men of huge ſtature, great force, & valiant courage. The ſame yére that Kenrike decreaſed, Ida the king of Northumberland alſo died: he was (as ye haue heard) a right valiant

valiant prince, & inlarged the dominion of the Saxons greatlie, he ouercame Loth king of the Picts in battell, and Goxran king of Scots.

Also about the yeere of Chriſt 560, Conanus (as yet gouerning the Britains) Irmenrike king of Kent departed this life, of whome ye haue heard before, & Ethelbert his sonne succeeded him 52 yeeres. Then after that the foresaid three princes were dead (as before ye haue heard) they had that succeeded them in their estates as here followeth. After Kenrike, his sonne Ceaulinus or Cheuling succeeded in gouernement of the Westsaxons: and after Ida, one Ella or Alla reigned in Northumberland: after Irmenrike followed his sonne Ethelbert in rule ouer the Kentish Saxons.

This Ethelbert in processe of time grew to be a mightie prince, but yet in the begining of his reigne he had but soure succesſe against some of his enimies: for hauing to do with the foresaid Cheuling king of Westsaxons, he was of him ouercome in battell at Wilbasdowne, where he lost two of his dukes or cheefe capteins, beside other people. This was the first battell that was fought betwixt the Saxons, one against another within this land, after their first comming into the same. And this chanced in the yere of our Lord 567, being the second yeere of the emperour Iuſtinus.

About the yeere 570, Cutha the brother of king Cheuling fought with the Britains at Bedford, vanquished them, & toke from them 4 townes, Liganborough, Eglesborough or Ailsburie, Besington, and Cuesham. Also about the yeere of our Lord 581, the foresaid king Cheuling incountered with the Britains at a place called Diorth, and obteining the vpper hand, toke from them the cities of Bath, Glocester, and Cirencester. At this battell fought at Diorth, were present three kings of the Britains, whose names were these: Coinmagill, Candidan, and Farinnagill, which were slaine there through the permission of almightie God as then refusing his people, the which through their heinous sinnes and great wickednesses, had most greeuouslie offended his high and diuine maiestie, as by Gyldas it may euidentlie appeare. For they had declined from the lawes of the Lord, and were become abhominable in his sight, euen from the prince to the poore man, from the priest to the Leuit, so that not one estate among them walked vprightlie, but contrarie to dutie was gone astray, by reason whereof the righteous God had giuen them ouer as a prey to their enimies.

Also in the latter end of Malgos daies or about the first beginning of the reigne of his succesſor Careticus, Cheuling and his sonne Cutwirie fought with the Britains at a place called Fechanley or Fedanley, or (as some bookes haue) Frithenlie, where Cutwine was slaine, & the Englishmen chased: but yet Cheuling repairing his armie, wan the victorie, and chasing the Britains, toke from them manie countries, and wan great riches by the spoile. But Matth. West. saith, that the victorie aboad with the Britains, and that the Saxons were chased quite out of the field. The Scotish writers record, that their king Aidan (who is noted to haue beene the 49 succeſſiuelie possessing the regiment of that land, partlie with griefe of hart for the death of Columba a graue and wise gentleman, whome he tenderlie loued, and partlie with age [for he was growne hore-headed, and had reigned 34 yeeres] ended his life) was there in aid of the Britains, and Brudeus king of the Picts (betwixt whom and the said Aidan a sore battell was fought) in aid of the Saxons: but the same writers name the place Degsastan, where this battell was made, and the forces of both sides by a sharpe incounter tried.

The begining of the kingdome of Mercia, *the bounds of the same, the heptarchie* or seuen regiments of the Saxons, how they *grew to that perfection, and by whom they were* reduced and drawne into a monarchie; Careticus is *created king of Britaine, the Saxons take occasion by the ciuill* dissentions of the Britains to make a full conquest of the land, they procure forren power to further them in their enterprise, Gurmundus king of the Africans arriueth in Britaine, the British king is driuen to his hard shifts, the politike practise of Gurmundus in taking Chichester & setting the towne on fire, he deliuereth the whole land in possession to the Saxons, the English and Saxon kings put Careticus to flight, the Britains haue onelie three prouinces left of all their countrie which before they inhabited, their religion, church, and commonwealth is in decaie, they are gouerned by three kings, Cheulings death is conspired of his owne subiects.

The xviij. Chapter.

About the same time also, and 585 of Chriſt, the kingdome of Mercia began vnder one Crida, who was descended from Woden, and the tenth from him by lineall extraction. The bounds of this kingdome were of great distance, hauing on the east the sea vnto Humber, and so on the north the said riuer of Humber, and after the riuer of Mercia, which falleth into the west sea at the corner of Wirhall, and so comming about to the riuer of Dee that passeth by Chester, the same riuer bounded it on the west from Wales, and likewise Seuerne vp to Bristow: on the south it had the riuer of Thames, till it came almost to London. And in this sort it conteined Lincolneshire, Notingamshire, Derbishire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, Glocestershire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Northamptonshire, Leicesterhire, and Warwikeshire.

Crida. H. Hunt. This kingdome began in the yeere 585. as Matt. VVestm. saith, Ran. Cest.

¶ Thus haue ye heard how the Saxons in processe of time removing the Britains out of their seats, dailie wan ground of them, till at length they got possession of the best part of this Ile, and erected within the same seuen kingdoms, which were gouerned by seuen seuerall kings, who continued vntill the kings of Westsaxon brought them all at length into one monarchie, as after shall appeere. Matth. Westmin. reckoneth eight kingdoms as thus; The kingdom of Kent, the kingdom of Suſſex, the kingdom of Essex, the kingdom of Eastangle, the kingdom of Mercia, the kingdom of Westsex, and the kingdom of Northumberland, which was diuided into two kingdoms, that is to say, into Deira and into Bernicia: whereunto W. Harison addeth the ninth in the first part of his chronologie, and calleth it Wales.

After that Malgo or Maglocune was departed this life, one Careticus, or (as some write him) Caretius, was made king of the Britains, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 586, which was in the third yeere of the emperour Mauritius, and thirteenth of Chilperike king of France. This Careticus was a nourisher of ciuill warre and dissention amongst his owne people the Britains, so that he was hated both of God and man, as writers testifie. The Saxons vnderstanding that the Britains were not of one mind, but diuided in parts kings, so as one was readie to deuoure an other, thought it good time for them to aduance their conquests, and ceased not to pursue the Britains by force and continuall warre, till they had constreined them

Careticus 586

Gal. Mon. See more of this Gurmundus in Ireland. Ranulf. Ceſt.

for refuge to withdraw into Wales. And as ſome haue written, the Saxons meaning to make a full conqueſt of the land, ſent ouer into Ireland, requiring one Gurmundus a king of the Affricans to come ouer into Britaine to helpe them againſt the Britains.

This Gurmundus appointing his brother Turgeſius to purſue the conqueſt of Ireland, came and arriued here in Britaine, making ſuch cruell warre in aid of the Saxons againſt the Britains, that Careticus was conſtreined to keepe him within the citie of Chicheſter or Cirenceſter, and was there beſieged, and at length by continuall aſſaults and ſkirmiſhes, when he had loſt manie of his men, he was glad to forſake that citie, and fled into Wales. This Gurmundus tooke Cirenceſter or Chicheſter, and deſtroied it in moſt cruell maner. Some write, that he tooke this citie by a policie of warre, in binding to the feet of ſparrowes which his people had caught, certeine clewes of thred or matches, finelie wrought & tempered with matter readie to take fire, ſo that the ſparrowes being ſuffered to go out of hand, flue into the towne to lodge themſelues within their neaſts which they had made in ſtacks of corne, and eues of houſes, ſo that the towne was thereby ſet on fire, and then the Britains iſſuing forth, fought with their enimies, and were ouercome and diſcomfited.

But whileſt the battell continued, Careticus ſtale away, and got him into Wales. After this, the foreſaid Gurmundus deſtroied this land throughout in pitifull wiſe, and then deliuered it in poſſeſſion to the Saxons, the which thankfullie receiued it: and becauſe they were deſcended of thoſe that firſt came ouer with Hengiſt, they changed the name of the land, and called it Hengiſtland, accordinglie as the ſame Hengiſt had in times paſt ordeined: the which name after for ſhortneſſe of ſpéech was ſomewhat altered, and ſo laſtlie called England, and the people Engliſhmen. But rather it may be thought, that ſith a great part of thoſe people which came ouer into this land out of Germanie with the ſaid Hengiſt, and other captains, were of thoſe Engliſhmen which inhabited Germanie about the parts of Thoringhen, they called this land England, after their name, when they had firſt got habitation within it: and ſo both the land and people tooke name of them, being called *Angli*, a long time before they entered into this Ile (as before is ſhewed out of Cornelius Tacitus and others.) But now to returne where we left.

Matt. VVeſt.

Of this Gurmundus the old Engliſh writers make no mention, nor alſo anie ancient authors of forren parties: and yet ſaith the Britiſh booke, that after he had conquered this land, and giuen it to the Saxons, he paſſed ouer into France, and there deſtroied much of that land, as an enimie to the faith of Chriſt. For which conſideration he was the more readie to come to the aid of the Saxons, who as yet had not receiued the chriſtian faith, but warred againſt the Britains, as well to deſtroie the faith of Chriſt within this land, as to eſtabliſh to themſelues continuall habitations in the ſame. There be, that omitting to make mention of Gurmundus, write thus of the expelling of the Britains out of this land at that time, when with their king Careticus they got them into Wales.

It ſhould ſéeme that this hiſtorie of Gurmundus is but ſome fained tale except it may be that he was ſome Dane, Norwegian or Germane.

In the yéere of Grace 586, Careticus a louer of ciuill warre ſucceeded Malgo an enimie to God and to the Britains, whoſe inconſtancie when the Engliſh and Saxon kings perceiued, with one conſent they roſe againſt him, and after manie battels chaſed him from citie to citie, till at length incountering with him in a pight field, they droue him beyond Seuerne into Wales. Héerevpon clerks and prieſts were driuen out of their places with bright ſwords brandiſhing in all parts, and fire crackling in churches, wherewith the ſame were conſumed. The remnant of the Britains therefore withdrew into the weſt parts of the land, that is to ſay, into Cornwall, and into Wales, out of which countries they oftentimes brake out, and made inſurrections vpon the Saxons, the which in maner afore ſaid got poſſeſſion of the chiefeſt parts of the land, leauing to the Britains onlie three prouinces, that is to ſay, Cornwall, Southwales, and Northwales, which countries were not eaſie to be wone, by reaſon of the thicke woods inuironed with déepe mareſhes and waters, and full of high craggie rocks and mounteins.

The Engliſh and Saxon kings hauing thus remoued the Britains, inlarged the bounds of their dominions. There reigned in that ſeaſon within this land, beſide the Britaine kings, eight kings of the Engliſh and Saxon nations, as Ethelbert in Kent, Ciſſa in Suſſex, Ceauline in Weſtſex, Creda or Crida in Mercia, Erkenwine in Eſſex, Titila in Eſtangle, Elle in Deira, and Alfrid in Bernicia. In this ſort the Britains loſt the poſſeſſion of the more part of their ancient ſeats, and the faith of Chriſt thereby was greatlie decaied: for the churches were deſtroied, and the archbiſhops of Caerleon Arwiſke, London and Yorke withdrew togither with their clergie into the mounteins and woods within Wales, taking with them the reliks of ſaints, doubting the ſame ſhould be deſtroied by the enimies, and themſelues put to death if they ſhould abide in their old habitations. Manie alſo fled into Britaine Armorike with a great fléete of ſhips, ſo that the whole church or congregation (as ye may call it) of the two prouinces, Loegria and Northumberland, was left deſolate in that ſeaſon, to the great hinderance and decaie of the chriſtian religion. Careticus was driuen into Wales (as before is rehearſed) about the ſecond or third yéere of his reigne, and there continued with his Britains, the which ceaſſed not to indamage the Saxons from time to time as occaſion ſtill ſerued.

But here is to be noted, that the Britains being thus remoued into Wales and Cornwall, were gouerned afterwards by three kings, or rather tyrants, the which ceaſed not with ciuill warre to ſéeke others deſtruction, till finallie (as ſaith the Britiſh booke) they became all ſubiect vnto Cadwallo, whome Beda nameth Ceodwallo. In the meane time, Ceanlinus or Cheuling king of the Weſt ſaxons, through his owne miſgouernance and tyrannie, which towards his latter daies he practiſed, did procure not onelie the Britains, but alſo his owne ſubiects to conſpire his death, ſo that ioining in battell with his aduerſaries at Wodenſdic, in the 33 yeare of his reigne, his armie was diſcomfited, and he himſelfe conſtreined to depart into exile, and ſhortlie after ended his life before he could find meanes to be reſtored.

Will. Malm. Beda. Will. Malm.

¶ So that we haue here a mirror or liuelie view of a tyrant and a king, wherein there is no leſſe odds in the manner of their gouernement, than there is repugnance in their names, or difference in their ſtates. For he ſeeth but little into the knowledge of tongs, that vnderſtandeth not what the office of a king ſhould be, by the compoſition of his name, the ſame ſounding in Greeke βάσις λάος, which being reſolued is in effect βάσις λάος, that is, the foundation or ſtay of the people; from which qualitie when he reſulteth, he maketh ſhipwracke of that goodlie title, and degenerateth into a tyrant, than the which violent and inforced gouernement as there is none more perillous, ſo is it of all other the leaſt in continuance: this is proued by hiſtoricall obſeruation through the courſe of this hiſtorie.

Ceolric

Ceolric reigneth ouer the Weſtſaxons, *the Saxons and Britains incounter*, Ethelbert king of kent ſubdueth the Engliſh-ſaxons, *he is maried to the French kings daughter* vpon cautions of religion, the king imbraceth the *goſpell*, *Auguſtine the moonke and others were ſent into* this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith, the occaſion that moued Gregorie the great to ſend him, buieng and ſelling of boies, the Engliſhmen called Angli commended, Ethelbert cauſeth Auguſtine and his fellowes to come before him, they preach to the king and his traine, he granteth them a conuenient ſeat and competent reliefe in Canturburie, the maner of their going thither and their behauiour there, the king and his people receiue the chriſtian faith, and are baptiſed.

The xix. Chapter.

Celric.

NOw after Cheuling, his nephue Celricus or Ceolric that was ſonne vnto Cutwine, the ſonne of the foreſaid Cheuling, reigned as king ouer the Weſtſaxons fiue yeares & fiue moneths. In like manner the ſame yeare died Ella or Alla king of Northumberland, after whome ſucceeded Ethelricus the ſonne of Ida, and reigned but fiue yeares, being a man well growne in yeares before he came to be king. About three yeres after this, the Saxons & Britains fought a battell at Wodenesbourne, where the Britans being ranged in good order, the Saxons ſet vpon them boldlie indeed, but diſorderedlie, ſo that the victorie remained with the Britains. The Saxons the more valiant they had ſhewed themſelues in battell, before that time, ſo much the more ſlow and vntowardlie did they ſhew themſelues now in running awaie to ſaue themſelues, ſo that an huge number of them were ſlaine. Alſo about the ſame time died Crida king of Mercia 594, after whome his ſonne Wibbas or Wilpha ſucceeded. And after the deceaſſe of Ethelric, one Edelbert or Edelfride ſurnamed the wild, ſucceeded in gouernement of the Northumbers. But to returne to our purpoſe.

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Ethelbert king of Kent, not diſcouraged with the euill chance which happened in the beginning, but rather occaſioned thereby to learne more experience in feats of warre, prooued ſo perfect a maiſter therein, that in proceſſe of time he ſubdued by force of armes all thoſe Engliſh Saxons which lay betwixt the bounds of his countrie, and the riuer of Humber. Alſo to haue friendſhip in forraine parts, he procured a wife for himſelfe of the French nation, named the ladie Bertha, being king Cheriberts daughter of France; but with condition, that he ſhould permit hir to continue and vſe the rites and lawes of chriſtian faith and religion, and to haue a biſhop whoſe name was Luidhard, appointed to come and remaine with hir here in this land for hir better inſtruction in the lawes of the Lord. So that they two with other of the French nation that came ouer with them remaining in the court, and vſing to ſerue God in praiers and otherwiſe, according to the cuſtome of the chriſtian religion, began vndoubtedlie to giue light to the kings mind as yet darkned with the clouds of paganiſme, ſo as the bright beames of the celeſtiall cleerenes of vnderſtanding remoued the thicke miſts of his vnbeleefe in tract of time, and prepared his heart to the receiuing of the goſpell, which after by heauenlie prouidence was preached to him, by occaſion, and in maner as followeth.

Beda. Will. Malmeſ.

In the yeare of our Lord 596, which was about the 14 yeare of the reigne of the emperour Mauricius, and after the comming of the Engliſh Saxons into this land, about an 147 yeares almoſt complet, the biſhop of Rome, Gregorie the firſt of that name, and ſurnamed Magnus, ſent Auguſtinus a moonke, with certeine other learned men into this Ile to preach the chriſtian faith vnto the Engliſh Saxons, which nation as yet had not receiued the goſpell. And here we hold it neceſſarie to ſhew how it is recorded by diuers writers, that the firſt occaſion whereby Gregorie was moued thus to ſend Auguſtine into this land, roſe by this meanes.

Beda. Math. Weſt. ſaith 596.

47 ſaith the ſame author.

It chanced (whileſt the ſame Gregorie was as yet but archdeacon of the ſee of Rome) certeine yong boies were brought thither to bee ſold out of Northumberland, according to the accuſtomable vſe of that countrie, in ſomuch that as we haue in our time ſeene (ſaith W. Mal.) the people of that prouince haue not yet doubted to ſell awaie their nere kinſfolke for a ſmall price. When thoſe children which at that time were brought from thence to Rome, had by reaſon of their excellent beauties and comelie ſhape of lims and bodie, turned the eies in maner of all the citizens to the beholding of them, it fortuned that Gregorie alſo came amongſt other to behold them, and when he conſidered and well viewed their faire ſkins, their ſweet viſages, and beautifull buſhes of their bright and yeallow heares, he demanded out of what region or land they came, vnto whome anſwere was made, that they were brought out of Britaine, the inhabitants of which countrie were of the like beautifull aſpect. Then he aſked whether the men of that countrie were chriſtians, or as yet intangled with blind heathenith errors: Wherevnto it was anſwered, that they were not chriſtened, but followed the religion of the Gentiles. Whereat Gregorie fetching a deepe ſigh, ſaid: Ah, alas that the author of darkeneſſe doth as yet poſſeſſe men of ſo bright ſome countenances, and that with the grace of ſuch faire ſhining viſages, they beare about minds void of inward grace.

Vita Gregorii magni.

Moreouer he demanded by what name the people were called, whereto anſwere was made, that they were called Angli, that is to ſay Engliſhmen. Right worthilie (ſaith he) for they haue angels faces, and ſuch as ought to be made fellow heires with angels in heauen. Then aſked he the name of the prouince from whence they were brought, and it was told him they were of Deira. It is well (ſaid he) they are to be deliuered *De ira dei*, that is to ſay, from the ire and wrath of God, and called to the mercie of Chriſt our Lord: What name (ſaid he) hath the king of that prouince, Wherevnto anſwere was made that he was called Alla, whereupon alluding to that name, he ſaid, Alleluia ought to be ſong in thoſe parts to the praiſe and honor of God the creator.

Pelagius the ſecond Will. Malmeſ.

Hereupon comming to Benedict the firſt of that name (as then biſhop of Rome) he required him that ſome learned men might be ſent into England to preach the goſpell vnto the Engliſhmen, offering himſelfe to be one of the number. But though Benedict was contented to grant his requeſt, yet the Romans had him in ſuch eſtimation, that they would not conſent that he ſhould depart ſo farre from the citie, ſo that by them he was ſtaied of that his godlie purpoſe. Howbeit when he came to be biſhop, he thought to perform it though not by himſelfe, yet by other: and ſo Auguſtine and his fellowes were ſent by him about it. As Beda ſaith ſaid, By the way, as they were paſſing in their iourneis, ſuch a ſudden feare entred into their hearts, that (as ſome write) they returned all. Others write, that Auguſtine was ſent backe to Gregorie, to ſue that they might be releaſed of that voi-

Pelagius.

M. Fox.

age so dangerous and vncerteine amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor whose rudenesse they were able to resist. Then Gregorie with pithie persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him againe with letters vnto the bishop of Arles, willing him to helpe and aid the said Austine and his companie in all that so euer his néede required. Also other letters he directed by the foresaid Austine vnto his fellowes, exhorting them to go forward boldlie in the Lords worke, as by the tenor of the said epistle here following may appeare.

Gregorie the seruant of Gods seruants, *to the seruants of our* Lord.

FOr as much as it is better not to take good things in hand, than after they be begun, to thinke to reuolt backe from the same againe, therefore now you may not nor cannot (dere children) but with all feruent studie and labour must needs go forward in that good businesse, which thorough the helpe of God you haue well begun. Neither let the wearisomnesse of your iournie, nor the slanderous toongs of men appall you, but that with all instance and feruencie ye proceed and accomplish the thing which the Lord hath ordeined you to take in hand, knowing that your great trauell shall be recompensed with reward of greater glorie hereafter to come. Therefore as we send here Austine to you againe, whome also we haue ordeined to be your gouernour, so doo you humblie obey him in all things, knowing that it shall be profitable for your soules what soeuer at his admonition ye shall doo. Almightie God with his grace defend you, and grant me to see in the eternall countrie the fruit of your labours, though heere I cannot labour in the same fellowship with you togither. The Lord God keepe you safe most deere and welbeloued children. Dated the tenth before the kalends of August, in the reigne of our souereigne lord Mauricius most vertuous emperor, the fourteenth of his empire.

Thus emboldned and comforted through the good words and wholesome exhortation of Gregorie, they set forward againe, and speeding forth their iournie, first arriued at the Ile of Thanet in Kent in the moneth of Iulie, being in number about fortie persons, of the which diuerse were interpretors, whome they brought with them out of France. These they sent vnto king Ethelbert, signifieng the occasion of their comming, who hearing the messengers within a few daies after, went into that Ile, and there abroad out of anie house sat downe, and caused Augustine and his fellowes to come before him, for he would not come vnder anie roofe with them, fore doubting to be bewitched by them, being persuaded that they were practisers in nigromancie. But they comming to him, not by the power of the diuell (as they said) but by the might and power of almightie God, bearing in steed of a banner a crosse of siluer, and an image of our Lord and Sauiour painted in a table, and there to singing the letanies, made intercession vnto the Lord for the euerlasting preseruation of themselues, and of all them for whome and to whome they came.

The seuenfold letanies of S. Gregorie were not yet deuised.

Now when they being set downe by commandement of the king, had preached the word of life to him, and to all those that came thither with him, he made them this answer, that their words and promises were good: but for as much as the same were new & vncerteine to him that had béen brought vp in the contrarie doctrine, he could not rashlie assent to their admonitions, & leaue that beléefe which he and the English nation had so long a time obserued and kept: but (said he) because ye haue trauelled farre, to the intent to make vs partakers of those things which ye beléeue to be most true and perfect, we will thus much graunt vnto you, that ye shall be receiued into this countrie, and haue harborough, with all things sufficient found vnto you for your maintenance and sustentation: neither will we hinder you, but that ye may by preaching allocat and ioine as manie of our subiects as you can vnto your law and beléefe. They had therefore assigned vnto them a place to lodge in within the citie of Canturburie, which was the head citie of all his dominion. It is said that as they approched the citie according to their maner, they had a crosse borne before them, with an image of our Lord Iesus Christ, and they followed, singing this letanie, *Deprecamur te Domine in omni misericordia tua, vt auferatur furor tuus & ira tua à ciuitate ista & de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccauimus: Alleluia*. That is to say, We beseech thee ô Lord in all thy mercie that thy furie and wrath may be taken from this citie, and from thy holie house, for we haue sinned. Praise be to thee ô Lord. After they were receiued into Canturburie, they began to follow the trade of life which the apostles vsed in the primitiue church, that is to say, exercising themselues in continuall praier, watching, and preaching to as manie as they could, despising all worldlie things, as not belonging to them, receiuing onelie of them (whome they taught) things necessarie for the sustenance of their life, & liuing in all points according to the doctrine which they set forth, hauing their minds readie to suffer in patience all aduersities what so euer, yea and death it selfe, for the confirming of that which they now preached. Hereupon, manie of the English people beléeued and were baptised, hauing in great reuerence the simplicitie of those men, and the sweetenesse of their heauenlie doctrine. There was a church néere to the citie on the east part thereof dedicated to the honor of saint Martine, and builded of old time whilest the Romans as yet inhabited Britaine, in the which the quéene, being (as we haue said) a christian, vsed to make hir praiers. To this church Austine and his fellowes at their first comming accustomed to resort, and there to sing, to praie, to saie masse, to preach and to baptise, till at length the king being conuerted, granted them licence to preach in euerie place, and to build and reedifie churches where they thought good. After that the king being persuaded by their doctrine, good examples giuing, and diuers miracles shewed, was once baptised, the people in great numbers began to giue eare vnto the preaching of the gospell, and renouncing their heathenish beléefe, became christians, in so much that as Gregorie remembreth, there were baptised ten thousand persons in one day, being the feast of the natiuitie of our Sauiour 597, and the first indiction.

Beda. Matth. West.

The christian faith receiued of the English men.

Lib. 7. cap. 26.

¶ Some write how this should chance toward the latter end of Augustines daies, after he was admitted to preach the gospell amongst them that inhabited about Yorke (as some write) which affirme, that the said number of ten thousand was baptised in the riuer of Swale, which (as W. Harison saith) cannot be verified, because of the indiction and death of Gregorie. But to proceed.

Polychron.

Re-

Religion is not to be inforced but perſwaded and preached, Auguſtine is made archbiſhop of England, Gregorie informeth Auguſtine of certeine ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new Engliſh church, as the reuenewes of the church to be diuided into foure parts, of liturgie, of mariage, of eccleſiaſticall diſcipline and ordeining of biſhops: triſling queſtions obiected by Auguſtine to Gregorie, fellow helpers are ſent ouer to aſſiſt Auguſtine in his miniſterie, he receiueth his pall, reformation muſt be doone by little and little, not to glorie in miracles, the effect of Gregories letters to K. Ethelbert after his conuerſion to chriſtianitie.

The xx. Chapter.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 26. and 27.

KIng Ethelbert reioiſed at the conuerſion of his people, howbeit he would not force anie man to be baptiſed, but onelie ſhewed by his behauiour, that he fauored thoſe that beléeued more than other, as fellow citizens with him of the heauenlie kingdome: for he learned of them that had inſtructed him in the faith, that the obedience due to Chriſt ought not to be inforced, but to come of good will. Moreouer he prouided for Auguſtine and his fellowes a conuenient place for their habitation within the citie of Canturburie, and further gaue them neceſſarie reuenewes in poſſeſſion for their maintenance. After that the faith of Chriſt was thus receiued of the Engliſh men, Auguſtine went into France, and there of the archbiſhop of Arles named Etherius was ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation, according to the order preſcribed by Gregorie before the departure of the ſaid Auguſtine from Rome.

Auguſtine ordeined archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

Laurence a prieſt.

After his returne into Britaine, he ſent Laurence a prieſt, and Péter a monke vnto Rome, to giue knowledge vnto Gregorie the biſhop, how the Engliſhmen had receiued the faith, and that he was ordeined archbiſhop of the land, according to that he had commanded, if the worke proſpered vnder his hand as it had doone. He alſo required to haue Gregories aduice touching certeine ordinances to be made and obſerued in the new church of England. Whereupon Gregorie, ſending backe the meſſengers, wrote an anſwere vnto all his demands. And firſt touching the conuerſation of archbiſhops with the clergie, and in what ſort the church goods ought to be imploied, he declared that the ancient cuſtome of the apoſtolike ſée was to giue commandement vnto biſhops ordeined, that the profits and reuenewes of their benefices ought to be diuided into foure parts, whereof the firſt ſhould be appointed to the biſhop and his familie for the maintenance of hoſpitalitie: the ſecond ſhould be aſſigned to the clergie: the third giuen to the poore: and the fourth imploied vpon repairing of temples.

The reuenewes of the church to be diuided into 4. parts.

Liturgie.

And whereas in the church of Rome one cuſtome in ſaieng maſſe or the liturgie was obſerued, and another cuſtome in France; concerning ſuch church ſeruice, Gregorie aduiſed Auſtine that if he found anie thing either in the church of Rome, either in the church of France, or in anie other church which might moſt pleaſe the almightie God, he ſhould diligentlie chooſe it out, and inſtruct the church of England (now being new) according to that forme which he ſhould gather forth of the ſaid churches: for the things are not loued for the places ſake, but the places for the things ſake. Also for puniſhing of ſuch as had ſtolen things out of churches, ſo néere as might be,

Church ſeruice.

Such as did ſteale.

the offendor ſhould be chaſtiſed in charitie, ſo as he might know his fault, and (if it were poſſible) reſtore the thing taken away.

Mariages.

And touching degrees in mariage, Engliſhmen might take to their wiues, women that touched them in the third and fourth degree without reprehenſion, and if anie vnlawfull mariages were found amongſt the Engliſhmen, as if the ſonne had maried the fathers wife, or the brother the brothers wife, they ought to be warned in anie wiſe to abſteine, and vnderſtand it to be a grieuous ſinne: yet ſhould they not for that thing be depriued of the communion of the bodie and bloud of our Lord, leaſt thoſe things might ſéeme to be puniſhed in them wherein they had offended (before their conuerſion to the chriſtian faith) by ignorance: for at this ſeaſon the church (ſaith he) correcteth ſome things of a feruent earneſtneſſe, ſuffreth ſome things of a gentle mildnes, and diſſembleth ſome things of a prudent conſideration, and ſo beareth and winketh at the ſame, that oftentimes the euill which ſhe abhorreth by ſuch bearing and diſſembling, is reſtreined and reformed.

Diſcipline of the church.

Moreouer touching the ordeining of biſhops, he would they ſhould be ſo placed, that the diſtance of place might not be a let, but that when a biſhop ſhould be conſecrated, there might be three or foure preſent. Alſo touching the biſhops of France, he willed Auguſtine in no wiſe to intermeddle with them, otherwiſe than by exhortation and good admonition to be giuen, but not to preſume anie thing by authoritie, ſith the archbiſhop of Arles had receiued the pall in times paſt, whoſe authoritie he might not diminiſh, leaſt he ſhould ſéeme to put his ſickle into another mans harueſt. But as for the biſhops of Britaine, he committed them vnto him, that the vnlearned might be taught, the weake with wholeſome perſuaſions ſtrengthened, and the froward by authoritie reformed. Moreouer, that a woman with child might be baptiſed, and ſhe that was deliuered after 33 daies of a manchild, and after 46 daies of a womanchild, ſhould be purified, but yet might ſhe enter the church before, if ſhe would.

Ordeining of biſhops.

Women with child.

Matters in queſtion about trifles.

The reſidue of Auguſtines demands conſiſted in theſe points, to wit:

1 Within what ſpace a child ſhould be chriſtened after it was borne, for doubt to be preuented by death?

2 Within what time a man might companie with his wife after ſhe was brought to bed?

3 Whether a woman, hauing hir floures, might enter the church, or receiue the communion?

4 Whether a man hauing had companie with his wife, might enter the church, or receiue the communion before he was waſhed with water?

5 Whether after pollution by night in dreames, a man might receiue the communion: or if he were a prieſt, whether he might ſay maſſe?

To theſe queſtions Gregorie maketh anſwere at full in the booke and place before cited, which for breefeneſſe we paſſe ouer. He ſent alſo at that time with the meſſengers aforeſaid, at their returne into England, diuers learned men to helpe Auguſtine in the harueſt of the Lord. The names of the chiefeſt were theſe, Melitus, Juſtus, Paulinus, and Ruffinianus. He ſent alſo the pall, which is the ornament of an archbiſhop, with veſſels and apparell which ſhould be vſed in churches by the archbiſhop and other miniſters. He ſent alſo with the pall other letters to Auguſtine, to let him vnderſtand what number of biſhops he would haue him to ordeine within this land. Alſo after that Melitus, and the other before mentioned perſons were departed from Rome, he ſent a letter vnto the ſame Melitus, being yet on his way toward Britaine, touching further matter

Aſſiſtance to Auguſtine.

The pall.

concerning the churches of England, wherein he confesseth that manie things are permitted to be vsed of the people latelie brought from the errors of gentilitie, in keeping feasts on the dedication daies, which haue resemblance with the old superstitious rites of the Pagan religion. For to hard and obstinate minds (saith he) it is not possible to cut away all things at once, for he that couueteth to the highest place, goeth vp by steps and not by leaps.

Bearing with them that had newlie receiued the faith, whereof superstition grew and increased.

At the same time Gregorie did send letters vnto Augustine touching the miracles, which by report he vnderstood were shewed by the same Augustine, counselling him in no wise to glorie in the same, but rather in reioising to feare, and consider that God gaue him the gift to worke such signes for the wealth of them to whom he was sent to preach the gospell: he aduised him therefore to beware of vaine-glorie and presumption, for the disciples of the truth (saith he) haue no ioy, but onlie that which is common with all men, of which there is no end, for not euerie one that is elect worketh miracles, but euerie of the elect haue their names written in heauen. These letters, with the other which Gregorie sent at this time vnto Augustine, were dated the tenth day of the kalends of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 602, which was the 19 yeare of the emperour Mauricius. Moreouer he sent most courteous letters by these messengers to king Ethelbert, in the which he greatlie commended him, in that he had receiued the christian faith, and exhorted him to continue in that most holie state of life, whereby he might worthilie looke for reward at the hands of almightie God.

Miracles.

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What reparations and foundations Augustine finished for clergimen to the supportation of the church, the building of Paules in London and saint Peters in Westminster vncerteine, a prouinciall councell called by Augustine, he restoreth a blind man to his sight, the Britains are hardlie weaned from their old custome of beliefe, an heremits opinion of Augustine, he requireth three things to be obserued of the Britains, he ordeineth bishops at London and Rochester; Sabert reigneth ouer the Eastsaxons, Augustine dieth and is buried.

The xxj. Chapter.

THus farre we haue waded in the forme and maner of conuerting the English nation to christianitie, by the labours of Augustine and his coadiutors: now therefore (that we may orderlie proceed) it remaineth that we say somewhat of the acts and deeds of the said Augustine: of whom we read, that after he was established archbishop, and had his see appointed him at Canturburie, he restored another church in that citie which had beene erected there in times past by certeine of the Romans that were christians, and did dedicate the same now to the honour of Christ our Sauiour. He also began the foundation of a monasterie without that citie, standing toward the east, in the which by his exhortation, king Ethelbert built a church euen from the ground, which was dedicated vnto the holie apostles Peter and Paule, in the which the bodie of the said Augustine was buried, and likewise the bodies of all the archbishops of Canturburie and kings of Kent a long time after. This abbie was called saint Aulstins after his name, one Peter being the first abbat thereof. The church there was not consecrated by Augustine, but by his successor Laurence, after he was dead.

Beda.

One Peter was the first Abbat.

Moreouer, king Ethelbert at the motion of Augustine built a church in the citie of London (which he latelie had conquered) and dedicated it vnto saint Paule; but whether he builded or restored this church of saint Paule it may be doubted, for there be diuers opinions of the building thereof. Some haue written that it was first builded by king Lud (as before is mentioned.) Other againe write, that it was builded afterward by Sigebert king of the Eastsaxons. Also king Ethelbert builded the church of saint Andrews in Rochester. It is likewise remembred by writers, that the same king Ethelbert procured a citizen of London to build a church to S. Peter without the citie of London toward the west, in a place then called Thorney, that is to say, the Ile of thorns, and now called Westminster: though others haue written that it was built by Lucius king of Britaine, or rather by Sibert king of the Eastsaxons. This church was either newlie built, or greatlie inlarged by king Edward surnamed the Confessor, and after that, the third Henrie king of England did make there a beautifull monasterie, and verie richlie indowed the same with great possessions and sumptuous iewels. The place was ouergrowne with vnderwoods, as thornes and brambles, before that the church was begun to be builded there in this king Ethelberts daies. ¶ Thus the faith of Christ being once begun to be receiued of the English men, toke wonderfull increase within a short time.

Ran. Higd.

Beda.

Ran. Higd. Westminster church builded

In the meane season by the helpe of king Ethelbert, Augustine caused a councell to be called at a place in the confines of the Westsaxons, which place long after was called Aulstines oke, where he procured the bishops or doctors of the prouinces of the Britains to come before him. Among the Britains or the Welshmen, christianitie as yet remained in force, which from the apostles time had neuer failed in that nation. When Augustine came into this land, he found in their prouinces seuen bishops sees, and an archbishops see, wherein sat verie godlie & right religious prelats, and manie abbats, in the which the Lords flocke kept their right order: but because they differed in obseruing the feast of Easter, and other rites from the vse of the Romane church, Augustine thought it necessarie to moue them to agree with him in vnitie of the same, but after long disputation and reasoning of those matters, they could not be induced to giue their assent in that behalfe. Augustine to prooue his opinion good, wrought a miracle in restoring sight to one of the Saxon nation that was blind.

Ran. Ces. Beda. Sigebertus. ann. 19 Mauric. imperatoris. A synod. Aulstines obt. Galfrid. lib. 8. cap. 4.

Beda lib. 2. c. 2.

The Britains that were present, moued with this miracle, confessed that it was the right waie of iustice and righteousnesse which Augustine taught; but yet they said that they might not forsake their ancient customs without consent and licence of their nation. Whereupon they required another synod to be holden, whereat a greater number of them might be present. This being granted, there came (as it is reported) seuen bishops of the Britains, and a great number of learned men, specially of the famous monasterie of Bangor, whereof in those daies one Dionoth was abbat, who as they went towards that councell, came first to a certeine wise man, which liued amongst them an heremits life, and asked his aduise, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the preaching of Augustine or not: who made this answer; If he be the man of God, follow him. Then said they; How shall we proue whether he be so or not? Then said he: The Lord saith, take vp my yoke and learne of me, for I am meeke & humble in hart: if Augustine be humble and meeke in hart, it is to be beleeued

Another synod.

The monasterie of Bangor. Abbat Dionoth.

" "

The answer of a godlie man touching Austine the Englishmens apostle.

"beléeued that he alſo beareth the yoke of Chriſt, and "offereth it to you to beare; but if he be not méeke but "proud, it is certeine that he is not of GOD, nor his "word to be regarded. And how ſhall we ſée and per- "ceiue that (ſaid they?) Find meanes (ſaid he) that "he maie firſt come to the place of the ſynod with thoſe "of his ſide, and if he ariſe to receiue you at your com- "ming, then know that he is the ſeruant of God, and "obey him; but if he deſpiſe you, and ariſe not towards "you, whereas you be more in number, let him be de- "ſpiſed of you.

They did as he commanded, and it chanced, that when they came, they found Auguſtine ſitting in his chaire: whome when they beheld, ſtraightwaies they conceiued indignation, and noting him of pride, laboured to remoue all his saiengs. He told them that they vſed manie things contrarie to the cuſtom of the vniuerſall church, and yet if in three things they would obeie him, that is to ſay, in keeping the feaſt of Eaſter in due time, in miniſtring baptiſme accor- ding to the cuſtome of the Romane church, & in preа- ching to the Engliſhmen the word of life with him & his fellowes, then would he be contented to ſuffer all other things patientlie which they did, though the ſame were contrarie to the maners and cuſtoms of the Romane iuriſdiction. But they flatlie denied to dw anie of thoſe things, and gaue a plaine anſwer that they would not receiue him for their archbiſhop: for laieng their heads togither, thus they thought, If he refuſe now to ariſe vnto vs, how much the more will he contemne vs if we ſhould become ſub- iect to him? Vnto whom (as it is ſaid) Auguſtine in threatening wiſe told them afore hand, that if they would not receiue peace with their brethren, they ſhould receiue warre of the enimies; & if they would not preach to the Engliſhmen the waie of life, they ſhould ſuffer puniſhment by death at the hands of them: which thing in deed after came to paſſe, as in place conuenient ſhall be expreſſed. After this in the yéere of our Lord 604, the archbiſhop Auguſtine or- deined two biſhops, that is to ſay, Melitus at Lon- don, that he might preach the word of God to the Eaſtſaxons, which were diuided from them of Kent by the riuer of Thames, and Juſtus in the citie of Ro- cheſter within the limits of Kent.

Three things required by Auguſtine of the Britains to be obſerued.

Auguſtine threatneth.

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Biſhops or- deined at London and Rocheſter.

Sabert.

AT that time Sabert reigned ouer the Eaſtſax- ons, but he was ſubiect vnto Ethelbert king of Kent, whoſe nephue he was alſo by his ſiſter Ricula that was married vnto king Sledda that ſucceéded after Erchenwine the firſt king of the Eaſtſaxons, and begat on hir this Sabert that receiued the faith. After that Auguſtine had ordeined Melitus to be biſhop of London, as before is ſaid, king Ethelbert builded (as ſome write) the church of ſaint Paule within the ſame citie, where the ſame Melitus and his ſucceſſors might keepe their ſée. And alſo for the like purpoſe he builded the church of ſaint Andrew the apoſtle at Rocheſter, that Juſtus and his ſucceſ- ſors might haue their ſée in that place, according to Auguſtines inſtitution: he beſtowed great gifts vp- on both thoſe churches, endowing them with lands and poſſeſſions verie bountifullie, to the vſe of them that ſhould be attendant in the ſame with the bi- ſhops.

Ran. Ceſtren.

Finallie, Auguſtine after he had gouerned as arch- biſhop the church of Canturburie by the ſpace of 12 yéeres currant, departed this life the fiue and twenti- eth of Maie, and was buried firſt without the citie nére to the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule (whereof mention is made before) bicauſe the ſame church as yet was not finiſhed nor dedicated; but af- ter it was dedicated, his bodie was brought into the church, and reuerentlie buried in the north Ile there. He ordeined in his life time Laurence to be his ſuc- ceſſor in the ſée of Canturburie, of whome ye ſhall heare hereafter. ¶ Thus haue ye heard in what ma- ner the Engliſhmen were firſt brought from the worſhipping of falſe gods, and baptiſed in the name of the liuing God by the foreſaid Auguſtine (as we find in Beda and other writers.) Now we will re- turne to other doings chancing in the meane time amongſt the people of this Ile.

10 Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph gouerneth the *Weſtſaxons, Ceorlus king of Mercia, Edel-* fride king of the Northumbers, and Edan king *of the Scots iotne in battell, Edan is diſcomfited, E-* delfride ſubdueth the citizens of Cheſter, the deuout *moonks of Bangor praie for ſafetie from the ſwoord of the eni-* mie, twelue hundred of them are ſlaine, Edelfride entreth the citie of Cheſter, the Britains aſſembling their power vnder three capteins incounter with Edelfride, ſlaie manie of his ſouldiers, and put him to flight, warres betweene Edel- fride and Redwald king of the Eaſtangles about Edwine the ſonne of king Elle, Edelfride is ſlaine, Ceowlfe king of the Weſt- ſaxons dieth.

The xxij. Chapter.

AFter the deceaſſe of Chel- ricus king of the Weſtſax- ons, we find that Ceowlfe or Ceoloulph ſucceéded in go- uernment of that kingdome, and reigned twelue yéeres. He began his reigne (as ſhould appéere by ſome wri- ters) about the yéere of our Lord 597, and ſpent his time for the more part in warres, not giuing place to idleneſſe, but ſéeking either to defend or inlarge the confines of his dominion. He was the ſonne of Cu- tha, which was the ſonne of Kenrike, which was the ſonne of Certike. After Wibba or Witha king of Mercia (who, nothing inferiour to his father, did not onelie defend his kingdome, but alſo inlarge it, by ſubduing the Britains on ech ſide) one *Ceorlus* ſuc- ceéded in that kingdome, being not his ſonne but his kinſman. This Ceorlus began his reigne about the yéere of our Lord 594, as Matth. Weſt. recordeth.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 34.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith 607.

Ceorlus king of Mercia.

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Beda Edelferd.

We haue heard that Edelferd, which otherwiſe is called alſo by writers Edelfride, ſurnamed the wild, gouerned ſtill the Northumbers, which Edelferd did more damage to the Britains than anie one other king of the Engliſh nation. None of them deſtroied their countries more than he did: neither did anie prince make more of the Britains tributaries, or in- habited more of their countries with Engliſh people than he. Hereupon Edan king of thoſe Scots which inhabited Britaine, being therewith moued to ſée Edelfride proſper thus in his conqueſts, came a- gainſt him with a mightie armie: but ioining in bat- tell with Edelfride and his power, at a place called Degſaſtane, or Degſaſtone, or Degſaſton, he loſt the moſt part of his people, and with the reſidue that were left aliue, he eſcaped by flight. This was a ſore foughten battell, with much bloudſhed on both par- ties. For notwithſtanding that the victorie remained with the Northumbers, Theobaldus the brother of Edelferd was ſlaine, with all that part of the Eng- liſh hoſt which he gouerned: and it was fought in the yéere of our Lord 603, in the 19 yeere of the reigne of the foreſaid Edelferd, and in the firſt yéere of Ce- olwlfe king of the Weſtſaxons, and in the firſt yéere of the emperor Phocas, or rather in the laſt yéere of his predeceſſor Mauricius. From that day, till the daies of Beda, not one of the Scotiſh kings durſt preſume to enter into Britaine againe to giue bat- tell againſt the Engliſh nation, as Beda himſelfe writeth.

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Henr. Hunt. Beda lib. 1, cap. 34.

writeth. But the Scotiſh writers make other report of this matter, as in the hiſtorie of Scotland ye maie find recorded.

Wil. Malm. See in Scotland.

The Britains that dwelt about Cheſter, through their ſtoutneſſe prouoked the aforeſaid Edelferd king of the Northumbers vnto warre: whereupon to tame their loftie ſtomachs, he aſſembled an armie & came forward to beſiege the citie of Cheſter, then called of the Britains Carleon ardour deué. The citizens coueting rather to ſuffer all things than a ſiege, and hauing a truſt in their great multitude of people, came forth to giue battell abroad in the fields, whome he compaſſing about with ambuſhes, got within his danger, and eaſilie diſcomfited.

Cheſter as yet in poſſeſſion of the Britains.

I. Leland. Wil. Malm.

Beda.

It chanced that he had eſpied before the battell ioined (as Beda ſaith) where a great number of the Britiſh prieſts were got aſide into a place ſomewhat out of danger, that they might there make their interceſſion to God for the good ſpéed of their people, being then readie to giue battell to the Northumbers. Manie of them were of that famous monaſterie of Bangor, in the which it is ſaid, that there was ſuch a number of monks, that where they were diuided into ſeuen ſeuerall parts, with their ſeuerall gouernors appointed to haue rule ouer them, euerie of thoſe parts conteined at the leaſt thrée hundred perſons, the which liued altogither by the labour of their hands. Manie therefore of thoſe monks hauing kept a ſolemne faſt for thrée daies togither, were come to the armie with other to make praier, hauing for their defender one Brocmale or Brocmael, earle (or conſull as ſome call him) of Cheſter, which ſhould preſerue them (being giuen to praier) from the edge of the enimies ſword.

The number of monks in the monaſterie of Bangor.

Brocmale.

King Edelferd hauing (as is ſaid) eſpied theſe men, aſked what they were, and what their intent was; and being informed of the whole circumſtance and cauſe of their being there, he ſaid; Then if they call to their God for his aſſiſtance againſt vs, ſuerlie though they beare no armour, yet do they fight againſt vs, being buſied in praier for our deſtruction. Whereupon he commanded the firſt onſet to be giuen them, and after ſlue downe the reſidue of the Britiſh armie, not without great loſſe of his owne people. Of thoſe monks and prieſts which came to praie (as before is mentioned) there died at that battell about the number of 12 hundred, ſo that fiftie of them onelie eſcaped by flight. Brocmale, or Broemael at the firſt approch of the enimies, turning his backe with his companie, left them (whom he ſhould haue defended) to be murthered through the enimies ſword. Thus was the proph[illegible] of Auguſtine fulfilled, though he was long before departed this life (as Beda ſaith.)

The Britains diſcomfited & ſlaine.

Henr. Hunt.

¶ Here is to be noted, if this battell was fought in the ſeuenth yéere of Ceowlfe king of Weſtſaxon (as ſome haue written) and that Auguſtine liued 12 yéeres after his entrance into the gouernment of the ſée of Canturburie (as ſome write) it is euident that he liued foure yéeres after this ſlaughter made of the Britiſh prieſts and monks by Edelferd (as before is recited.) For Ceowlfe began his reigne (as before is mentioned) about the yéere of our Lord 596, and in the ſeuenth yeere of his reigne the battell was fought at Degſaſtane betwixt the Engliſh & the Scots, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 604, as Beda himſelfe recordeth. A late chronographer running vpon this matter, and preciſelie ſetting downe his collection, ſaith that Athelbright, or Edelfride, K. of the Northumbers, & Ethelbert K. of Kent, hauing Auguſtine in their companie, in the eight yéere after his arriuall, made warre vpon ſuch Britains as refuſed to obſerue the canons of the late councell mentioned 603, and killed 1200 monks of the monaſterie of Bangor, which laboured earneſtlie, and in the ſweat of their browes, thereby to get their liuings, &c. Aerelie Galf. Mon. writeth, that Ethelbert king of Kent (after he ſaw the Britains to diſdaine and denie their ſubiection vnto Auguſtine, by whome he was conuerted to the chriſtian faith) ſtirred vp Edelferd king of the Northumbers to warre againſt the Britains. But hereof Maiſter Fox doubteth, and therefore ſaith, that of vncerteine things he hath nothing certeinlie to ſaie, much leſſe to iudge. But now to the matter where we left.

Acts and monuments. pag. 160.

After that king Edelferd had made ſlaughter of the Britains (as before is rehearſed) he entred the citie of Cheſter, and from thence marched towards Bangor. The Britains in the meane time had aſſembled their power vnder three capteins, that is to ſay, Bleduerike duke of Cornewall, Margadud king of Southwales, and Cadwane king of Northwales. Theſe ioining in battell with Edelferd, ſlue 10066 of his ſouldiers, and conſtreined him to flée out of the field for ſafegard of his life, after he had receiued manie wounds. On the part of the Britains the forſaid Bleduerike, which was chiefe capteine of the field in that battell, chanced to be ſlaine. Thus ſaith Gal. Mon.

Bleduerike duke of Cornwall, Margadud king of Southwales, Cadwanch. of Northwales.

Galf. Mon.

But the ancient writers of the Engliſh kings (as Beda, William Malmeſburie, and Henrie Huntington, make no mention of this laſt battell and victorie obteined by the Britains in maner as aboue is expreſſed in Galfrids booke. But contrarilie we find, that Edelferd hauing ſuch good ſucceſſe in his buſineſſe abroad as he could wiſh, vpon purpoſe to auoid danger at home, baniſhed Edwine the ſonne of Alla or Elle, a yong gentleman of great towardneſſe, latelie come to the kingdome of the Northumbers by the death of his father. But this Edwine in time of his exile, being long toſſed from place to place, and finding no ſtedfaſt friendſhip now in time of his aduerſitie, at length came to Redwald, that was king at that time of the Eaſtangles, the third from Uffa, and ſucceſſor to Titullus, which Titullus did ſucceed next after the ſaid Uffa, the firſt king of Eaſtangles (as before is mentioned.) This Redwald did verie honourablie interteine Edwine, inſomuch that Edelferd being informed thereof, was highlie diſpleaſed, and ſent ambaſſadors vnto Redwald, to require him either to deliuer Edwine into his hands, or elſe if he refuſed ſo to do, to declare and denounce vnto him open warres.

Edwine the ſonne of king Alla baniſhed.

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Edelferd.

Redwald incouraged by his wife (that counſelled him in no wiſe to betraie his friend, to whome he had giuen his faith, for the menaces of his enimie) aſſembled forthwith an armie, and at the ſudden comming vpon Edelferd, aſſaulted him yer he could haue time to aſſemble his people togither. But yet the ſaid Edelferd, though he was beſet and brought in danger at vnwares, died not vnreuenged: for putting himſelfe in defenſe with ſuch power as he could then get togither, he boldlie incountred the enimies, and giuing battell, ſlue Remerius the ſonne of Redwald, and after was ſlaine himſelfe, hauing reigned ouer the Northumbers about 22 yéeres. This battell was fought néere to the water of Idle.

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H. Hunt.

Ethelferd ſlaine.

The ſaid Edelferd had iſſue by his wife Acca, the daughter of Alla, and ſiſter to Edwine, two ſonnes, Oſwald being about two yéeres of age, and Oſwin about foure yéeres, the which (their father being thus ſlaine) were by helpe of their gouernours conueied awaie into Scotland with all ſpéed that might be made. Ceowlfe king of the Weſtſaxons, after he had reigned the ſpace of 12 yeeres, departed this life, who in his time had mainteined great warre againſt manie of his neighbours, the which for briefeneſſe I paſſe ouer. One great battell he fought againſt them

Hen. Hunt. Matt. Weſt. ſaith 34.

W. Harriſon.

of

The Southſaxons ſuſteine the greater loſſe.

of Suſſex, in which the armies on both ſides ſuſteined great damage, but the greater loſſe fell to the South ſaxons.

Cinegiſcus and his ſonne Richelinus *reigne iointlie ouer the Weſtſaxons, they* fight with the Britains; the indeuour of Laurence archbiſhop of Canturburie in ſetting religion at large, and ſeeking a vniformitie in catholike *orders, he and his fellow-biſhops write to the cleargie of Britaine and Scotland for a reformation,* Melitus biſhop of London goeth to Rome, the cauſe why, and what he brought at his returne from pope Boniface.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Cinegiſcus.

After the foreſaid Ceolwlfe reigned Cinegiſcus, or Kingils, which was the ſonne of Ceola, which was the ſonne of Cutha or Cutwin, which was the ſonne of Kenricke, which was the ſonne of king Certicke. In the fourth yeere of his reigne, he receiued into fellowſhip with him in gouernance of the kingdome his ſonne Richelinus, or Onichelinus, and ſo they reigned iointlie togither in great loue and concord (a thing ſeldome ſeene or heard of.) They fought with the Britains at Beandune, where at the firſt approch of the battels togither, the Britains fled, but too late, for there died of them that were ouertaken 2062.

Wil. Malm. ſaith that Onichelinus was the brother of Cinegiſcus.

Beandune, or Beanton.

In this meane time, Laurence archbiſhop of Canturburie, who ſucceeded next after Auguſtine, admitted thereto by him in his life time (as before is ſaid) did his indeuour to augment and bring to perfection the church of England, the foundation whereof was latelie laid by his predeceſſor the foreſaid Auguſtine: who ſtudied not onelie for the increaſe of this new church, which was gathered of the Engliſh people, but alſo he was buſie to imploie his paſtorallike cure vpon the people that were of the old inhabitants of Britaine, and likewiſe of the Scots that remained in Ireland. For when he had learned that the Scots there, in reſemblable wiſe as the Britains in their countrie, led not their liues in manie points according to the eccleſiaſticall rules, aſwell in obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the vſe of the Romane church, as in other things, he wrote vnto thoſe Scots letters exhortatorie, requiring them moſt inſtantlie to an vnitie of catholike orders as might be agreeable with the church of Chriſt, ſpred and diſperſed through the world. Theſe letters were not written onelie in his owne name, but iointlie togither in the name of the biſhops Melitus and Iuſtus, (as followeth.)

Beda lib. 2. cap. 4.

To our deare brethren the biſhops and *abbats through all Scotland, Laurence,* Melitus and Iuſtus biſhops, the ſer*uants of the ſeruants of God* wiſh health.

Whereas the apoſtolike ſee (according to hir maner) had ſent vs to preach vnto the heathen people in theſe weſt parts, as otherwiſe throgh the world, and that it chanced to vs to enter into this Ile which is called Britaine, before we knew & vnderſtood the ſtate of things, we had in great reuerence both the Scots & Britains, which beleeued, becauſe (as we tooke the matter) they walked according to the cuſtome of the vniuerſall church: but after we had knowledge of the Britains, we iudged the Scots to be better. But we haue learned by biſhop Daganus comming into this Ile, and by Columbanus the abbat comming into France, that the Scots nothing differ in their conuerſation from the Britains: for biſhop Daganus comming vnto vs, would neither eat with vs, no nor yet come within the houſe where we did eat.

The ſaid Laurence alſo with his fellow-biſhops, did write to the Britains other letters worthie of his degree, doing what he could to confirme them in the vnitie of the Romane church: but it profited little, as appeareth by that which Beda writeth. About the ſame time Melitus the biſhop of London went to Rome, to common with pope Boniface, for neceſſarie cauſes touching the church of England, and was preſent at a ſynod holden by the ſame pope at that ſeaſon, for ordinances to be made touching the ſtate of religious men, and ſate in the ſame ſynod, that with ſubſcribing he might alſo by his authoritie confirme that which was there orderlie decreed. This ſynod was holden the third kalends of March, in the laſt yeere of the emperour Phocas, which was about the yeere after the birth of our Sauiour 610. Melitus at his returne brought with him from the pope, decrees commanded by the ſaid pope to be obſerued in the Engliſh church, with letters alſo directed to archbiſhop Laurence, and to king Ethelbert.

Cadwan is made king of the Britains in *the citie of Cheſter, he leuieth a power* againſt Ethelfred king of the Northumbers, co*uenants of peace paſſe betwixt them vpon condi*tion, the death of Ethelbert king of Kent, where he *and his wife were buried, of his lawes;* *Eadbald ſucceedeth* Ethelbert in the Kentiſh kingdome, his lewd and vnholie life, he is an enimie to religion; he is plagued with madneſſe; Hebert king of the Eaſtſaxons dieth, his three ſonnes refuſe to be baptiſed, they fall to idolatrie and hate the profeſſours of the truth, their irreligious talke and vndutifull behauiour to biſhop Melitus, he and his fellow Iuſtus paſſe ouer into France, the three ſonnes of Hebert are ſlaine of the Weſtſaxons in battell, the Eaſtſaxons by their idolatrie prouoke archbiſhop Laurence to forſake the land, he is warned in a viſion to tarie, whereof he certifieth king Eadbald, who furthering chriſtianitie, ſendeth for Melitus and Iuſtus, the one is reſtored to his ſee, the other reiected, Melitus dieth, Iuſtus is made archbiſhop of Canturburie, the chriſtian faith increaſeth.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

Cadwan king of Britaine.

After that the Britains had cõtinued about the ſpace almoſt of 24 yeeres without anie one ſpeciall gouernour, being led by ſundrie rulers, euer ſithens that Careticus was conſtreined to flee ouer Seuerne, and fought oftentimes not onelie againſt the Saxons, but alſo one of them againſt another, at length in the yeere of our Lord 613, they aſſembled in the citie of Cheſter, and there elected Cadwan that before was ruler of Northwales, to haue the ſouereigne rule & gouernement ouer all their nation, and ſo the ſaid Cadwan began to reigne as king of Britaine in the ſaid yeere 613. But ſome authors ſay, that this was in the yeere 609, in which yeere Careticus the Britiſh king departed this life. And then after his deceaſſe the Britains or Welſhmen (whether we ſhall call them)

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them) choſe Cadwan to gouerne them in the foreſaid yeare 609, which was in the 7 yeare of the emperour Phocas, and the 21 of the ſecond Lotharius king of France, and in the 13 yeare of Kilwolfe king of the Weſtſaxons.

This Cadwan being eſtabliſhed king, ſhortlie after aſſembled a power of Britains, and went againſt the foreſaid Ethelfred king of Northumberland, who being thereof aduertiſed, did aſſociate to him the moſt part of the Saxon princes, and came forth with his armie to meet Cadwan in the field. Herevpon as they were readie to haue tried the matter by battell, certeine of their friends trauelled ſo betwixt them for peace, that in the end they brought them to agréement, ſo that Ethelfred ſhould keepe in quiet poſſeſſion thoſe his countries beyond the riuer of Humber, and Cadwan ſhould hold all that which of right belonged to the Britains on the ſouth ſide of the ſame riuer. This couenant with other touching their agréement was confirmed with oths ſolemnelie taken, and pledges therewith deliuered, ſo that afterwards they continued in good and quiet peace, without vering one an other.

Gal. Mon.

What chanced afterward to Ethelfred, ye haue before heard reherſed, which for that it ſoundeth more like to a truth than that which followeth in the Britiſh booke, we omit to make further reherſall, paſſing forward to other doings which fell in the meane ſeaſon, whileſt this Cadwan had gouernement of the Britains, reigning as king ouer them the tearme of 22, or (as ſome ſay) but 13 yeares, and finallie was ſlaine by the Northumbers, as before hath béene, and alſo after ſhall be ſhewed.

John Hard.

In the 8 yeare after that Cadwan began to reigne, Ethelbert king of Kent departed this life, in the 21 yeare after the comming of Auguſtine with his fellowes to preach the faith of Chriſt here in this realme: and after that Ethelbert had reigned ouer the prouince of Kent the tearme of 56 yeares (as Beda ſaith, but there are that haue noted three yeares leſſe) he departed this world, as aboue is ſignified, in the yeare of our Lord 617, on the 24 day of Februarie, and was buried in the Ile of ſaint Martine, within the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule, without the citie of Canturburie, where his wife queene Bartha was alſo buried, and the foreſaid archbiſhop Auguſtine that firſt conuerted him to the faith.

Wil. Malm. Beda. li. 2. cap. 5

Amongſt other things, this king Ethelbert with the aduiſe of his councell ordeined diuers lawes and ſtatutes, according to the which decrées of iudgements ſhould paſſe: thoſe decrées he cauſed to be written in the Engliſh tong, which remained and were in force vnto the daies of Beda, as he declareth. And firſt it was expreſſed in thoſe lawes, what amends he ſhould make that ſtole anie thing that belonged to the church, to the biſhop, or to anie eccleſiaſticall perſon, willing by all means to defend them whoſe doctrine he had receiued.

Eadbald. After the deceaſſe of Ethelbert, his ſonne Eadbald ſucceeded in the gouernment of his kingdome of Kent, the which was a great hinderer of the increaſe of the new church amongſt the Engliſhmen in thoſe parties: for he did not onelie refuſe to be baptiſed himſelfe, but alſo vſed ſuch kind of fornication, as hath not béene heard (as the apoſtle ſaith) amongſt the Gentiles, for he tooke to wife his mother in law, that had béene wife to his father. By which two euill examples, manie tooke occaſion to returne to their heathenith religion, the which whileſt his father reigned, either for the prince his pleaſure, or for feare to offend him, did profeſſe the chriſtian faith. But Eadbald eſcaped not worthie puniſhment to him ſent from the liuing God for his euill deſerts, inſomuch that he was vexed with a certeine kind of madneſſe, and taken with an vncleane ſpirit.

The princes example occaſion of euill.

The foreſaid ſtorme or vnquiet troubling of the chriſtian congregation, was afterwards greatlie increaſed alſo by the death of Sabert or Sebert king of the Eaſtſaxons, who was conuerted to the faith of Chriſt, and baptized by Melitus biſhop of London (as before is mentioned) & departing this life to go to a better in the bliſſefull kingdome of heauen, he left behind him three ſonnes as true ſucceſſours in the eſtate of his earthlie kingdome, which ſonnes likewiſe refuſed to be baptiſed. Their names were Serred, Seward, & Sigebert, men of an ill mind, & ſuch as in whome no vertue remained, no feare of God, nor anie reſpect of religion, but ſpeciallie hating the profeſſours of the chriſtian faith. For after their father was dead, they began to fall to their old idolatrie, which in his life time they ſéemed to haue giuen ouer, inſomuch that now they openlie worſhipped idols, and gaue libertie to their ſubiects to do the like.

Ran. Ceſt. Beda li. 2. cap. Serred, Seward, and Sigebert, the ſonnes of Sabert.

And when the biſhop Melitus, at the ſolemnizing of maſſe in the church, diſtributed the euchariſticall bread vnto the people, they asked him (as it is ſaid) wherfore he did not deliuer of that bright white bread vnto them alſo, as well as he had béene accuſtomed to do to their father Saba (for ſo they vſed to call him.) Vnto whome the biſhop made this anſwer: If you will be waſhed in that wholeſome fountaine, wherein your father was waſhed, ye may be partakers of that holie bread whereof he was partaker, but if you deſpiſe the waſhpoole of life, ye may by no meanes taſt the bread of ſaluation. But they offended herewith, replied in this wiſe: We will not enter into that fountaine, for we know we haue no néed thereof: but yet neuertheleſſe we will be refreſhed with that bread.

Beda lib. 2

Beda. lib. 2 ca. 8.

After this, when they had béene earneſtlie and manie times told, that vnleſſe they would be baptiſed, they might not be partakers of the ſacred oblation: at length in great diſpleaſure they told him, that if he would not conſent vnto them in ſo ſmall a matter, there ſhould be no place for him within the bounds of their dominion, and ſo he was conſtrained to depart. Wherevpon he being expelled, reſorted into Kent, there to take aduiſe with his fellowbiſhops, Laurence and Juſtus, what was to be done in this ſo weightie a matter. Who finallie reſolued vpon this point, that it ſhould be better for them to returne into their countrie, where with free minds they might ſerue almightie God, rather than to remaine amongeſt people that rebelled againſt the faith, without hope to do good amongeſt them. Wherefore Melitus and Juſtus did depart firſt, and went ouer into France, minding there to abide till they might ſée what the end would be. But ſhortlie after, thoſe brethren the kings of Eſſex, which had expelled their biſhop in maner aboue ſaid, ſuffered worthilie for their wicked doings. For going forth to battell againſt the Weſtſaxons, they were ouerthrowen and ſlaine altogither with all their armie, by the two kings Kinigils and Quichelme. But neuertheleſſe, albeit the authors of the miſchiefe were thus taken awaie, yet the people of that countrie would not be reduced againe from their diuelish worſhipping of falſe gods, being eſtſoones fallen thereto in that ſeaſon by the incouragement and perilous example of their rulers. Wherefore the archbiſhop Laurence was in mind alſo to follow his fellowes Melitus and Juſtus: but when he minded to ſet forward, he was warned in a dreame, and cruellie ſcourged (as hath béene reported by the apoſtle ſaint Peter, who reproued him) for that he would ſo vncharitablie forſake his flocke, & leaue it in danger without a ſhepherd to keepe the woolfe from the fold.

The ſonne of king Sebert ſlaine.

Edwin Beda. lib. ca. 5.

The

The archbiſhop imboldned by this viſion, and alſo repenting him of his determination, came to king Eadbald, and ſhewed to him his ſtripes, and the maner of his dreame. The king being herewith put in great feare, renounced his heathenish worſhipping of idols, and was baptiſed, and as much as in him laie, from thenceforth ſuccoured the congregation of the chriſtians, and aduanced the church to his power. He ſent alſo into France, and called home the biſhops Pelitus and Juſtus, ſo that Juſtus was reſtored to his ſée of Rocheſter.

But the Eaſtſaxons would not receiue Pelitus to his ſée at London, but continued in their wicked mawmetrie, in obeieng a biſhop of their pagan law, whom they had erected for that purpoſe. Neither was king Eadbald of that authoritie and power in thoſe parties, as his father was before, whereby he might conſtreine them to receiue their lawfull biſhop. But ſuerlie the ſaid king Eadbald with his people, after he was once conuerted againe, gaue himſelfe wholie to obeie the lawes of GOD, and amongſt other déeds of godlie zeale, he builded a church to our ladie at Canturburie, within the monaſterie of ſaint Peter, afterwards called ſaint Agnes. This church was conſecrated by Pelitus, who after the death of Laurence ſucceéded in gouernance of the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie. After Pelitus, who departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 624, Juſtus that before was biſhop of Rocheſter, was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and ordeined one Romanus to the ſée of Rocheſter. About that time, the people of the north parts beyond Humber receiued the faith, by occaſion (as after ſhall appéere.)

Beda lib. 2.

Beda. lib. 2. ca. 8.

Edwin reigneth ouer the Northumbers, his great power and reputation, a marriage betweene him and Ethelburga the ſiſter of king Eadbald vpon religious couenants, the traitorous attempts of murtherous Eumerus againſt him, his wife Ethelburga is deliuered of a daughter, he aſſalteth the Weſtſaxons, and diſcomfiteth them, Boniface the fift writeth to him to deſiſt from his idolatrie, and to his ladie to perſiſt in true chriſtianitie; the viſion of Edwin when he was a baniſhed man in the court of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, whereby he was informed of his great exaltation and conuerſion to chriſtian religion.

The xxv. Chapter.

YE haue heard how Edelfred the king of Northumberland was ſlaine in battell neere to the water of Idel, by Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, in fauour of Edwin whom the ſaid Edelfred had confined out of his dominion, 24 yéeres before. The foreſaid Redwald therefore hauing obteined that victorie, found meanes to place Edwin in gouernement of that kingdome of the Northumbers, hauing a title thereto as ſonne to Alla or Elle, ſometime king of Northumberland. This Edwin prooued a right valiant prince, & grew to be of more power than anie other king in the daies of the Engliſh nation: not onelie ruling ouer a great part of the countries inhabited with Engliſh men, but alſo with Britains, who inhabited not onelie in Wales, but in part of Cheſſhire, Lancaſhire, Cumberland, and alongſt by the weſt ſea coaſt in Galloway, and ſo forth euen vnto Dumbritaine in Scotland: which I haue thought good to note, that it may appeare in what countries Cadwallo bare rule, of whome ſo often mention is made in this part of the hiſtorie. But as concerning Edwin, his reputation was ſuch, as not onelie the Engliſh men, Britains and Scots, but alſo the Iles of Orknie, and thoſe of Man, and others the weſt Iles of ancient time called Meuaniæ, had him in reuerence, and feared his mightie power, ſo as they durſt not attempt anie exploit to offend him.

W. Malm. taketh Meuania to be Anglеſey.

It chanced that ſhortlie after, king Redwald had aduanced him to the kingdom of Northumberland, to wit, about 6 yeares, the ſame Redwald decealled, which made greatlie for the more augmentation of Edwins power. For the people of the Eaſtangles, which (whileſt Edwin remained amongſt them as a baniſhed man) had conceiued a good opinion of him for his approued valiancie and noble courage, offered themſelues to be wholie at his commandement. But Edwin ſuffering Carpwald or Erpwald the ſonne of Redwald to inioie the bare title and name of the king of that countrie, ruled all things at his owne will and pleaſure. Neither was there anie prouince within Britaine that did not obeie him, or was not readie to do him ſeruice (the kingdome of Kent onelie excepted) for he ſuffered the Kentiſhmen to liue in quiet, becauſe he began to haue a liking to the ſiſter of king Eadbald, namelie the ladie Ethelburga, otherwiſe called Tate or Tace.

Carpwaldus.

He made requeſt therefore by ſending ambaſſadours to hir brother, to haue the ſaid ladie in marriage, and at length obteined hir, with condition that ſhe being a chriſtian woman, might not onelie vſe the chriſtian religion, but alſo that all thoſe, whether men or women, prieſts or miniſters, which came with hir, might haue licence to do the ſame, without trouble or impeachment of anie maner of perſon. Herevpon ſhe being ſent vnto him, there was appointed to go with hir (beſides manie other) one Paulinie, which was conſecrated biſhop by the archbiſhop Juſtus the 21 of Julie, in the yeare of our Lord 625, who at his comming into Northumberland thus in companie with Ethelburga, trauelled earneſtlie in his office, both to preſerue hir and ſuch chriſtians in the faith of Chriſt, as were appointed to giue their attendance on hir, leaſt they ſhould chance to fall: and alſo ſought to win ſome of the pagans (if it were poſſible) vnto the ſame faith, though at the firſt he little profited in that matter.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 9.

Matth. Weſt. Beda. lib. 2. cap. 9. 625

In the yeare following, there came a murtherer vnto the court of king Edwin, as then ſoiourning in a palace which ſtood vpon the ſide of the riuer of Dorwent, being ſent from Quichelme king of the Weſtſaxons, to the intent to murther Edwin, becauſe he had of late ſore damnified the countries of the Weſtſaxons. This murtherer was called Eumerus, & caried vnder his coate a ſhort double edged woodknife inuenomed of purpoſe, that if the king being but a little hurt therewith, ſhould not die of the wound, yet he ſhould not eſcape the danger of the poiſon. This Eumerus on Eaſter mondaie came to the king, and making forth to him as it had béene to haue declared ſome meſſage from his maiſter, when he had eſpied his time, drew his weapon, and offered to ſtrike the king. But one of the kings ſeruants named Lilla, perceiuing this, ſtept betwixt the king and the blow. Howbeit the murtherer ſet the ſtripe forward with ſuch force, that the knife running through the bodie of Lilla wounded alſo the king a little: and before this murtherer could be beaten downe, he ſlue another of the kings ſeruants, a knight that attended vpon him, called Fordher.

Other ſay an axe, as Matth. Weſt.

Eumerus.

The ſame night Ethelburga was deliuered of a daughter named Eaufled, for the which when king Edwin gaue thanks vnto his gods, in the preſence of

Eaufled borne

Edwin. Beda. lib. 2. ca. 5.

of biſhop Pauline, the biſhop did admoniſh him, rather to giue thanks vnto the true and onelie God, by whoſe goodneſſe it came to paſſe that the queene was ſafelie and without danger deliuered. The king giuing good eare vnto the biſhops wholeſome admonition, promiſed at that preſent to become a chriſtian, if he might reuenge his iniuries receiued at the hands of the Weſtſaxons. And to aſſure Pauline that his promiſe ſhould take place, he gaue vnto him his new borne daughter to be made holie to the Lord, that is to ſay, baptiſed. The biſhop receiuing hir, on Whitſundaie next following baptiſed hir, with twelue other of the kings houſhold, ſhe being the firſt of the Engliſh Northumbers that was ſo waſhed in the founteine of regeneration.

In the meane time K. Edwin being recouered of his hurt, aſſembled an armie, and went againſt the Weſtſaxons, with whome incountring in battell, he either ſlue or brought to his ſubiection all them that had conſpired his death, and ſo returned as a conqueror into his countrie. But yet he delaied time in performance of his promiſe to become a chriſtian: howbeit he had left his doing of ſacrifice to idols, euer ſince he made promiſe to be baptiſed. He was a ſage prince, and before he would alter his religion, he politikelie thought good to heare matters touching both his old religion, and the chriſtian religion throughlie examined.

Now whileſt he thus hong in doubt vnto whether part he ſhould incline, there came letters to him from pope Boniface the fift of that name, exhorting him by ſundrie kinds of gentle perſwaſions, to turne to the worſhipping of the true and liuing God, and to renounce the worſhipping of mawmets and idols. The pope wrote alſo to queene Ethelburga, praieng hir to continue in hir good purpoſe, and by all meanes poſſible to doo what might be doone for the conuerting of hir huſband vnto the faith of Chriſt. But the thing that moſt moued the king, was a viſion which ſometime he had while he remained as a baniſhed man in the court of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles, as thus.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 10.

Beda. lib. 2. cap. 11.

A viſion.

After that king Ethelfred was informed that the foreſaid Redwald had receiued Edwin, he ceaſed not by his ambaſſadours to moue Redwald either to deliuer Edwin into his hands, or to make him away. At length by often ſending, & promiſes made of large ſummes of monie, mixed with threatnings, he obteined a grant of his ſute, ſo that it was determined that Edwin ſhould either be murthered, or elſe deliuered into his enimies hands. One of Edwins friends hauing intelligence hereof, in the night ſeaſon came to Edwins chamber, and leading him abroad, told him the whole practiſe, and what was purpoſed againſt him, offering to helpe him out of the countrie, if he would ſo aduenture to eſcape. Edwin being wonderouſlie amazed, thanked his friend, but refuſed to depart the countrie, ſith he had no iuſt cauſe outwardlie giuen to play ſuch a ſlipper part, chooſing rather to ieopard his life with honour, than to giue men cauſe to thinke that he had firſt broken promiſe with ſuch a prince as Redwald was, to whome he had giuen his faith.

Beda. cap. 12.

The honorable conſideration of Edwin.

Herevpon his friend departing from him, left him ſitting without the doores: where after he had reuolued manie things in his mind, and thought long vpon this matter, at length he perceiued one to come towards him vnknowne, and in ſtrange apparell, ſeeming to him in euerie point a ſtranger, at which ſight (for that he could not imagine who it ſhould be) Edwin was much afraid: but the man comming to him ſaluted him, and aſked of him what he made there at that time of the night when other were at reſt. Edwin on the other part aſked what he had to doo therewith, and whether he vſed to lie abroad in the night, or within houſe? Who anſwering ſaid; Thinke not Edwin that I am ignorant of thy heauineſſe, of thy watchings, and this thy ſolitarie ſitting here without doores. For I know who thou art, wherefore thou art thus penſiue, and what euils thou feareſt to be towards thee at hand. But tell me, what wouldeſt thou giue him, that could deliuer thee out of this heauineſſe, and perſwade Redwald that he ſhould neither doo thee hurt, nor deliuer thee to thine enimies? Here with when Edwin ſaid that he would gladlie giue all that in him might lie to ſuch a one in reward? The other ſaid; What wouldſt thou giue then, if he ſhould promiſe in good ſooth that (all thine enimies being deſtroied) thou ſhouldeſt be king, and that thou ſhouldeſt paſſe in power all the kings which haue reigned in the Engliſh nation before thy time? Edwin being better come to himſelfe by ſuch demandes, did not ſticke to promiſe that he would requite his friendſhip with worthie thanks.

Then replied he to his words and ſaid; If he that ſhall prophecie to thee this good hap to come, ſhall alſo be able to informe thee in ſuch counſell for thy health and life, as neuer anie of thy forefathers or kinſfolke yet haue heard, wouldeſt thou obey him, and alſo conſent to receiue his wholeſome aduertiſement? Wherevnto without further deliberation Edwin promiſed, that he would in all points follow the inſtruction of him that ſhould deliuer him out of ſo manie and great calamities, and bring him to the rule of a kingdome. Which anſwere being got, this perſon that thus talked with him, laid his hand vpon his head, ſaieng: When this therefore ſhall chance to thee, be not forgetfull of this time, nor of this communication, and thoſe things that thou now doeſt promiſe, ſee thou performe. And therewith he vaniſhed awaie. So that Edwin might well perceiue it was no man but a viſion that thus had appeared vnto him.

[¶This vnaccuſtomed courſe it pleaſed God to vſe for the conuerſion of the king (to whoſe example it was no doubt but the people and inferiour ſort would generallie be conformed) who otherwiſe had continued in paganiſme and blind ignorance both of Gods truth and true chriſtianitie. And it maie be that there was in him, as in other kings his predeceſſors, a ſettled perſwaſion in gentilith error, ſo that neither by admonition nor preaching (though the ſame had proceeded from the mouth of one allotted to that miniſterie) he was to be reuoked from the infidelitie and miſbeleefe wherein he was nuzzeled and trained vp. For it is the nature of all men, to be addicted to the obſeruation of ſuch rites and cuſtomes as haue beene eſtabliſhed and left in force by their progenitors, and ſooner to ſtand vnto a deſire and earneſt purpoſe of adding ſomewhat to their elders corrupt conſtitutions, and irreligious courſe of converſation, than to be inclinable to anie article or point tending to innouation: ſo inflexible is the poſteritie to ſwarue from the traditions of antiquitie, ſtand the ſame vpon neuer ſo groſſe and palpable abſurdities.]

Edwin ſtill reioiſing in the foreſaid comfortable talke, but thoughtfull in mind what he ſhould be, or from whence he came that had talked in this ſort with him; behold his friend returned that firſt had brought him forth of his chamber, and declared vnto him good newes, how the king by perſwaſion of the queene had altered his determination, and minded to mainteine his quarell to the vttermoſt of his power: and ſo he did in deed. For with all diligence he raiſed an armie, and went againſt Ethelfred, vanquiſhed him in battell, and placed Edwin in the kingdome (as before we haue heard.)

King

King Edwin is put in mind of his viſion *by Pauline who ſawe the ſame in ſpirit*, he is licenced to preach the goſpell, biſhop *Coifi deſtroieth the idols, Edwin and his people re-* ceiue the chriſtian faith, his two ſonnes Offride and *Eadfride become conuerts, Redwald king of the Eaſtangles is* baptiſed, he ſerueth God and the diuell, Sibert receiueth the faith, Felix biſhop of Burgongne commeth ouer to Honorius archbiſhop of Canturburie, he preacheth to the Eaſtangles, the Northumbers and Lincolnſhiremen are conuerted, manie are baptiſed in the riuer of Trent; king Edwins iuſtice how effectuall and commendable, his care for the common-wealth, his prouidence for the refection of trauellers, pope Honorius confirmeth Pauline archbiſhop of Yorke, the tenor of his letters touching the mutuall election of the archbiſhop of Canturburie and Yorke, if either of them happened to ſuruiue other, his letters to the Scots touching the keeping of Eaſter and auoiding the Pelagian hereſie, Cadwallo king of Britaine rebelleth againſt Edwin, Penda king of Mercia enuieth his good eſtate, Cadwallo and Penda inuade Northumberland, Edwin and his ſonne Offride are ſlaine, Penda putteth his other ſonne Eadfride cruellie to death.

The xxvj. Chapter.

NOtwithſtanding the former viſion, king Edwin deferred time yet he would receiue the chriſtian faith, in ſo much that Pauline vpon a daie came vnto him as he ſat muſing what he were beſt to do, and laid his hand vpon his head, asking him if he knew that ſigne. Whereat when the king would haue fallen downe at his feet, he lifted him vp, and as it were in familiar wiſe thus ſaid vnto him: Behold, by the aſſiſtance of Gods fauour thou haſt eſcaped the hands of thine enimies, whome thou ſtoodſt in feare of: behold through his bountious liberalitie, thou haſt obteined the kingdome which thou diddeſt deſire, remember then that thou delaie no time to performe the third thing that thou diddeſt promiſe, in receiuing his faith, and keeping his commandements, which deliuering thee from worldlie aduerſities, hath thus aduanced thee to the honor of a king: and if from henceforth thou wilt obey his will, which by my mouth hee ſetteth and preacheth to thee and others, he will deliuer thee from euerlaſting torments, and make thee partaker with him in his celeſtiall kingdome. It is to be thought that the viſion which the king had in times paſt receiued, was in ſpirit reuealed vnto Pauline, whereupon without delaie of time, he put him in remembrance of it in maner as aboue is mentioned.

The king hauing heard his words, anſwered, that he would and ought to receiue the faith which he taught, but firſt he would conferre with his nobles, and if they would agree to do the like, then would they be baptiſed altogither at one time. Pauline ſatiſfied herewith, Edwin did as he had promiſed, calling togither the wiſeſt men of his realme, and of them aſked the queſtion what they thought of this diuinitie, which was preached vnto them by Pauline, vnto whome his chiefe biſhop named Coifi, incontinentlie made this anſwer; that Suerlie the religion which they had hitherto followed was nothing worth. Edwin conſulteth with his nobles.

The anſwere of an heathen biſhop.

"For (ſaith he) there is none of thy people that hath more reuerentlie worſhipped our gods than I haue done, and yet be there manie that haue receiued far greater benefits at thy hands than I haue done: and therefore if our gods were of anie power, then would they rather helpe me to high honor and dignitie than others. Therefore if it maie be found that this new religion is better & more auailable than our old, let vs with ſpeed imbrace the ſame."

Finallie, when other of the kings councell & men of high authoritie gaue their conſents, that this doctrine which Pauline taught ought to be receiued, if therein appeared more certeintie of ſaluation than could be found in the other: at length the king gaue licence to Pauline openlie to preach the goſpell, and renouncing his worſhipping of falſe gods, profeſſed the chriſtian faith. And when he demanded of his biſhop Coifi who ſhould firſt deface the altars of their idols, and the tabernacles wherewith they were compaſſed about: He anſwered, that himſelfe would do it. For what is more meet (ſaith he) than that I, which thorough folliſhneſſe haue worſhipped them, ſhould now for example ſake deſtroie the ſame, thorough wiſedome giuen me from the true and liuing God? And ſtreightwaies throwing awaie the ſuperſtition of vanitie, required armour and weapon of the king, with a ſtoned horſe, vpon the which he being mounted, rode forth to deſtroie the idols. Pauline licenced to preach the goſpell.

This was a ſtrange ſight to the people: for it was not lawfull for the biſhop of their law to put on armour, or to ride on anie beaſt, except it were a mare. He hauing therefore a ſword gird to him, tooke a ſpeare in his hand, and riding on the kings horſe, went to the place where the idols ſtood. The common people that beheld him had thought he had beene ſtarke mad, and out of his wits: but he without longer deliberation, incontinentlie vpon his comming to the temple, began to deface the ſame, and in contempt threw his ſpeare againſt it, & reioiſing greatlie in the knowledge of the worſhipping of the true God, commanded his companie to deſtroie & burne downe the ſame temple with all the altars. This place where the idols were ſometime worſhiped was not farre from Yorke, towards the eaſt part of the riuer of Derwent, and is called Gotmundin Gaham, where the foreſaid biſhop by the inſpiration of God defaced and deſtroied thoſe altars, which he himſelfe had hallowed.

King Edwin with his people receiue the chriſtian faith. Beda lib. 2. cap. 14.

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King Edwin therefore with all the nobilitie, and a great number of his people, receiued the faith and were baptiſed, in the yeere of our Lord 627, in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and about the 178 yeere after the firſt comming of the Engliſhmen into this land. He was baptiſed at Yorke on Eaſter daie (which fell that yeere the day before the Ides of April) in the church of S. Peter the apoſtle, which he had cauſed to be erected and built vp of timber vpon the ſudden for that purpoſe, and afterwards began the foundation of the ſame church in ſtone-worke of a larger compaſſe, comprehending within it that oratorie which he had firſt cauſed to be built: but before he could finiſh the worke, he was ſlaine (as after ſhall be ſhewed) leauing it to be performed of his ſucceſſor Oſwald.

Pauline continued from thenceforth during the kings life, which was ſix yeeres after, in preaching the goſpell in that prouince, conuerting an innumerable number of people to the faith of Chriſt, among whom were Offride and Eadfride the two ſonnes of Edwin, whom he begot in time of his baniſhment of his wife Quinburga, the daughter of Cearlus king of Mercia. Alſo afterwards he begot children on his ſecond wife Ethelburga, that is to ſay, a ſonne called Edilhimus, and a daughter named Edilberg- Edilthrudis. dis, and another ſonne called Buſſires, of the which the two firſt died in their cradels, and were buried in the church at Yorke. To be briefe: by the kings aſſiſtance & fauour ſhewed vnto Pauline in the worke of the Lord, great multitudes of people dailie receiued the faith, and were baptiſed of Pauline in diuerſe places, but ſpeciallie in the riuer of Glein within the prouince of Bernicia, and alſo in Swinſeie in the prouince of Deira: for as yet in the beginning thus

of the church in thoſe countries, no temples or fonts could be builded or erected in ſo ſhort a time.

Of ſuch great zeale was Edwin (as it is reported) towards the ſetting forth of Gods truth, that he perſuaded Carpwald the ſonne of Redwald king of the Eaſtangles to abandon the ſuperſtitious worſhipping of idols, and to receiue the faith of Chriſt with all his whole prouince. His father Redwald was baptiſed in Kent long before this time, but in vaine: for returning home, through counſell of his wife and other wicked perſons, he was ſeduced, and being turned from the ſincere puritie of faith, his laſt doings were worſſe than his firſt, ſo that according to the maner of the old Samaritans, he would ſeeme both to ſerue the true God and his falſe gods, (whom before time he had ſerued) and in one ſelfe church had at one time both the ſacraments of Chriſt miniſtred at one altar, and ſacrifice made vnto diuels at another.

This chanced in the yeere 632, as Matt. Weſt. ſaith.

Redwald king of Eaſtangles baptiſed.

Redwald would ſerue God and the diuell.

But Carpwald within a while after he had receiued the faith, was ſlaine by one of his owne countrimen that was an ethnike, called Richbert, and then after his death, that prouince for the tearme of three yeeres was wrapped eftſoones in errour, till Sibert or Sigibert, the brother of Carpwald, a moſt chriſtian prince, and verie well learned, obteined the rule of that kingdome; who whileſt he liued a baniſhed man in France during his brothers life time, was baptiſed there, and became a chriſtian: and when he came to be king, he cauſed all his prouince to be partaker of the ſame fountaine of life, wherein he had beene dipped himſelfe.

Sibert or Sigibert.

Vnto his godlie purpoſe alſo, a biſhop of the parties of Burgoigne named Felix was a great furtherer, who comming ouer vnto the archbiſhop of Canturburie Honorius that was ſucceſſor vnto Iuſtus, and declaring vnto him his earneſt deſire, was ſent by the ſame archbiſhop to preach the word of life vnto the Eaſtangles, which he did with ſuch good ſucceſſe, that he conuerted the whole countrie to the faith of Ieſus Chriſt, and placed the ſee of his biſhoprike at Dunwich, ending the courſe of his life there in peace after he had continued in that his biſhoplike office the ſpace of 17 yeeres. Moreouer Pauline, after that he had conuerted the Northumbers, preached the word of God vnto them of Lindſey, which is a part of Lincolnſhire: and firſt he perſuaded one Blecca the gouernour of the citie of Lincolne to turne vnto Chriſt, togither with all his familie. In that citie he alſo builded a church of ſtone worke. Thus Pauline trauelled in the worke of the Lord, the ſame being greatlie furthered by the helpe of Edwin, in whoſe preſence he baptiſed a great number of people in the riuer of Trent, neere to a towne, which in the old Engliſh tong was called Tiouulfingaceſter. This Pauline had with him a deacon named James, the which ſhewed himſelfe verie diligent in the miniſterie, and profited greatlie therein.

A biſhop ordeined at Dunwich.

Beda lib. 1. cap. 16.

This chanced in the yeere 628, as Matth. Weſt. ſaith.

But now to returne to king Edwin, who was a prince verelie of worthie fame, and for the politike ordering of his countries and obſerning of iuſtice, deſerued highlie to be commended: for in his time all robbers by the high waie were ſo baniſhed out of his dominions, that a woman with hir new borne child alone, without other companie, might haue trauelled from ſea to ſea, and not haue incountred with anie creature that durſt once hurt offer iniurie. He was alſo verie carefull for the aduancement of the commoditie & common wealth of his people, inſomuch that where there were any ſweet and cleare water-ſprings, he cauſed poſſes to be ſet vp, and iron diſhes to be faſtened thereto with chaines, that trauelling men might haue the ſame readie at hand to drinke with; and there was none ſo hardie as to touch the ſame but for that vſe. He vſed whereſoeuer he went within the cities or elſewhere abroad, to haue a banner borne before him, in token of iuſtice to be miniſtred by his roiall authoritie.

Wil. Malm.

Matth. Weſt. Beda lib. 2. cap. 16.

In the meane ſeaſon, pope Honorius the firſt, hearing that the Northumbers had receiued the faith (as before is mentioned) at the preaching of Pauline, ſent vnto the ſaid Pauline the pall, confirming him archbiſhop in the ſee of Yorke. He ſent alſo letters of exhortation vnto king Edwin, to kindle him the more with fatherlie aduiſe to continue and proceed in the waie of vnderſtanding, into the which he was entered. At the ſame time alſo, becauſe Iuſtus the archbiſhop of Canturburie was dead, and one Honorius elected to that ſee, pope Honorius ſent to the ſaid elect archbiſhop of Canturburie his pall, with letters, wherein was conteined a decree by him made, that when either the archbiſhop of Canturburie or Yorke chanced to depart this life, he that ſuruiued ſhould haue authoritie to ordeine another in place of him that was decealled, that they ſhould not need to wearie themſelues with going to Rome, being ſo farre diſtant from them. The copie of which letter is regiſtred in the eccleſiaſticall hiſtorie of Beda, bearing date the third Ides of June, in the yeere of our Lord 633. The ſame pope ſent letters alſo to the Scotiſh people, exhorting them to celebrate the feaſt of Eaſter in ſuch due time as other churches of the chriſtian world obſerued. And alſo becauſe the hereſie of the Pelagians began to renew againe amongſt them (as he was informed) he admoniſhed them to beware thereof, and by all meanes to auoid it. For he knew that to the office of a paſtor it is neceſſarilie incident, not onelie to exhort, teach, and ſhew his ſheepe the waies to a chriſtian life, but alſo ſtronglie to withſtand all ſuch vniuſt meanes, as might hinder their proceeding in the truth of religion. For as poiſon is vnto the bodie, that is hereſie vnto veritie. And as the bodie by poiſon is diſabled from all naturall faculties, and vtterlie extinguiſhed, vnleſſe by preſent meanes the force thereof be vanquiſhed: ſo truth and veritie by errors and hereſies is manie times choked and recouereth, but neuer ſtrangled.

I decree concerning the archbiſhops of Canturburie and Yorke.

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The feaſt of Eaſter.

The hereſie of the Pelagians.

But now that the kingdome of Northumberland flouriſhed (as before is partlie touched) in happie ſtate vnder the proſperous reigne of Edwin, at length, after he had gouerned it the ſpace of 17 yeeres, Cadwalline, or Cadwallo king of Britaine, who ſucceeded Cadwane, as Gal. Mon. ſaith, rebelled againſt him. For ſo it commeth to paſſe, that nothing can be ſo ſure confirmed by mans power, but the ſame by the like power may be againe deſtroied. Penda king of Mercia enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Edwin, procured Cadwallo to moue this rebellion againſt Edwin: and ioining his power with Cadwallo, they inuaded the countrie of Northumberland ſaintlie togither. Edwin hereof aduertiſed, gathered his people, & came to incounter them, ſo that both armies met at a place called Hatfield, where was fought a verie ſore and bloudie battell. But in the end Edwin was ſlaine with one of his ſonnes named Oſfride, and his armie beaten downe and diſperſed. Alſo there was ſlaine on Edwins part, Eodbald king of Mikenie. Moreouer there was an other of Edwins ſonnes named Eadfride conſtreined of neceſſitie to giue himſelfe into the hands of Penda, and was after by him cruellie put to death, contrarie to his promiſed faith in king Oſwalds daies that ſucceeded Edwin. Thus did king Edwin end his life in that battell, fought at Hatfield aforeſaid, on the fourth ides of October, in the yere of our Lord 633, he being then about the age of 47 yeeres and vpwards.

Cadwallin, or Cadwallo king of Britaine.

Penda king of Mercia.

King Edwin ſlaine. Matth. Weſt.

The

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo after their victorie, the Britains make no account of religion, Archbiſhop Pauline with queen Ethelburga flie out of Northumberland into Kent, honorable perſonages accompanie him thither, Romanus biſhop of Rocheſter drowned, Pauline vndertaketh the charge of that ſee; Oſrike is king of Deira, and Eanfride king of Bernicia, both kings become apoſtatas, and fall frõ chriſtianitie to paganiſme, they are both ſlaine within leſſe than a yeeres ſpace; Oſwald is created king of Northumberland, his chiefe practiſe in feats of armes, Cadwallo king of Britaine hath him in contempt, Oſwalds ſuperſtitious deuotion and interceſſion to God againſt his enimies; both kings ioine battell; Cadwallo is ſlaine, Penda king of Mercia his notable vertues linked with foule vices, he maketh warre on whom he will without exception.

The xxvij. Chapter.

CAdwallo and Penda hauing obteined the victorie aforſaid, vſed it moſt cruellie. For one of the capteins was a pagan, and the other wanting all ciuilitie, ſhewed himſelfe more cruell than anie pagan could haue done. So that Penda being a worſhipper of falſe gods with his people of Mercia, and Cadwallo hauing no reſpect to the chriſtian religion which latelie was begun amongſt the Northumbers, made hauocke in all places where they came, not ſparing man, woman nor child: and ſo continued in their furious outrage a long time in paſſing through the countrie, to the great decay and calamitie of the chriſtian congregations in thoſe parties. And ſtill the chriſtian Britains were leſſe mercifull than Penda his heathenith ſouldiers. For euen vnto the daies of Beda (as he affirmeth) the Britains made no account of the faith or religion of the Engliſhmen, nor would communicate with them more than with the pagans, becauſe they differed in rites from their accuſtomed traditions.

The crueltie of Penda and Cadwallo.

When the countrie of the Northumbers was brought into this miſerable caſe by the enimies inuaſion, the archbiſhop Pauline taking with him the quéene Ethelburga, whom he had brought thither, returned now againe with hir by water into Kent, where he was honorablie receiued of the archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald. He came thither in the conduct of one Baſſus a valiant man of warre, hauing with him Eanfred the daughter, and Wulfrea the ſonne of Edwin, & alſo Iffi the ſonne of Oſfride Edwins ſonne, whom their mother after for feare of the kings Edbold and Oſwold did ſend into France where they died. The church of Rocheſter at that time was deſtitute of a biſhop, by the death of Romanus, who being ſent to Rome vnto pope Honorius, was drowned by the way in the Italian ſeas. Whereupon at the requeſt of archbiſhop Honorius, and king Eadbald, Pauline toke vpon him the charge of that ſee, and held it till he died.

The archbiſhop Pauline flieth into Kent.

Beda lib. 3. ca. 1.

After it was knowne that Edwin was ſlaine in battell (as before ye haue heard) Oſrike the ſonne of his vncle Elfrike toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Deira, which had receiued the ſacrament of baptiſme by the preaching and vertuous inſtruction of Pauline. But the other kingdome of Northumberland called Bernicia, Eanfride the ſon of Edelfred or Edelfride, toke vpon him to gouerne. This Eanfride during the time of Edwins reigne, had continued in Scotland, and there being conuerted to the chriſtian faith was baptiſed. But both theſe princes, after they had obteined poſſeſſion of their earthlie kingdoms, did forget the care of the heauenlie kingdome, ſo that they returned to their old kind of idolatrie. But almightie God did not long ſuffer this their vnthankefulneſſe without iuſt puniſhment: for firſt in the nert ſummer, when Oſrike had raſhlie beſieged Cadwallo king of the Britains, within a certeine towne, Cadwallo brake forth vpon him, and finding him vnprouided to make reſiſtance, ſlue him with all his armie. Now after this, whileſt Cadwallo not like a conqueror gouerned the prouinces of the Northumbers, but like a tyrant waſted and deſtroied them, in fleating the people in tragicall maner, he alſo ſlue Eanfride, the which with twelue men of warre came vndiſcréetlie vnto him to ſue for peace: and thus within leſſe than twelue moneths ſpace both theſe runagate kings were diſpatched.

Oſrike king of Deira.

Eanfrid king of Bernicia.

The two kings of Northumberland ſlaine.

Then Oſwald the ſonne of Edelfred, and brother to the foreſaid Eanfride was created king of the Northumbers, the firſt in number from Ida. This Oſwald after that his father was ſlaine, liued as a baniſhed perſon a long time within Scotland, where he was baptiſed, and profeſſed the chriſtian religion, and paſſed the flower of his youth in good exerciſes, both of mind & bodie. Amongſt other things he practiſed the vnderſtanding of warlike knowledge, minding ſo to vſe it as it might ſtand him in ſtead to defend himſelfe from iniurie of the enimies that ſhould prouoke him, and not otherwiſe. Herevpõ Cadwallo king of the Britains made in maner no account of him: for by reaſon that he had atchiued ſuch great victories againſt the Engliſhmen, and hauing ſlaine their two kings (as before is expreſſed) he ceaſſed not to proceed in his tyrannicall doings, reputing the Engliſh people for ſlouthfull, and not apt to the warre, boaſting that he was borne to their deſtruction. Thus being ſet vp in pride of courage, he feared no perils, but boldlie (without conſidering at all the ſkilfull knowledge which Oſwald had ſufficientlie learned in feates of war) toke vpon him to aſſaile the foreſaid Oſwald, that had brought an armie againſt him, and was encamped in a plaine field nére vnto the wall which the Romans had builded in times paſt againſt the inuaſion of Scots and Picts.

Oſwald began his reigne in the yeare 635. Beda. lib. 3. cap. 3.

Cadwallo ſtreight prouoked Oſwald to trie the matter by battell, but Oſwald forbare the firſt day, and cauſed a croſſe to be erected in the ſame place where he was incamped, in full hope that it ſhould be an enſigne or trophie of his victorie, cauſing all ſouldiers to make their praiers to God, that in time of ſuch neceſſitie it might pleaſe him to ſuccour them that worſhip him. It is ſaid, that the croſſe being made, and the hole digged wherein it ſhould be ſet, he toke the croſſe in his owne hands, and putting the foot thereof into that hole, ſo held it till his ſouldiers had filled the hole, and rammed it vp: and then cauſed all the ſouldiers to kneele downe vpon their knées, and to make interceſſion to the true and liuing God for his aſſiſtance againſt the proud enimie, with whom they ſhould fight in a iuſt quarell for the preſeruation of their people and countrie.

After this, on the nert morning he boldlie gaue battell to his enimies, ſo that a ſore and cruell fight inſued betwixt them. At length Oſwald perceiued that the Britains began ſomwhat to faint, and therfore cauſed his people to renew their force, and more luſtilie to preaſſe forward, ſo that firſt he put that moſt cruell enimie to flight, and after purſuing the chaſe ouertoke him, and ſlue him with the moſt part of all his huge and mightie armie, at a place called Denisborne, but the place where he cauſed the croſſe to be erected he named Heuenfield. Thus Cadwallo

Beda. Wil. Malm.

wallo the moſt cruell enimie of the Engliſh name ended his life: he was terrible both in nature and countenance, for the which cauſe they ſay the Britains did afterwards ſet vp his image, that the ſame might be a terror to the enimies when they ſhould behold it.

¶ But here is to be remembred by the Britiſh hiſtorie of Gal. Mon. it ſhould appeare that Cadwallo was not ſlaine at all, but reigned victoriouſlie for the ſpace of 48 yéeres, and then departed this life, as in place afterwards it ſhall appéere. But for that the contrarietie in writers in ſuch points may ſooner be perceiued than reformed, to the ſatiſfieng of mens fanſies which are variable, we will leaue euerie man to his libertie to thinke as ſéemeth him good, noting now and then the diuerſitie of ſuch writers, as occaſion ſerueth.

Penda. 636

PEnda the ſonne of Willba ſucceéded in the gouernement of the kingdome of Mercia after Clarlus, and began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 636. He was fiftie yéeres of age before he came to be king, and reigned 30 yeres, he was a prince right hardie and aduenturous, not fearing to ieopard his perſon in place of danger, aſſured and readie of remembrance in time of greateſt peril. His bodie could not be ouercome with anie trauell, nor his mind vanquiſhed with greatneſſe of buſineſſe. But theſe his vertues were matched with notable vices, as firſt with ſuch bitterneſſe of maners as had not béene heard of, crueltie of nature, lacke of courteſie, great vnſtedfaſtneſſe in performing of word and promiſe, and of vnmeaſurable hatred toward the chriſtian religion.

Now vpon confidence in theſe his great vertues and vices from that time he was made king (as though the whole Ile had bene due to him) he thought not good to let anie occaſion paſſe that was offered to make war, as wel againſt his friends & confederats, as alſo againſt his owne ſworne enimies. Part of his doings ye haue heard, and more ſhall appeare hereafter. ¶ Of the kings of the Eaſt ſaxons & Eaſt angles ye haue heard before: of whom in places conuenient ye ſhall find further mention alſo, and ſo likewiſe of the kings of the Southſaxons: but becauſe their kingdom continued not paſt fiue ſucceſſions, litle remembrance of them is made by writers.

Cadwallo king of Britain, diuers deeds of his as the Britiſh writers haue recorded them, wherevpon diſcord aroſe betweene *Cadwallo & Edwin, who for two yeres ſpace were* linked in friendſhip, Cadwallo vanquiſht, his flight, *of Pelitus the Spaniſh wizard, Cadwallo ouerthroweth Penda* and his power beſieging Exceſter, he arreareth battell againſt the Northumbers, and killeth Edwin their king, he ſeeketh to expell the Saxons out of the land, Penda ſlaieth Oſwald, whoſe brother and ſucceſſor Oſunus by gifts and ſubmiſſion obteineth peace, whom Penda ſpitefullie attempting to kill is killed himſelfe, Cadwallo dieth, a braſen image on horſſebacke ſet vp in his memoriall, ſaint Martins at Ludgate builded.

The xxviij. Chapter.

Cadwallo, or Cadwalline. 635.

CAdwallo or Cadwalline, (for we find him ſo named) began his reigne ouer the Britains, in the yéere of our Lord 635, in the yéere of the reigne of the emperour Heracleus 35, and in the 13 yere of Dagobert K. of France. Of this man ye haue heard partlie before touching his dealings and warres againſt the Northumbers, and other of the Engliſh nation: but forſomuch as diuers other things are reported of him by the Britiſh writers, we haue thought good in this place to rehearſe the ſame in part, as in Gal. Mon. we find written, leaning the credit ſtill with the author, ſith the truth thereof may be the more ſuſpected, becauſe other authors of good authoritie, as Beda, Henrie Huntington, William Malmeſburie, and others ſéeme greatlie to diſagrée from him herein. But thus it is written.

This Cadwallo and Edwin the ſonne of Ethelfred, as Galfride ſaith, were brought vp in France, being ſent thither vnto Salomon king of Britaine, by king Cadwane, when they were verie yong. Now after their returne into this land, when they were made kings, Cadwallo of the Britains, & Edwin of the Northumbers, there continued for the ſpace of two yéeres great friendſhip betwixt them, till at length Edwin required of Cadwallo that he might weare a crowne, and celebrate appointed ſolemnities within his dominion of Northumberland, as well as Cadwallo did in his countrie. Cadwallo taking aduice in this matter, at length by perſuaſion of his nephue Brian, denied to grant vnto Edwin his requeſt, wherewith Edwin toke ſuch diſpleaſure, that he ſent word vnto Cadwallo, that he would be crowned without his leaue or licence, ſith he would not willinglie grant it. Wherto Cadwallo anſwered, that if he ſo did, he would cut off his head vnder his diademe, if he preſumed to weare anie within the confines of Britaine. Hereof diſcord ariſing betwixt theſe two princes, they began to make fierce and cruell warre either of them againſt the other, and at length ioining in batell with their maine forces, Cadwallo loſt the field, with many thouſands of his men, and being chaſed fled into Scotland, and from thence got ouer into Ireland, and finally paſſed the ſeas into Britaine Armorike, where, of his couſin king Salomon he was courteouſlie receiued, and at length obteined of him 10000 men to go with him backe into his countrie to aſſiſt him in recouerie of his lands & dominions, the which in the meane time were cruellie ſpoiled, waſted and haried by king Edwin.

Edwin ſon not ſonne to Ethelfred ſee to Alla, or Ella, as in other places plaine apeareth.

Oſwald ſlaine

Oſwie. Matth. Weſt. 654

678 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 676.

Cadwallo banquiſhed by Edwin.

Cadwallo flieth the land.

At the ſame time Brian the nephue of Cadwallo, whom he had ſent into Britaine a little before to ſlea a certeine wizard or ſouthſaier, whom king Edwin had gotten out of Spaine named Pelitus, that by diſcloſing the purpoſe of Cadwallo vnto Edwin, greatlie hindered Cadwallos enterpriſes, had fortified the citie of Exceſter, meaning to defend it till the comming of Cadwallo, wherevpon Penda king of Mercia beſieged that citie with a mightie army, purpoſing to take it, and Brian within it. Cadwallo then aduertiſed hereof, immediatlie after his arriuall haſted to Exceſter, and diuiding his people in 4 parts, ſet vpon his enimies, & toke Penda, and ouerthrew his whole armie. Penda hauing no other ſhift to eſcape, ſubmitted himſelfe wholie vnto Cadwallo, promiſing to become his liegeman, to fight againſt the Saxons in his quarrell. Penda being thus ſubdued, Cadwallo called his nobles togither which had bene diſperſed abroad a long ſeaſon, & with all ſpéed went againſt Edwin king of Northumberland, and ſlue him in battell at Hatfield (as before is mentioned) with his ſon Oſtride, and Eodbold king of the Iles of Orknie, which was come thither to his aid.

¶ By this it ſhould appeare, that Fabian hath gathered amiſſe in the account of the reignes of the Britiſh kings: for it appeareth by Beda and others, that Edwin was ſlaine in the yéere of our Lord 634. And where Fabian (as before is ſaid) attributeth that & diuers other vnto Cadwan the father of this Cadwallo: yet both Gal. Mon. and Beda with the moſt

634.

part

part of all other writers ſignifie that it was done by Cadwallo. Harding aſſigneth but 13 yéeres to the reigne of Cadwan, and declareth that he died in the yéere of our Lord 616, in the which (as he ſaith) Cadwallo began his reigne, which opinion of his ſéemeth beſt to agrée with that which is written by other authors. But to returne to the other doings of Cadwallo, as we find them recorded in the Britiſh ſtorie. After he had got this victorie againſt the Northumbers, he cruellie purſued the Saxons, as though he ment ſo farre as in him lay, to deſtroie the whole race of them out of the coaſts of all Britaine: and ſending Penda againſt king Oſwald that ſucceeded Edwin, though at the firſt Penda receiued the ouerthrow at Heauenfield, yet afterwards Cadwallo himſelfe highly diſpleaſed with that chance, purſued Oſwald, and fought with him at a place called Bourne, where Penda ſlue the ſaid Oſwald. Wherevpon his brother Oſunus ſucceéding in gouernment of the Northumbers, ſought the fauour of Cadwallo now ruling as king ouer all Britaine, and at length by great gifts of gold and ſiluer, and vpon his humble ſubmiſſion, obteined peace, till at length vpon ſpite, Penda king of Mercia obteined licence of Cadwallo to make warres againſt the ſaid Oſunus, in the which (as it hapned) Penda himſelfe was ſlaine. Then Cadwallo after two yéeres granted that Alfridus the ſonne of Penda ſhould ſucceéd in Mercia.

Oſwald ſlaine

Oſwie. Matth. Weſt. 654

Thus Cadwallo ruled things at his appointment within this land. And finallie when he had reigned 48 yéeres, he departed this life the 22 of Nouember. His bodie being embalmed and dreſſed with ſweét confections, was put into a brazen image by maruelous art melted and caſt, which image being ſet on a brazen horſſe of excellent beautie, the Britains ſet vp aloft vpon the weſt gate of London called Ludgate, in ſigne of his conqueſts, and for a terror to the Saxons. Moreouer the church of S. Martin vnderneath the ſame gate, was by the Britains then builded. Thus haue the Britains made mention of their valiant prince Cadwallo, but diuerſe thinke that much of this hiſtorie is but fables, bicauſe of the manifeſt varieng both from Beda and other autentike writers (as before I haue ſaid.)

678 Matt. Weſt. ſaith 676.

The true ſtorie of the forenamed king *Oſwald, his deſire to reſtore chriſtian religion*, Cormans preaching taking ſmall effect *among the Northumbers, perſuadeth him to depart* into his owne countrie, he ſlandereth them be*fore the Scotiſh clergie, Aidan a godlie man telleth the cauſe* of the peoples not profiting by Cormans preaching, Aidan commeth into England to inſtruct the people in the faith, he varieth in the obſeruation of Eaſter from the Engliſh churches cuſtome, the Northumbers haue him & his doctrine in reuerence, Oſwalds earneſt zeale to further religion by Aidans preaching and miniſterie, 15000 baptiſed within 7 daies; Oſwald hath the Britains, Scots, Picts, & Engliſh at his commandement, his commendable deed of chriſtian charitie, the Weſt ſaxons conuerted to the faith by the preaching of Birinus, king Kinigils is baptiſed, he maketh Birinus biſhop of Dorceſter, Penda king of Mercia maketh war againſt the chriſtian kings of the Weſtſaxons, both ſides after a bloudie battell fall to agrement, Ercombert the firſt Engliſh king that deſtroied idols throughout the whole land, he ordeineth Lent; why Engliſh men became moonks, and Engliſh women nunnes in monaſteries beyond the ſeas; why Penda king of Mercia enuieth vertuous king Oſwald, he is aſſaulted, ſlaine in battell, and canonized a ſaint after his death.

The xxix. Chapter.

NOw will we (after all theſe differing diſcourſes of the Britiſh chronologers) approch and draw as néere as we can to the truth of the hiſtorie touching Oſwald king of the Northumbers, of whom we find, that after he had taſted of Gods high fauour extended to himwards, in vanquiſhing his enimies, as one minding to be thankefull therefore, he was deſirous to reſtore the chriſtian faith through his whole kingdome, ſore lamenting the decay thereof within the ſame, and therefore euen in the beginning of his reigne, he ſent vnto Donwald the Scotiſh king (with whome he had béene brought vp in the time of his baniſhment the ſpace of 18 yéeres) requiring him to haue ſome learned Scotiſhman ſent vnto him, ſkilfull in preaching the word of life, that with godly ſermons and wholeſome inſtructions, he might conuert the people of Northumberland vnto the true and liuing God, promiſing to interteine him with ſuch prouiſion as apperteined.

Oſwald meaneth to be thankefull to God for his benefits. Beda li. 3. cap. 3. 5. 6. Hector Boet.

At his inſtance, there was ſent vnto him one Corman, a clerke ſingularlie well learned, and of great grauitie in behauiour: but for that he wanted ſuch facilitie, and plaine vtterance by waie of gentle perſuading, as is requiſite in him that ſhall inſtruct the ſimple, onelie ſetting forth in his ſermons high myſteries, and matters of ſuch profound knowledge, as the verie learned might ſcarſelie perceiue the perfect ſenſe and meaning of his talke, his trauell came to ſmall effect, ſo that after a yéeres remaining there, he returned into his countrie, declaring amongſt his brethren of the cleargie, that the people of Northumberland was a froward, ſtubborne and ſtiffe-harted generation, whoſe minds he could not frame by anie good meanes of perſuaſion to receiue the chriſtian faith: ſo that he iudged it loſt labour to ſpend more time amongſt them, being ſo vnthankfull and intractable a people, as no good might be done vnto them.

Corman.

Amongſt other learned and vertuous prelats of the Scots, there chanced one to be there preſent at the ſame time called Aidan, a man of ſo perfect life, that (as Beda writeth) he taught no otherwiſe than he liued, hauing no regard to the cares of this world, but whatſoeuer was giuen him by kings or men of wealth and riches, that he frælie beſtowed vpon the poore, exhorting other to do the like. This Aidan hearing Cormans words, perceiued anon that the fault was not ſo much in the people as in the teacher, and therefore declared, that (as he thought) although it were ſo that the people of Northumberland gaue no ſuch attentiue eare vnto the preaching of that reuerend prelate Corman, as his godlie expectation was they ſhould haue done, yet might it be that his vttering of ouer manie myſticall articles amongſt them, farre aboue the capacitie of the vnderſtanding of ſimple men, was the cauſe why they ſo lightlie regarded his diuine inſtructions, whereas if he had (according to the counſell of Saint Paule) at the firſt miniſtred vnto their tender vnderſtandings, onelie milke, without harder nouriſhments, he might happilie haue wonne a farre greater number of them vnto the receiuing of the faith, and ſo haue framed them by little and little to haue digeſted ſtronger food. And therefore he thought it neceſſarie in diſcharge of their duties towards God, and to ſatiſfie the earneſt zeale of king Oſwald, that ſome one amongſt them might be appointed to go againe into Northumberland, to trie by proceéding in this maner afore alledged, what profit would thereof inſue.

Aidan.

S. Paules counſell.

The biſhops hearing the opinion of Aidan, and therewith knowing Cormans maner of preaching, iudged the matter to be as Aidan had declared, and therevpon not onelie allowed his words, but alſo willed him to take the iournie vpon him, ſith they knew none ſo able with effect to accompliſh their wiſhed deſires in that behalfe. Aidan, for that he would not ſeeme to refuſe to take that in hand which he himſelfe had motioned, was contented to ſatiſfie their requeſt, and ſo ſet forward towards Northumberland,

Aidan commeth into England to preach the goſpell.

berland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oſwald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the ſee of his new biſhoprike.

Beda li.3.ca.3. Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vſe of the new begun church of England, that is to ſay, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the biſhops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in thoſe daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praiſe-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the ſouth parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himſelfe ſo earneſtlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort while in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with ſuch ſweet and pleaſant matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuch that ſometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, becauſe the audience was more than could haue rome in the church.

One thing was a great hinderance to him, that he had not the perfect knowledge of the Saxon tong. But Oſwald himſelfe was a great helpe to him in that matter, who being deſirous of nothing ſo much, as to haue the faith of Chriſt rooted in the harts of his ſubiects, vſed as an interpretor to report vnto the people in their Saxon tong, ſuch whole ſermons as Aidan vttered in his mother tong. For Oſwald hauing beene brought vp (as ye haue hard) in Scotland during the time of his baniſhment, was as readie in the Scotiſh, as he was in the Saxon tong. The people then ſeeing the kings earneſt deſire in furthering the doctrine ſet forth by Aidan, were the more inclined to heare it: ſo that it was a maruellous matter to note, that numbers of people dailie offred themſelues to be baptiſed, inſomuch that within the ſpace of ſeuen daies (as is left in writing) he chriſtened 15 thouſand perſons, of the which no ſmall part forſaking the world, betooke themſelues to a ſolitarie kind of life.

Beda. Oſwald an interpretor to the preacher.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earneſt trauell in continuall preaching and ſetting forth the goſpell in that countrie, it came to paſſe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduance the glorie of the chriſtian religion dailie increaſed amongſt them, that no where could be found greater. Hereupon were no ſmall number of churches built in all places abroad in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie conſenting (according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oſwald atteined to ſuch power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe maruellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and ſtrangers.

Oſwalds zeale to aduance religion

Beda lib.5.ca.6

Oſwald had in eſtimation with his neighbours.

It is ſaid, that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eſter day, & hauing biſhop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a ſiluer diſh, which was ſet on the table before him with meate, & commanded the ſame meate ſtreightwaies to be diſtributed amongſt the poore, & the diſh broken into ſmall peeces, and diuided amongſt them: for which act he was highlie commended of the biſhop, as he well deſerued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had beene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the ſame time, the Weſtſaxons were conuerted to the chriſtian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a biſhop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to ſet forth the goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By whoſe diligent trauell in the Lords harueſt, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptiſed about the fiue & twentith yeere of his reigne. K. Oſwald that ſhould haue had his daughter in mariage, was preſent the ſame time, who firſt yer he became a ſonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or chriſtian) appointed and aſſigned the citie of Dorceſter, ſituat by the Thames, diſtant from Oxford about ſeuen miles, to be the ſee of his biſhoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earneſt trauell & ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yeere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Weſtſaxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtened, and died the ſame yeere, and ſo Cinigiſlus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib.3. Birinus conuerteth the Weſtſaxons to the chriſtian faith.

Kinigils king of Weſtſaxons becommeth a chriſtian.

Polydor.

Dorceſter ordeined a biſhops ſee.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to ſeeke trouble in one place or other, leuied warre againſt the kings of Weſtſaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencheſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, inſomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning, when they ſaw that if they ſhuld buckle togither againe, the one part ſhould vtterlie deſtroie the other, they fell to agréement in moderating ech others demands.

Henr. Hunt.

This chance in the yeere 620, as Matt. Weſt. ſaith.

After this, in the yeere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yeeres, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the firſt of the Engliſh kings, which tooke order for the vtter deſtroieng of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He alſo by his roiall authoritie commanded the faſt of fortie daies in the Lent ſeaſon to be kept and obſerued, appointing worthie and competent puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, a daughter named Ertongatha, a profeſſed nunne within the monaſterie of Briege or Cala in France: for in thoſe daies, becauſe there were not manie monaſteries builded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen, that tooke vpon them the profeſſion of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there profeſſed themſelues monks: and manie there were which ſent their daughters ouer to be profeſſed nuns within the nunneries there, and ſpeciallie at Briege, Cala, and Andelie: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſaid king Anna, both which in proceſſe of time were made abbeſſes of the ſaid monaſterie of Briege.

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Beda lib.3. cap.7. Matth. Weſt.

Lent firſt ordeined to be kept in England.

Segburga.

Nimoinus.

We haue heard alreadie, how Oſwald king of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all points like a moſt worthie prince, not ceaſing to releeue the neceſſitie

berland, and comming thither, was ioifullie receiued of king Oſwald, who appointed him the Ile of Lindesfarne, wherein to place the ſee of his new biſhoprike.

Beda li.3.ca.3. Hector Boet.

This Aidan in one point varied from the vſe of the new begun church of England, that is to ſay, touching the time of obſeruing the feaſt of Eaſter, in like maner as all the biſhops of the Scots and Picts inhabiting within Britaine in thoſe daies did, following therein (as they tooke it) the doctrine of the holie and praiſe-worthie father Anatholius. But the Scots that inhabited the ſouth parts of Ireland, alreadie were agreed to obſerue that feaſt, according to the rules of the church of Rome. Howbeit Aidan being thus come into Northumberland, applied himſelfe ſo earneſtlie in praier and preaching, that the people had him within ſhort while in wonderfull eſtimation, chiefelie for that he tempered his preachings with ſuch ſweet and pleaſant matter, that all men had a great deſire to heare him, inſomuch that ſometime he was glad to preach abroad in churchyards, becauſe the audience was more than could haue rome in the church.

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Beda. Oſwald an interpretor to the preacher.

Hector Boet.

Thus by his earneſt trauell in continuall preaching and ſetting forth the goſpell in that countrie, it came to paſſe in the end, that the faith was generallie receiued of all the people, and ſuch zeale to aduance the glorie of the chriſtian religion dailie increaſed amongſt them, that no where could be found greater. Hereupon were no ſmall number of churches built in all places abroad in thoſe parties by procurement of the king, all men liberallie conſenting (according to the rate of their ſubſtance) to be contributorie towards the charges. By this meanes the kingdome of the Northumbers flouriſhed, as well in fame of increaſe in religion, as alſo in ciuill policie and prudent ordinances: inſomuch that (as Beda writeth) Oſwald atteined to ſuch power, that all the nations and prouinces within Britaine, which were diuided into foure tongs (that is to ſay) Britains, Picts, Scots, and Engliſhmen, were at his commandement. But yet he was not lifted vp in anie pride or preſumption, but ſhewed himſelfe maruellous courteous and gentle, and verie liberall to poore people and ſtrangers.

Oſwalds zeale to aduance religion

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Oſwald had in eſtimation with his neighbours.

It is ſaid, that he being ſet at the table vpon an Eſter day, & hauing biſhop Aidan at diner then with him, his almoner came in as the biſhop was about to ſay grace, and declared to the king that there was a great multitude of poore folks ſet before the gates to looke for the kings almes. The king herewith tooke a ſiluer diſh, which was ſet on the table before him with meate, & commanded the ſame meate ſtreightwaies to be diſtributed amongſt the poore, & the diſh broken into ſmall péeces, and diuided amongſt them: for which act he was highlie commended of the biſhop, as he well deſerued. By the good policie and diligent trauell of this king, the prouinces of Deira and Bernicia, which hitherto had béene at variance, were brought to peace and made one.

About the ſame time, the Weſtſaxons were conuerted to the chriſtian faith, by the preaching of one Birinus a biſhop, who came into this land at the exhortation of pope Honorius, to ſet forth the goſpell vnto thoſe people which as yet were not baptiſed. By whoſe diligent trauell in the Lords harueſt, Cinigils or Kinigils, one of the kings of that countrie receiued the faith, and was baptiſed about the fiue & twentith yéere of his reigne. K. Oſwald that ſhould haue had his daughter in mariage, was preſent the ſame time, who firſt yer he became a ſonne in law, was made a godfather vnto Kinigils (that ſhould be his father in law) by receiuing him at the fontſtone, in that his ſecond birth of regeneration. To this Birinus, who was an Italian, king Kinigils (now that he was become a conuert or chriſtian) appointed and aſſigned the citie of Dorceſter, ſituat by the Thames, diſtant from Oxford about ſeuen miles, to be the ſée of his biſhoprike, where he procured churches to be built, and by his earneſt trauell & ſetting forth the word of life, conuerted much people to the right beliefe. In the yéere following, Quichelmus the other king of the Weſtſaxons, and ſonne to Kinigils was alſo chriſtened, and died the ſame yéere, and ſo Cinigilſus or Kinigils reigned alone.

Beda lib.3.ca. Birinus conuerteth the Weſtſaxons to the chriſtian faith.

Kinigils king of Weſtſaxons becommeth a chriſtian.

Polydor.

Dorceſter ordeined a biſhops ſée.

In this meane while Penda king of Mercia that ſucceeded next after Ciarlus, being a man giuen to ſéeke trouble in one place or other, leuied warre againſt the kings of Weſtſaxon, Kinigils and Quichelmus, the which gathering their power, gaue him battell at Cirencheſter, where both the parties fought it out to the vttermoſt, as though they had forſworne to giue place one to another, inſomuch that they continued in fight and making of cruell ſlaughter till the night parted them in ſunder. And in the morning, when they ſaw that if they ſhuld buckle togither againe, the one part ſhould vtterlie deſtroie the other, they fell to agréement in moderating ech others demands.

Henr. Hunt.

This chanced in the yeare 620, as Matth. Weſt. ſaith.

After this, in the yéere of our Lord 640, Eadbald king of Kent departed this life, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Ercombert. This Ercombert was the firſt of the Engliſh kings, which tooke order for the vtter deſtroieng of all idols throughout his whole kingdome. He alſo by his roiall authoritie commanded the faſt of fortie daies in the Lent ſeaſon to be kept and obſerued, appointing worthie and competent puniſhment againſt the tranſgreſſors of that commandement. He had by his wife Segburga, that was daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, a daughter named Ertongatha, a profeſſed nunne within the monaſterie of Brige or Cala in France: for in thoſe daies, becauſe there were not manie monaſteries builded within this land, a great number of Engliſhmen, that tooke vpon them the profeſſion of a religious life, got them ouer vnto abbeies in France, and there profeſſed themſelues monks: and manie there were which ſent their daughters ouer to be profeſſed nuns within the nunneries there, and ſpeciallie at Brige, Cala, and Andelie: amongſt other, there were Sedrike the lawfull daughter, and Edelburgh the baſtard daughter of the ſaid king Anna, both which in proceſſe of time were made abbeſſes of the ſaid monaſterie of Brige.

640

Beda lib.3. cap.7. Matth. Weſt.

Ercombert.

Lent firſt ordeined to be kept in England.

Segburga.

Ertongatha.

Ye haue heard alreadie, how Oſwald king of Northumberland bare himſelfe in all points like a moſt worthie prince, not ceaſing to relæue the neceſſitie

ceſſitie of the poore, aduancing the good, and reformming the euill, whereby he wan to himſelfe exceeding praiſe and commendation of all good men, and ſtill his fame increaſed for his vertuous doings; namelie, for the ardent zeale he had to the aduancing of the chriſtian faith. Herevpon Penda king of Mercia, enuieng the proſperous proceedings of Oſwald, as he that could neuer abide the good report of other mens well-doings, began to imagine how to deſtroie him, and to conquere his kingdome, that he might ioine it to his owne. At length he inuaded his countrie by open warre, met with him in the field at a place called Maſerfield, and there in ſharpe and cruell fight Oſwald was ſlaine on the fift day of Auguſt, in the yeare of our Lord 642, and in the 38 yeare of his age, after he had reigned the tearme of eight or nine yeares after ſome, which account that yeare vnto his reigne, in the which his predeceſſors Oſtrike and Eanfride reigned, whome they number not amongeſt kings, becauſe of their wicked apoſtaſie and renouncing of the faith which before they had profeſſed. Such was the end of that vertuous prince king Oſwald, being cruellie ſlaine by that wicked tyrant Penda. Afterwards, for the opinion conceiued of his holineſſe, the foreſaid Oſwald was canonized a ſaint, and had in great worſhip of the people, being the firſt of the Engliſh nation that approued his vertue by miracles ſhewed after his departure out of this life.

Penda inuadeth the Northumbers. Beda. lib. 3. cap. 9.

King Oſwald ſlaine. Matt. Weſtm. ſaith 644.

Will. Malmeſ.

Oſwie ſucceedeth Oſwald in the kingdome of Northumberland, he is ſore vexed by Penda, Oſwie and Oſwin are partners in gouernement, they fall at ſtrife, Oſwin is betraied into the hands of Oſwie and ſlaine, a commendation of his perſonage and goodlie qualities, biſhop Aidan dieth; Cenwalch king of the Weſtſaxons, Penda maketh warre againſt him for putting away his wife, his flight, he becommeth a chriſtian and recouereth his kingdome, biſhop Agilbert commeth into Weſtſaxon, and afterwards departing (vpon occaſion) is made biſhop of Paris, Wini buieth the biſhoprike of London; Sigibert king of the Eaſtangles, the vniuerſitie of Cambridge founded by him, he reſigneth his kingdome and becometh a moonke, he and his kinſman Egric are ſlaine in a skirmiſh againſt Penda king of Mercia.

The xxx. Chapter.

Oſwie king of Northumberland. Beda li. 3. ca. 14

After that king Oſwald was ſlaine, his brother Oſwie (being about 30 yeares of age) toke vpon him the rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, gouerning the ſame with great trouble for the ſpace of 28 yeares, being ſore vexed by the foreſaid Penda king of Mercia and his people, which as yet were pagans. In the firſt yeare of his reigne, which was in the yeare 644 of our Lord 644. Pauline the biſhop of Rocheſter which had beene alſo archbiſhop of Yorke departed this life, and then one Thamar an Engliſhman of the parties of Kent was ordeined biſhop of Rocheſter by Honorius the archbiſhop of Canturburie. King Oſwie had one Oſwin partener with him in gouernment of the Northumbers in the firſt beginning of his reigne, which was ſonne to Oſtrike, ſo that Oſwie gouerned in Bernicia, and Oſwin in Deira, continuing in perfect friendſhip for a ſeaſon, till at length, through the counſell of wicked perſons, that coueted nothing ſo much as to ſowe diſcord and variance betwixt princes, they fell at debate, and ſo began to make warres one againſt an other, ſo that finallie when they were at point to haue tried their quarrell in open battell, Oſwin perceiuing that he had not an armie of ſufficient force to incounter with Oſwie, brake vp his campe at Wilfaresdowne, ten mile by weſt the towne of Cataracton, and after withdrew himſelfe onelie with one ſeruant named Condhere vnto the houſe of earle Hunwald, whome he toke to haue beene his truſtie friend: but contrarie to his expectation, the ſaid Hunwald did betraie him vnto Oſwie, who by his captaine Edelwine ſlue the ſaid Oſwin and his ſeruant the foreſaid Condhere, in a place called Ingethling, the 13 kalends of September, in the ninth yeare of his reigne, which was after the birth of our Sauiour 651.

Bernicia.

651

This Oſwin was a goodlie gentleman of perſon, tall, and beautifull, and verie gentle of ſpeech, ciuill in manners, and verie liberall both to high & low, ſo that he was beloued of all. Such a one he was, to be breefe, as biſhop Aidan geſſed that he ſhould not long continue in life, for that the Northumbers were not worthie of ſo good and vertuous a gouernour. Such humbleneſſe and obedience he perceiued to reſt in him towards the law of the Lord, in taking that which was told him for his better inſtruction in good part, that he ſaid, he neuer ſaw before that time an humble king. The ſame Aidan liued not paſt 12 daies after the death of the ſaid Oſwin, whome he ſo much loued, departing this world the laſt daie of Auguſt, in the ſeuententh yeare after he was ordeined biſhop. His bodie was buried in the Ile of Lindeſferne. After Aidan, one Finan was made biſhop in his place, a Scotiſhman alſo, and of the Ile of Hui, from whence his predeceſſor the foreſaid Aidan came, being firſt a man of religion profeſſed in the monaſterie there (as ſome writers do report.)

Cenwalch.

In the meane time, after that Kinigils or Cinigilſus king of the Weſtſaxons had reigned 31 yeares, he departed this life *Anno* 643, leauing his kingdome to his ſonne Cenwalch or Chenwald, who held the ſame kingdome the tearme of 30 yeares, or 31 (as ſome write) in manner as his father had done before him. In the third, or (as others ſaie) in the fift yeare of his reigne, Penda king of Mercia made ſharpe warre againſt him, becauſe he had put awaie his wife the ſiſter of the ſaid Penda, and in this warre Chenwald was ouercome in battell, & driuen out of his countrie, ſo that he fled vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, with whome he remained the ſpace of a yeare, or (as other ſay) three yeares, to his great good hap: for before he was growen to be an enimie to the chriſtian religion, but now by the wholeſome admonitions and ſharpe rebukes of king Anna, he became a chriſtian, and receiued his wife againe into his companie, according to the preſcript of Gods law, and (to be breefe) in all things ſhewed himſelfe a new man, imbracing vertue, & auoiding vice, ſo that ſhortlie after (through the helpe of God) he recouered againe his kingdome.

Hen. Hunt.

943

Ran. Higd.

Now when he was eſtabliſhed in the ſame, there came a biſhop named Agilbertus out of Ireland, a Frenchman borne (but hauing remained in Ireland a long time) to reade the ſcriptures. This Agilbert comming into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, was gladlie receiued of king Chenwald, at whoſe deſire he toke vpon him to exerciſe the roome of a biſhop there: but afterwards, when the ſaid king admitted another biſhop named Wini, which had beene ordeined in France, and knew the tong better than Agilbert, as he that was borne in England: Agilbert offended, for that the king had admitted him without making him of anie counſell therein, returned into France, and there was made biſhop of Paris: within a few yeares after, the foreſaid Wini was

Agilbertus a biſhop.

ni was expelled also by king Chenwald, who got him into Mercia vnto king Vulfhere, of whome he bought the bishoprike of London, which he held during his life, and so the countrie of Westsaxon remained long without a bishop, till at length the said Agilbert at the request of king Chenwald sent to him Elutherius that was his nephue.

Sigibert.

YE haue heard that after Carpwald, his brother Sigibert succéeded in rule of the Eastangles, a man of great vertue and worthinesse, who whilest he remained in France as a banished man, being constreined to flée his countrie vpon displeasure that king Redwald bare him, was baptised there, and after returning into his countrie, and obteining at length the kingdome, those things which he had séene well ordered in France, he studied to follow the example of the same at home, and hereupon considering with himselfe that nothing could more aduance the state of the common-wealth of his countrie than learning & knowledge in the tongs, began the foundation of certeine schooles, and namelie at Cambridge, where children might haue places where to be instructed and brought vp in learning vnder appointed teachers, that there might be greater numbers of learned men trained vp than before time had béene within this land, to the furtherance of true religion and vertue.

Beda.lib.3. cap.4.

The vniuersitie of Cambridge founded by king Sigibert.

So that England hath good cause to haue in thankfull remembrance this noble prince king Sigibert, for all those hir learned men which haue bin brought vp & come forth of that famous vniuersitie of Cambridge, the first foundation or rather renouation whereof was thus begun by him about the peare of our Lord 630. At length when this worthie king began to grow in age, he considered with himselfe how hard a matter, and how painefull an office it was to gouerne a realme as apperteined to the dutie of a good king, wherevpon he determined to leaue the charge thereof to other of more conuenient yéeres, and to liue from thenceforth a priuat kind of life, and so resigning the administration vnto his kinsman Egricus, he became a monke, and led the rest of his life in a certeine abbeie.

Bale saith 636.

Sigibert resigneth his kingdome to Egricus.

Shortlie after it so came to passe that Penda king of Mercia (that cruell ethnike tyrant) made sore warres vpon Egricus, wherevpon the people of Eastangles compelled Sigibert to come forth of his monasterie, & to go with them into the field against Penda. Sigibert being thus constreined against his will, would not put on armour or beare anie other kind of weapon, than onelie a wand in his hand in stéed of a scepter, and so the armie of the Eastangles in hope of good spéed by the presence of Sigibert, ioined in battell with their enimies, but the Eastangles were finallie vanquished, and the more part of them slaine, togither with Sigibert and his cosen Egricus their king. This happened in the yere after the birth of our Sauiour (as some haue noted) 652.

Sigibert and Egricus slaine.

652

In the daies whilest Sigibert as yet ruled the Eastangles, there came out of Ireland a deuout person named Furseus, who comming into the countrie of the Eastangles, was gladlie receiued of king Sigibert, by whose helpe afterwards he builded the abbeie of Cumbreburge, in the which Sigibert (as some haue written) when he renounced his kingdome, was professed a monke. Of this Furseus manie things are written, the which for briefenesse we ouerpasse. After that Felix the bishop of the Eastangles was dead, one Thomas was ordeined in his place, who after he had béene bishop fiue yéeres, died, and then one Beretgils was ordeined in his rome by Honorius the archbishop of Canturburie. The said Honorius himselfe when he had run the race of his naturall life, deceassed also the last of September in the yéere of our Lord 653.

Balcus. Beda lib.3. cap.19.

Furseus.

653

Anna king of Eastangles is slaine by *Penda king of Mercia, his brother succeeding* him is slaine also by Oswie king of Nor*thumberland, the Mercians or Middleangles* receiue the faith vnder vertuous Peda their prince, he *requesteth Alchfled the king of Northumberlands daughter* in mariage, he is baptised by bishop Finnan, by whose meanes the Eastsaxons imbraced christian religion vnder Sigibert their king, he is murthered of two brethren that were his kinsmen vpon a conceiued hatred against him for his good and christian life, how dangerous it is to keepe companie with an excommunicate person, the authoritie of a bishop.

The xxxj. Chapter.

Anna. Will. Malms.

AFter Egricus succeeded Anna the sonne of Enus in the kingdome of Eastangle, and was likewise slaine by Penda king of Mercia, with the most part of his armie, as he gaue battell vnto the said Penda that inuaded his countrie. He left behind him manie children, but his brother Edelhere succéeded him in gouernment of the kingdome, who was slaine by Oswie the king of Northumberland, togither with the foresaid Penda, and worthilie, sith he would aid that tyrant which had slaine his kinsman and his brother that were predecessors with him in his kingdome. After this, when the sée of Canturburie had béene vacant by the space of one whole yeere and six moneths, one Deus dedit of the countrie of the Westsaxons, was elected and consecrated by Ithamar the bishop of Rochester, on the 7 kalends of April. He gouerned the church of Canturburie by the tearme of nine yéeres, foure moneths, and two daies. When he was departed this life, the foresaid Ithamar consecrated for him one Damianus of the countrie of Sussex.

Edelhere k. of Eastangle.

Deus dedit.

ABout this time, the people of Mercia commonlie called Middleangles, receiued the christian faith vnder their king named Peda or Peada, the sonne of Penda king of Mercia, who being a towardlie yong gentleman, and worthie to haue the guiding of a kingdome, his father Penda aduanced him to the rule of that kingdome of the Middleangles during his owne life. [¶ Héere maie you note, that the kingdome of the Middleangles was one, and the kingdome of Mercia another, though most commonlie the same were gouerned by one king.] This yong Peda came to Oswie king of Northumberland, requiring of him to haue his daughter Alchfled in mariage: but when he was informed that he might not haue hir except he would become a christian, then vpon hearing the gospell preached, with the promise of the celestiall ioies and immortalitie, by the resurrection of the flesh in the life to come, he said that whether he had king Oswies daughter to wife or not, he would suerlie be baptised, and chieflie he was persuaded thereunto by his kinsman Alchfrid, who had in mariage his sister the daughter of Penda named Cimburgh.

Beda hist. eccl. lib.3. cap.21.

653.

Peda or Peada king of Middleangles.

Wherefore he was baptised by bishop Finnan, with all those which came thither with him, at a place called At the wall, and taking with him foure priests which were thought méete to teach and baptise his people, he returned with great ioy into his owne countrie. The names of those priests were as followeth, Cedda, Adda, Betti, and Diuna, of the which, the last was a Scot by nation, and the other were Englishmen.

Ad murum.

glishmen. These priests comming into the prouince of the Middleangles, preached the word, and were well heard, so that dailie a great number of the nobilitie & communaltie renouncing the filthie dregs of idolatrie, were christned. Neither did king Penda forbid the preaching of the gospell within his prouince of Mercia, but rather hated and despised those whome he knew to haue professed themselues christians, and yet shewed not the works of faith, saieng, that those were wretches and not to be regarded, which would not obeie their God in whome they beléeued. This alteration of things began, about two yéeres before the death of king Penda.

The saieng of king Penda.

Beda.lib.3. cap.22.

ABout the same time, the Eastsaxons at the instance of Oswie king of Northumberland, receiued eftsoones the faith which they had renounced, when they banished their bishop Melitus. We haue heard that Serted, Sward, and Sigibert brethren, and the sonnes of king Sabert (which brethren occasioned the reuolting of that prouince from the faith of Christ) were slaine in battell by the kings of Westsaxon, after whome succéeded Sigibert surnamed the little sonne to the middlemost brother Sward, as some write. This Sigibert the litle left the kingdome to an other Sigibert that was sonne to one Sigebald the brother of king Sabert, which second Sigibert reigned as king in that prouince of the Eastsaxons, being a most especiall friend of king Oswie, so that oftentimes he repaired into Northumberland to visit him, wherupon king Oswie ceassed not most earnestlie at times conuenient to exhort him to receiue the faith of Jesus Christ, and in the end by such effectuall persuasions as he vsed, Sigibert gaue credit to his words, and so being conuerted, receiued the sacrament of baptisme by the hands of bishop Finnan, at the kings house called, At the wall, so named, bicause it was built néere to the wall which the Romans had made ouerthwart the Ile, as is often before remembred, being twelue miles distant from the east sea.

King Sigibert receiued the faith.

This was about the yéere 649, as March. West. hath noted.

King Sigibert hauing now receiued the christian faith, when he should returne into his countrie, required king Oswie to appoint him certeine instructors and teachers which might conuert his people to the faith of Christ. King Oswie desirous to satisfie his request, sent vnto the prouince of the Middleangles, calling from thence that vertuous man Cedda, and assigning vnto him another priest to be his associat, sent them vnto the prouince of the Eastsaxons, there to preach the christian faith vnto the people. And when they had preached & taught through the whole countrie, to the great increase and inlarging of the church of Christ, it chanced on a time that Cedda returned home into Northumberland to conferre of certeine things with bishop Finnan which kept his sée at Lindesferne, where vnderstanding by Cedda the great fruits which it had pleased God to prosper vnder his hands, in aduancing the faith among the Eastsaxons, he called to him two other bishops, and there ordeined the foresaid Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Cedda.

Cedd or Cedda bishop of the Eastsaxons.

Yéerupon, the same Cedda returned vnto his cure, went forward with more authoritie to performe the worke of the Lord, & building churches in diuerse places, ordeined priests and deacons which might helpe him in preaching, and in the ministerie of baptising, specially in the citie of Ithancester vpon the riuer of Pent, and likewise in Tileburge on the riuer of Thames. Whilest Cedd was thus busie to the great comfort and ioy of the king and all his people, in the setting forward of the christian religion with great increase dailie proceeding, it chanced thorough the instigation of the deuill, the common enimie of mankind, that king Sigibert was murthered by two of his owne kinsmen who were brethren, the which when they were examined of the cause that should moue them to that wicked fact, they had nothing to alledge, but that they did it bicause they had conceiued an hatred against the king, for that he was too fauourable towards his enimies, and would with great mildnesse of mind forgiue iniuries committed against him: such was the kings fault for the which he was murthered, bicause he obserued the commandements of the gospell with a deuout hart.

Tiberie.

Notwithstanding, in this his innocent death, his offense was punished, wherein he had sharplie transgressed the lawes of the church. For whereas one of them which slue him kept a wife, whome he had vnlawfullie maried, and refused to put hir away at the bishops admonition, he was by the bishop excommunicated, and all other of the christian congregation commanded to abstéine from his companie. This notwithstanding, the king being desired of him came to his house to a banket, and in his comming from thence met with the bishop, whome when the king beheld, he waxed afraid, and alighted from his horsse, and fell downe at his fét, beséeching him of pardon for his offense. The bishop, which also was on horsseback likewise alighted, and touching the king with his rod which he had in his hand, as one something displeased, and protesting as in the authoritie of a bishop, spake these words; Bicause (saith he) thou wouldst not abstéine from entring the house of that wicked person being accursed, thou shalt die in the same house: and so it came to passe.

The authoritie of a bishop.

Suidhelme king of the Eastsaxons, he *is baptised, the bishoplike exercises of Ced* in his natiue countrie of Northumberland; E*diswald K. of Deira reuerenceth him, the kings* deuout mind to further and inlarge religion; the m*aner of consecrating a place appointed for a holie vse; the old or*der of fasting in Lent, bishop Ced dieth; warre betweene Oswie and Penda, Oswie maketh a vow to dedicate his daughter a perpetuall virgine to God if he got the victorie, he obteineth his request and performeth his vow, she liueth, dieth, and is buried in a monasterie, the benefit insuing Oswies conquest ouer his enimies, the first second and third bishops of Mercia, the victorious proceeding of king Oswie: prince Peada his kinsman murthered of his wife.

The xxxij. Chapter.

Suidhelme.

AFter Sigbert succeeded Suidhelme in the kingdome of the Eastsaxons, he was the son of Serbald, and baptised of Ced in the prouince of the Eastangles, at a place of the kings there called Rendlesham. Edilwald king of the Eastangles (the brother of king Anna) was his godfather at the fontstone. Ced the bishop of the Eastsaxons vsed oftentimes to visit his countrie of Northumberland where he was borne, and by preaching exhorted the people to godlie life. Wherupon it chanced that king Edilwald the son of king Oswald which reigned in the parties of Deira, moued with the fame of his vertuous trade of liuing, had him in great reuerence: and therefore vpon a good zeale and great deuotion, willed him to chose forth some plot of ground where he might build a monasterie, in the which the king himselfe and others might praie, heare sermons the oftener, and haue place where to burie the dead. The bishop consenting to the kings mind, at length espied a place amongst high and de-

Beda.lib.3. cap.22. Matt. West.

Beda.lib.3. cap.23.

sert

sert mounteins, where he began the foundation of a monasterie, afterwards called Lestinghem.

Wherefore meaning first of all to purge the place with praier & fasting, he asked leaue of the king that he might remaine there all the Lent, which was at hand, and so continuing in that place for that time, fasted euerie daie (sundaie excepted) from the morning vntill euening, according to the maner, nor receiued anie thing then but onlie a little bread, and a hens eg, with a little milke mixt with water: for he said that this was the custome of them of whome he had learned the forme of his regular order, that they should consecrate those places vnto the Lord with praier and fasting, which they latelie had receiued to make in the same either church or monasterie.

The maner of the old fast.

And when there remained ten daies of Lent yet to come, he was sent for to the king: wherefore he appointed a brother which he had, being also a priest named Cimbill, to supplie his rome, that his begun religious worke should not be hindered for the kings businesse. Now when the time was accomplished, he ordeined a monasterie there, appointing the monks of the same to liue after the rules of them of Lindesserne where he was brought vp. Finallie this bishop Ced comming vnto this monasterie afterwards by chance in time of a sickenesse, died there, and left that monasterie to the gouernance of another brother which he had named Ceadda, that was after a bishop, as afterwards shall be shewed. There were foure brethren of them, and all priests, Ced, Cimbill, Ceulin, and Ceadda, of the which Ced and Ceadda were bishops, as before is said.

Lindesserne holie Iland.

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

About the same time, Oswie king of Northumberland was sore oppressed by the warres of Penda king of Mercia, so that he made great offers of high gifts, and great rewards vnto the said Penda for peace, but Penda refused the same, as he that meant vtterlie to haue destroied the whole nation of Oswies people, so that Oswie turning himselfe to seeke helpe at the hands of the almightie, said: If the pagan refuse to receiue the gifts which we offer, let vs make offer vnto him that knoweth how to accept them: and so binding himselfe by vow, promised that if he might obtein victorie, he would offer his daughter to be dedicate to the Lord in perpetuall virginitie: and further would giue twelue manors, lordships or farmes to the building of monasteries: and so with a small armie he put himselfe in hazard of battell.

warr betweene king Oswie & king Penda

It is said that Penda had thirtie companies of men of warre, furnished with thirtie noble capteins or colonels, against whome came Oswie with his sonne Alchfrid, hauing but a small armie, but confirmed yet with hope in Christ Jesus. His other son Ecgfrid remained in hostage at that time with queene Cinnise. Edilwald the sonne of Oswald that gouerned Deira, & ought to haue aided Oswie, was on the part of Penda against his countrie, and against his vncle, but in time of the fight he withdrew himselfe aside, to behold what chance would follow. The battell being begun, the thirtie pagan capteins were ouerthrowne and put to flight, and those that came to aid Penda were almost all slaine, among whome was Edilhere king of the Eastangles, that reigned after his brother Anna, and was the procurer of this warre. This battell was fought neere to the water of Inwet, the which being risen as then by reason of great raine, drowned more of the enimies than died of the Northumbers swords.

The victorie of the Northumbers.

After that Oswie had obteined this victorie, he performed promise in bestowing his daughter to the profession of virginitie, and also gaue the twelue manors, whereof six were in Deira, and six in Bernicia, conteining euerie of them ten houholds a peece. Elfled also king Oswies daughter was professed in the monasterie of Herthew, where one Hilda was abbesse, which Hilda purchasing a lordship of ten houholds in Streanshall, now called Whitbie, builded a monasterie there, in the which first the said Elfled was a nouice, and after a ruler, till at length being of the age of fortie yeeres she departed this life, and was buried there, and so likewise was hir mother Eusted, and hir grandfather Edwin, with manie other high estates within the church of saint Peter the apostle. The victorie aboue mentioned got by king Oswie in the countrie of Loides on the 17 kalends of December, & in the thirteenth yeere of his reigne, happened to the great commoditie and gaine of both the people, for by the same he deliuered his countrie of Northumberland from the cruell destruction made in the same by the pagan people of Mercia, and conuerted those pagans themselues, and the countries neere adioining to them wholie vnto the faith of Jesus Christ.

Hertesey saith Matt. West. Hilda.

Loides.

Elfled.

The first bishop in the prouince of Mercia, and also of Lindesserne and the Middleangles was one Diuma, who died amongst the Middleangles. The second was Cellach, the which leauing his bishoprike returned into Scotland, for they were both of the nation of the Scots. The third was an Englishman named Trumhere, but instructed and ordeined of the Scots. He was abbat of the monasterie of Ingethlingum, being builded in that place where king Oswin was slaine (as before is mentioned.) For queene Eusted that was his kinswoman got of hir husband king Oswie a place there for the foresaid Trumhere to build that abbeie vpon.

The first bishop of Mercia.

King Oswie hauing slaine king Penda, gouerned the people of Mercia, and also other of the south prouinces, & subdued a great part of the Pictish nation to the English dominion. About the same time king Oswie gaue vnto Peada the son of king Penda (because he was his kinsman) the countrie of the Southmercies, conteining 5000 houholds, and separated from the Northmercies by the riuer Trent. The countrie of the Northmercies conteined in those daies 7000 houholds. But Peada in the next spring was wickedlie murthered through the treason of his wicked wife (as was said) in the feast of Easter.

The victorious proceeding of king Oswie.

Southmercia.

Northmercia.

659 Matt. West.

The dukes of Mercia rebell against Oswie, recouer their owne bounds, and create Wulfhere their king; Cenwald king of the Westsaxons fighteth with the Britaines and preuaileth, he is vanquished by Wulfhere; Adelwold king of Sussex hath the Ile of Wight giuen him, and why; succession of Edelher, Edelwald, and Aldulfe in the kingdome of Eastangles; Colman a Scot first made bishop of Northumberland, controuersie about the obseruation of Easter, about bald crownes or shauing the haire, superstition punished by God, Ceadda bishop of Yorke, his course of life and diligence in his office commended; Egbert king of Kent, the see of Canturburie void, the preferment thereto refused, Theodore a monke supplieth the roome at the popes appointment, all the English clergie obey him as their head, his visitation and reformation, singing vsed in churches, Theodore and Adrian woorthilie praised, English men happie, glasiers first brought into this Iland.

The xxxiij. Chapter.

After three yeeres were complet, next ensuing the death of king Penda, the dukes of the countrie of Mercia, Immin, Eaba, and Eadbert rebelled against king Oswie, aduancing one Wulfhere a yong gentleman

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 24.

man the ſonne of Peda, and brother to Peada, whom they had kept in ſecret to be their king, and expelling the lieutenants of king Oſwie, they recouered both their owne confines and libertie withall, and ſo liuing in freedome with their owne naturall king the foreſaid Vulfhere, they alſo continued with glad hearts in ſeruice of the celeſtiall king our God and Sauior.

Vulfhere. Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

THis Vulfhere gouerned the Mercies ſeuentéene yeares, the which Mercies (during the reigne of the ſaid Vulfhere) had foure biſhops ſucceſſiuelie gouerning the church of that prouince one after another, as the aboue mentioned Trumhere, Iaroman, Ceadda, and Winfrid, as hereafter ſhall more at large appeare.

Hect. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

About the beginning of king Vulfhers reigne, that is to ſay, in the ſeuentéenth yeare of the reigne of Cheniwald king of the Weſtſaxons, the ſame Cheniwald fought with the Britains at Pennum, where the Britains being aſſembled in great number, proudlie incountred with the Engliſhmen, and at the firſt put them to the worſt, but when the Engliſhmen would in no wiſe giue ouer, but did ſticke to their tackle, at length the Britains were put to flight, ſo that the poſteritie of Brute receiued that day an incurable wound. But within three yeares after, that is, in the ninetéenth yeare of the reigne of the ſaid Cheniwald, he had not the like lucke in battell againſt the foreſaid Vulfhere king of Mercia, as he had before againſt the Britains, for the ſaid Vulfhere vanquiſhing him in the field, paſſed through his countrie with a great armie vnto the Ile of Wight, which he conquered, and deliuered it vnto Adelwold king of Suſſex, as a gift at that time, when he receiued him at the fontſtone after he had conuerted him to the faith. He gaue vnto Adelwold that Ile, to the end he ſhould cauſe the people there to receiue the faith and religon of Chriſt. Now after that Edelhere king of Eaſtangles was ſlaine, as before is mentioned, his brother Edelwald ſucceeded him in that kingdome, reigning as king thereof by the ſpace of nine yeares. Then after Edelwald ſucceeded Aldulfe the ſon of Edelhere in gouernment of that kingdome, and reigned 25 yeares.

Th Britains put to flight by Cheniwald.

Cheniwald vanquiſhed by Vulfhere.

Adelwold of Suſſex.

Beda.lib.3. cap.24.

After Finan biſhop of the Northumbers that held his ſee at Lindesferne, as Aidan did before him, one Colman was ordeined biſhop, a Scot borne, and an earneſt obſeruer of the cuſtomes vſed amongeſt them of his nation, ſo that when the controuerſie began to be reuiued for the holding of the feaſt of Eaſter, he would by no meanes yeeld to them that would haue perſwaded him to haue followed the rite of the Romane church. There was a great diſputation kept about this matter, and other things, as ſhauing or cutting of heares, and ſuch like in the monaſterie of Whitbie, at the which king Oſwie and his ſonne Alefrid were preſent, where Colman for his part alledged the cuſtome of Iohn the euangeliſt, and of Anatholius; and the contrarie ſide brought in proofe of their opinion, the cuſtome of Peter and Paule. At length, when biſhop Colman perceiued that his doctrine was not ſo much regarded, as he thought of reaſon it ought to haue beene, he returned into Scotland with thoſe, which taking part with him, refuſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the church of Rome, nor would haue their crownes ſhauen, about which point no ſmall reaſoning had beene kept. This diſputation was holden in the yeare of our Lord 664, and in the yeare of the reigne of king Oſwie 22, and 30 yeare after the Scotiſhmen began firſt to beare the office of biſhops within Northumberland, which was (as W. Harriſon ſaith) 624. For Aidan gouerned 17 yeares, Finan 10 yeares, & Colman 3 yeares. After that Colman was returned into his countrie, one Tuda that had beene brought vp amongeſt the Southerne Scots, and ordeined biſhop by them, ſucceeded in his roome, hauing his crowne ſhauen, and obſerning the feaſt of Eaſter according to the cuſtome of the prouince and rite of the Romane church. The ſame yeare, there chanced a great eclipſe of the ſunne, the third of Maie about 10 of the clocke in the day. A great dearth and mortalitie inſued, both in all the parties of this our Britaine, and likewiſe in Ireland. Amongeſt other, the foreſaid biſhop Tuda died, and was buried in the abbeie of Pegnalech. After this Tuda, ſucceeded in gouernement of the church of Lindesferne, otherwiſe called Holie Iland, one Wilfrid, which was ſent by king Alefrid into France, to be ordeined there.

Tuda ordeined biſhop.

Cap. 27.

In eclipſe. Punithment of God for yelding to ſuperſtition.

Wilfrid biſhop.

About the ſame time king Oſwie, the father of king Alefrid, moued with the good example of his ſonne, ſent Ceadda, the brother of Ced ſometime biſhop of the Eaſtſaxons into Kent, to be ordeined biſhop of Yorke, but at his comming into Kent he found that Deus dedit the archbiſhop of Canturburie was dead, and none other as yet ordeined in his place, ſo that Ceadda repaired into the prouince of the Weſtſaxons, where he was ordeined by biſhop Wini, who toke two other biſhops of the Britiſh nation vnto him to be his aſſociats, which vſed to obſerue the feaſt of Eaſter contrarie to the cuſtome of the Romane church. But there was no other ſhift, ſith none other biſhop was then canonicallie ordeined in the prouince of the Weſtſaxons in thoſe daies, this Wini onlie excepted, and therefore was he conſtreined to take ſuch as he might get and prouide.

Cap. 28.

Ceadda ordeined archbiſhop of Yorke.

After that Ceadda was thus ordeined, he began forthwith to follow the true rules of the church, liued right chaſtlie, ſhewed himſelfe humble and continent, applied his ſtudie to reading, and trauelled abroad on foot and not on horſebacke through the countries, townes, and villages, to preach the word of God. He was the diſciple of Aidan, and couerted by his example, and alſo by the example of Ced, to inſtruct his hearers with the like dooings & maners as he had knowen them to doo. Wilfrid alſo being conſecrated biſhop, and returned into England, indeuored to plant the orders of the Romane church in the churches of England, whereby it came to paſſe, that the Scots which inhabited amongſt the Engliſhmen, were conſtreined either to follow the ſame, or elſe to returne into their owne countrie.

Beda.lib.3. cap.25.

Colman ordeined biſhop.

Controuerſie about ſhauing of crownes.

Cap. 6.

664

IN this meane time, king Ercombert being departed this life, after he had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of twentie yeares, his ſonne Egbert ſucceeded him in the kingdome, and reigned nine yeares. There is little remembrance of his dooings, which in that ſhort time were not much notable, except ye will aſcribe the comming into this land of the archbiſhop Theodorus, and the abbat Adrian vnto his glorie, which chanced in his time. For in the yeare of the great eclipſe and ſore mortalitie that inſued, it chanced that both king Ercombert, & the archbiſhop Deus dedit departed this life, ſo that the ſee of Canturburie was void a certeine time, in ſo much that king Egbert, who ſucceeded his father Ercombert, togither with king Oſwie, did ſend one Wighart a prieſt of good reputation for his excellent knowledge in the ſcriptures, vnto Rome, with great gifts and rich veſſels of gold and ſiluer, to be preſented vnto the pope, requiring him that he would ordeine the foreſaid Wighart archbiſhop of Canturburie, to haue rule of the Engliſh church. But this Wighart comming vnto Rome, and

Egbert king of Kent.

Beda.lib.3. cap.9.

Wighart.

and declaring his message vnto Vitalianus then gouerning the church of Rome, immediatlie after he died of the pestilence (that then reigned in that citie) with all those that came with him.

Beda. lib. 4. cap. 1.

The pope then taking aduice whome he might ordeine vnto the see of Canturburie, being thus destitute of an archbishop, appointed a monke named Adrian to take that office vpon him, but Adrian excused himselfe as not sufficient for such a rome, and required the pope to appoint one Andrew a monke also, whereunto the pope consented. But when Andrew was preuented by death, ecssones Adrian should haue beene made archbishop, but that he named one Theodore an other monke that abode as then in Rome, but was borne in the citie of Tharsus in Cilicia, verie well learned both in the Greeke and Latine, and being of reuerend yeares, as of 76. This Theodore by the presentment of Adrian, was appointed to be ordeined archbishop of Canturburie, with condition, that Adrian should neuertheless attend vpon him into England, both for that he had beene twise before this time in France, and so knew the coasts; and againe, for that he might assist him in all things, and loke well to the matter, that Theodore should not bring into the church of England anie rite or custome of the Greekes, contrarie to the vse of the Romane church. Theodore being first ordeined subdeacon, tarried foure moneths till his heare was growen, that he might haue his crowne shauen after the maner of Peter. For he was rounded or shauen after the maner of the East church, which was as they persuaded themselues, according to the vse of saint Paule the apostle. And so at length was this Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie by pope Vitalianus in the yeare of our Lord 668, the first kalends of June, and with Adrian sent into Britaine.

Adrian.

Theodore ordeined archbishop of Canturburie.

668

These with their retinue came to France, and being come thither, shortlie after king Egbert had knowledge thereof: whereupon with all conuenient speed he sent ouer one of his nobles named Redfrid to bring the archbishop into England, and so he did: but Adrian was staied for a time, because he was suspected to haue had some commission from the emperour to haue practised with the Englishmen, for the disquieting of the realme of France. Howbeit, after it was perceiued that this suspicion was grounded on no truth, he was also suffered to follow the archbishop, and so comming vnto Canturburie, he was made abbat of the monasterie of saint Augustines. The archbishop Theodore came thus vnto his church of Canturburie in the second yeare after his consecration, about the second kalends of June, being sundaie. He gouerned the same church also 21 yeares and 16 daies, and was the first archbishop to whome all the churches of England did acknowledge their obeisance.

Being accompanied with the foresaid Adrian, he visited all the parts of this land, ordeined bishops and ministers in churches where he thought conuenient, and reformed the same churches as seemed to him needfull, as well in other things which he misliked, as also in causing them to obserue the feast of Easter, according to the rite and vsage of the church of Rome. Ceadda that was bishop of Yorke, because he was not lawfullie ordeined, as he himselfe confessed, was remoued from the see of Yorke, and Wilfrid was thereunto restored, so that Ceadda (though he were not disgraded of his degree of bishop) liued yet a priuat kind of life, till he was admitted bishop of Mercia, as after shall be shewed.

Ran. Cest. Matth. West.

Beda.

Singing in churches brought in vse.

Also whereas before time there was in maner no singing in the English churches, except it were in Kent, now they began in euerie church to vse singing of diuine seruice after the rite of the church of Rome. The archbishop Theodore finding the church of Rochester void by the death of the last bishop named Damian, ordeined one Putta a simple man in worldlie matters, but well instructed in ecclesiasticall discipline, and namelie well seene in song and musicke to be vsed in the church after the maner as he had learned of pope Gregories disciples.

Putta bishop of Rochester.

To be breefe, the archbishop Theodore, and the abbat Adrian deserued great commendation in this, that whereas they were notablie well learned themselues in the Greeke and the Latine tongs, and also had good knowledge as well in the liberall arts, as in the scripture, they toke great paines to traine vp scholers in knowledge of the same, so that the Englishmen had not seene more happie times than in those daies, hauing as then kings of great puissance, so as strangers stood in feare of them; and againe, those that coueted learning, had instructors at hand to teach them, by reason whereof diuers being giuen to studie, prooued excellent both in knowledge of the Greeke and Latine. There came in companie of the said archbishop from Rome, an Englishman named Benedict Biscop, which had taken vpon him the habit of a monke in Italie, and now returning into his countrie, builded two abbeis, the one named Wiremouth, because it was placed at the mouth of the riuer of Wire, and the other Girwie, distant from Wiremouth about fiue miles, and from the towne of Newcastle foure miles, situated neere to the mouth of Tine. Wiremouth was built in the yeare 670, and Girwie in the yeare 673. There were a 600 monks found in those two houses, and gouerned vnder one abbat. The said Benedict was the first that brought glasiers, painters, and other such curious craftsmen into England. He went fiue times to Rome, and came againe.

The worthie praise of Theodore and Adrian.

Englishmen happie and why.

Beda. Benedict or Bener surnamed Biscop.

670

Glasiers first brought into England. Ran. Cest.

Sighere and Sebbie associats reigne ouer the Eastsaxons, *the one falleth from*, the other cleaueth to the faith, Vulfhere king *of Mercia sendeth bishop Iaroman to redresse that* apostasie of the prince and the people, Cead bishop *of Mercia, the king of that countrie hath him in hie reputation*, Egfrid king of Northumberland, a synod of bishops holden at Herford, articles propounded out of the canons by Theodore archbishop of Canturburie, Bisi vnable to discharge his episcopall office, a remedie therefore; Kenwalke of a very euill prince becometh a verie good ruler, his wife gouerneth the kingdome after his death, Escuius succeedeth hir in the roome, of Thunnir a murtherer king Egberts principall vicegerent, bishop Winfrid deposed for disobedience, Sebbie king of the Eastsaxons a professed monke, his death.

The xxxiiij. Chapter.

ABout the same time, after that Swidhelme king of the Eastsaxons was dead, Sighere the son of Sigbert the little, and Sebbie the son of Suward succeeded him in gouernement of that kingdome, albeit they were subiect vnto Vulfhere the king of Mercia. Sighere in that time, when the great mortalitie reigned, renounced the faith of Christ, with that part of the people which he had in gouernement, for both the same Sighere and others of his chiefest lords, and also part of his commons louing this life, and not regarding the life to come, began to repaire their idolish churches, and fell to the worshipping of idols, as though thereby they should haue beene defended from

Beda. lib. 3. cap. 30.

671

673

Synod holden at Herford.

Articles proponed by Theodore

from that mortalitie. But his associat Sebbie with great deuotion continued stedfast in the faith which he had receiued.

Bishop Jarumman or Jaroman.

King Vulfhere being informed of Seghers apostasie, and how the people in his part of the prouince of Eastsaxons were departed from the faith, sent thither bishop Jaruman or Jaroman, that was successour vnto Trumhere, which vsed such diligence and godlie meanes, that he reduced the said king and all his people vnto the right beliefe, so as the idolish synagogs were destroied, and the idols also with their altars quite beaten downe, the christian churches againe set open, and the name of Christ confessed called vpon amongest the people, coueting now rather to die in him with hope of resurrection in the world to come, than to liue in the seruice of idols, spotted with the filth of errors and false beleefe. And thus when bishop Jaroman had accomplished the thing for the which he was sent, he returned into Mercia.

After this, when the said Jaroman was departed this life, king Vulfhere sent vnto the archbishop Theodorus, requiring him to prouide the prouince of the Mercies of a new bishop. Theodorus not minding to ordeine anie new bishop at that time, required Oswie king of Northumberland, that bishop Cead might come into Mercia to exercise the office of bishop there. This Cead liued as it were a priuat life at that time in his monasterie of Lestingham, for Wilfrid held the bishoprike of Yorke, extending his authoritie ouer all Northumberland & amongest the Picts also, so farre as king Oswies dominion stretched. Therefore Cead hauing licence to go into Mercia, was gladlie receiued of king Vulfhere, and well enterteined, in so much that the said king gaue vnto him lands and possessions conteining 50 families or houholds to build a monasterie in a certeine place within the countrie of Lindsey called Etbearne. But the see of his bishoprike was assigned to him at Lichfield in Staffordshire, where he made him a house neere to the church, in the which he with 7 or 8 other of his brethren in religion vsed in an oratorie there to praie and reade, so often as they had leasure from labour and businesse of the world. Finallie, after he had gouerned the church of Mercia by the space of two yeares and an halfe, he departed this life, hauing 7 daies warning giuen him (as it is reported) from aboue, before he should die, after a miraculous maner, which because in the iudgement of the most it may seeme mere fabulous, we will omit and passe ouer. His bodie was first buried in the church of our ladie, but after that the church of saint Peter the apostle was builded, his bones were translated into the same.

671

In the yeare of our Lord 671, which was the second yeare after that Theodorus the archbishop came into this land, Oswie king of Northumberland was attached with a grieuous sickenesse, and died thereof the 15 kalends of March, in the 58 yeare of his age, after he had reigned 28 yeares complet.

Matth. West.

Egfrid. Beda lib. 4. cap. 5. Matth. West.

After Oswie, his sonne Egfrid succeeded in rule of the kingdome of Northumberland, in the third yeare of whose reigne, that is to say, in the yeare of our Lord 673, Theodorus the archbishop of Canturburie kept a synod at Herford, the first session whereof began the 24 of September, all the bishops of this land being present either in person or by their deputies, as Bisi bishop of Estangle, Wilfrid of Northumberland by his deputie Putta bishop of Rochester, Eleutherius bishop of Westsaxon, and Wilfrid bishop of Mercia. In the presence of these prelats, the archbishop shewed a booke, wherein he had noted ten chapters or articles taken out of the booke of the canons, requiring that the same might be receiued.

673

Synod holden at Herford.

Articles proponed by Theodore.

1 The first chapter was, that the feast of Easter should be kept on the sundaie following the fourteenth day of the first moneth.

2 The second, that no bishop should intermeddle in an others diocesse, but be contented with the cure of his flocke committed to him.

3 The third, that no bishop should disquiet in anie thing anie monasterie consecrated to God, nor take by violence anie goods that belonged vnto the same.

4 The fourth, that bishops being monks should not go from monasterie to monasterie, except by sufferance and permission of their abbats, & should continue in the same obedience wherein they stood before.

5 The fift, that none of the cleargie should depart from his bishop to run into anie other diocesse, nor comming from anie other place should be admitted, except he brought letters of testimonie with him. But if anie such chanced to be receiued, if he refused to returne, being sent for home, both he and his receiuer should be excommunicated.

6 The sixt, that bishops and other of the cleargie being strangers should hold them content with the benefit of hospitalitie, & should not take in hand anie priestlie office, without licence of the bishop, in whose diocesse he chanced so to be remaining.

7 The seuenth, that twice in the yeare a synod should be kept, but because of diuers impediments herein, it was thought good to them all, that in the kalends of August a synod should be kept once in the yeare, at a certeine place called Clofeshough.

8 The eighth chapter was, that no one bishop should by ambition seeke to be preferred aboue another, but that euerie one should know the time and order of his consecration.

9 The ninth, that as the number of the christians increased, so should there be more bishops ordeined.

10 The tenth was touching mariages, that none should contract matrimonie with anie person, but with such as it should be lawfull for him by the orders of the church: none should match with their kinsfolke, no man should forsake his wife, except (as the gospell teacheth) for cause of fornication. But if anie man did put awaie his wife which he had lawfullie married, if he would be accounted a true christian, he might not be coupled with an other, but so remaine, or else be reconciled to his owne wife.

These articles, being intreated of and concluded, were confirmed with the subscribing of all their hands, so as all those that did go against the same, should be disgraded of their priesthod, and separated from the companie of them all.

Bisi bishop of the Eastangles.

The forsaid Bisi that was bishop of the Eastangles, and present at this synod, was successor vnto Bonifacius, which Bonifacius held that see 17 yeares, and then departing this life, Bisi was made bishop of that prouince, and ordeined by the archbishop Theodore. This Bisi at length was so visited with sickenesse, that he was not able to exercise the ministration, so that two bishops were then & there elected and consecrated for him, the one named Aecci, and the other Baldwin.

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Matt. West. de reg. lib. 1.

In this meane while, that is, about the yeare of our Lord 872, or in the beginning of 873, as Harison noteth, Kenwalch king of the Westsaxons departed this life, after he had reigned 30 yeares. This Kenwalch was such a prince, as in the beginning he was to be compared with the worst kind of rulers, but in the middest and later end of his reigne, to be matched with the best. His godlie zeale borne towards the aduancing of the christian religion well appeered in the building of the church at Winchester, where

the biſhops ſée of all that prouince was then placed. His wife Segburga ruled the kingdome of Weſtſarons after him, a woman of ſtoutneſſe inoughte haue atchiued acts of worthie remembrance, but being preuented by death yer ſhe had reigned one whole yéere, ſhe could not ſhew anie full proofe of hir noble courage. I remember that Matth. Weſt. maketh other report hereof, declaring that the nobilitie remoued hir from the gouernment. But I rather follow William Malmeſburie in this matter.

Eſcuinus. Will. Malmeſ.

TO proceed, after Segburga was departed this life, or depoſed (if you will néeds haue it ſo) Eſcuinus or Elcuinus, whoſe grandfather called Cuthgiſo, the brother of K. Kinigils, ſucceeding in gouernment of the Weſtſarons, reigned about the ſpace of two yéeres: and after his deceaſſe, one Centuinus or Centwine toke vpon him the rule, and continued therein the ſpace of nine yeeres. But Beda ſaith that theſe two ruled at one time, and diuided the kingdom betwixt them. Elcuinus fought againſt Vulfhere king of Mercia, a great number of men being ſlaine on both parties, though Vulfhere yet had after a maner the vpper hand, as ſome haue written.

Hen. Hunt.

In the ſame yéere that the ſynod was holden at Herford, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 673, Egbert the king of Kent departed this life in Iulie, and left the kingdome to his brother Lothaire, which held the ſame eleuen yéeres, & ſeuen moneths.

Beda *lib. & cap. ſupr. dict.*

Io. Lothaire.

Some haue written that king Egbert by the ſuggeſtion of one Thunnir, who had the chiefe rule of the kingdome vnder him, ſuffered the ſame Thunnir in lamentable maner to kill the two innocent ſonnes of Ermenredus the brother of king Ercombert, that was father vnto king Egbert, for doubt leaſt they being towardlie yong gentlemen, might in time grow ſo into fauour with the people, that it ſhould be eaſie for them to depriue both Egbert, and his iſſue of the kingdome. Also, that they were priuilie put to death, and ſecretlie buried at the firſt, but the place of their buriall immediatlie being ſhewed after a miraculous maner, their bodies long after in the daies of king Egilred the ſonne of king Edgar, were taken vp, & conueied vnto Ramſey, and there buried. And although Egbert being giltie of the death of thoſe his coſens, did ſore repent him, for that he vnderſtood they died giltleſſe, yet his brother Lothaire was thought to be puniſhed for that offenſe, as after ſhall be ſhewed.

Wil. Malm. Bedade reg. lib. 1. Thunnir. A vile murther.

Winfrid biſhop of the Mercies, for his diſobedience in ſome point, was depriued by archbiſhop Theodore, and one Seruulfe that was the builder and alſo the abbat of the monaſterie of Meidhamſted, otherwiſe called Peterborough, was ordeined and conſecrated in his place. About the ſame time, Erkenwald was ordeined biſhop of the Eaſtſarons, and appointed to hold his ſée in the citie of London. This Erkenwald was reputed to be a man of great holineſſe and vertue. Before he was made biſhop, he builded two abbeies, the one of monks at Chertſey in Southerie, where he himſelfe was abbat, and the other of nuns at Berking, within the prouince of the Eaſtſarons, where he placed his ſiſter Ethelburga, a woman alſo highlie eſteemed for hir deuout kind of life. She was firſt brought vp and inſtructed in the rules of hir profeſſion by one Hildelitha a nun of the parties beyond the ſeas, whome Erkenwald procured to come ouer for that purpoſe.

Biſhop Winfrid depoſed. Seruulfe ordeined biſhop of the Mercies. 685, as Matth. VVeſtm. ſaith. Biſhop Erkenwald. Ethelburga. Iohn Capgraue.

After Erkenwald, one Waldhere was made biſhop of London, in whoſe daies Sebbie king of the Eaſtſarons, after he had reigned thirtie yéeres, being now vexed with a greeuous ſickneſſe, profeſſed himſelfe a monke: which thing he would haue done long before, if his wife had not kept him backe. He died ſhortlie after within the citie of London, and was buried in the church of ſaint Paule. King Sighere, which in the beginning reigned with him, and gouerned a part of the Eaſtſarons, was departed this life before, ſo that in his latter time, the foreſaid Sebbie had the gouernment of the whole prouince of the Eaſtſarons, and left the ſame to his ſonnes Sighard and Sewfred. About the yéere of our Lord 675, Vulfhere king of Mercia departed this life, after he had reigned (as ſome ſay) 19 yéeres, but (as other affirme) he reigned but 17 yéeres. Howbeit they which reckon 19, include the time that paſſed after the ſlaughter of Penda, wherein Oſwie and Peada held the aforeſaid kingdome.

Waldhere. Sebbie king of Eaſtſarons Beda. lib. 4. cap. 16. Will. Malm. 675 Will. Malm. But other affirme that he reigned 17 yeres. Beda. Peada or rather Weada.

Edilred king of Mercia inuadeth the *kingdome of Kent, and maketh great waſte* without reſiſtance of Lothaire the king thereof, *Putta of a biſhop becommeth a poore curat and* teacheth muſicke, Wilfred depoſed from his biſhoprike *by king Egfrid vpon diſpleaſure, he preacheth the goſpell* in Suſſex by the licence of king Edilwalke & one raine in Suſſex for the ſpace of three yeeres, the woord and ſacraments bring bleſſings with them; biſhop Wilfrid the firſt teacher to catch fiſh with nets, the people haue him in great reuerence, a great and bloudie battell betweene Egfrid & king Edilred, they are reconciled by the meanes of archbiſhop Theodore; a ſynod holden at Hatfield, the clergie ſubſcribe to certeine articles, of Hilda the famous abbeſſe of Whitbie.

The xxxv. Chapter.

AFter Vulfhere, his brother Edilred or Ethelred ſucceeded in gouernment of the kingdome of Mercia. This Edilred inuaded the kingdome of Kent with a mightie armie, in the yéere of our Lord 677, deſtroieng the countrie afore him, not ſparing churches nor abbeies, but ſpoiling the ſame without reſpect, as well as other common places. King Lothaire durſt not appéere in the field to giue him battell, ſo that Edilred went thorough the countrie, deſtroied the citie of Rocheſter, and with great riches gotten by the ſpoile he returned home. Putta the biſhop of Rocheſter, after that his church was ſpoiled and defaced by the enimies, went to Seruulfe biſhop of Mercia, and there obteining of him a ſmall cure, and a portion of ground, remained in that countrie, not once labouring to reſtore his church of Rocheſter to the former ſtate, but went about in Mercia to teach ſong, and inſtruct ſuch as would learne muſicke, whereſoeuer he was required, or could get intertainment.

Edilred. 677 Hen. Hunt.

Herevpon the archbiſhop Theodore conſecrated one William biſhop of Rocheſter in place of Putta, and after, when the ſaid William conſtreined by pouertie, left that church, Theodore placed one Gebmound in his ſtéed. In the yéere of our Lord 678, in the moneth of Auguſt, a blaſing ſtarre appéered, with a long bright beame like to a piller. It was ſéene euerie morning for the ſpace of three moneths together. The ſame Egfrid king of Northumberland, baniſhed biſhop Wilfrid vpon diſpleaſure taken with him, out of his ſée, and then were two biſhops ordeined in his place, to gouerne the church of the Northumbers, the one named Boſa at Yorke, and the other called Eata at Hagulſtald or Lindeſferne. Alſo one Eadhidus was ordeined about the ſame time biſhop of Lindſey, the which prouince king Egfrid had of late conquered and taken from Vulfhere the late king of Mercia, whome he ouercame in battell, and droue him out of that countrie. The ſaid three biſhops

678 A blaſing ſtar Matth. Weſt. Beda lib. 4. ca. 12. Biſhop Wilfrid baniſhed. Hagulſtald. Yerham. Eadhidus. Lindeſferne Holie Iland.

biſhops were conſecrated at Yorke by the archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus, the which within three yéeres after ordeined two biſhops more in that prouince of the Northumbers, that is to ſay, Tumbert at Hagulſtald, Eata that was appointed to remaine at Lindeſferne, & Trumuine was ordeined to haue the cure of the prouince of thoſe Picts which as then were vnder the Engliſh dominion. Alſo becauſe Edilred king of Mercia recouered the countrie of Lindſey, and ioined it to his dominion, biſhop Eadbeons comming from thence, was appointed to gouerne the church of Ripon.

The church of Ripon.

After that biſhop Wilfrid was expelled out of his dioceſſe and prouince of the Northumbers, he went to Rome, and returning from thence, came into the kingdome of the Southſaxons, the which conteining ſeuen thouſand houſholds or families, as yet was not conuerted to the chriſtian faith. Wherefore the ſaid Wilfrid began there to preach the goſpell with licence of king Edilwalke, who (as before is mentioned) was conuerted and baptiſed in Mercia by the procurement of king Wolfher, that then became his godfather, and gaue him at the ſame time the Ile of Wight, and the prouince of the people anciently called Meanuari, which he had won from the Weſtſaxons. Biſhop Wilfrid then by king Edilwalke his furtherance and helpe baptiſed the chiefeſt lords and gentlemen of that prouince. But certein prieſts baptiſed the reſidue of the people, either then or in the time following.

Wilfrid by licence of king Edilwalke preacheth the goſpel to them of Suſſex.

¶ It chanced that for the ſpace of three yeeres (as it is ſaid) before the comming thither of biſhop Wilfrid, there had fallen no raine from the aire within that prouince of the Southſaxons, ſo that the people were brought into great miſerie by reaſon of famine, which through want of neceſſarie fruits of the earth ſore afflicted the whole countrie, inſomuch that no ſmall numbers threw themſelues headlong into the ſea, deſpairing of life in ſuch lacke of neceſſarie victels. But as God would, the ſame day that Wilfrid began to miniſter the ſacrament of baptiſme, there came downe ſweet and plentifull ſhowers of raine, ſo watering the earth, that thereby great ſtore of all fruits plentifullie toke root, and yéelded full increaſe in growth, to the great comfort and reliefe of all the people, which before were in maner ſtarued and loſt through want of food.

Lacke of raine.

Biſhop Wilfrid alſo taught them in that countrie the maner how to catch fiſh with nets, where before that time, they had no great ſkill in anie kind of fiſhing, except it were in catching éles. Hereby the ſaid biſhop grew there in great eſtimation with the people, ſo that his words were the better credited amongſt them, for that through him they receiued ſo great benefits, God by ſuch meanes working in the peoples hearts a deſire to come to the vnderſtanding of his lawes. The king alſo gaue vnto Wilfrid a place called Sealeſew, compaſſed about on each ſide (except on the weſt halfe) with the ſea, conteining 87 houſholds or families, where he built an abbeie, and baptiſed all his tenants there, amounting to the number of 250 bondmen and bondwomen, whome he made free both in bodie and ſoule: for he did not onelie baptiſe them, but alſo infranchiſed them of all bodilie ſeruitude and bondage.

Catching of fiſh with nets.

Bondmen made truelie free.

In this meane while manie things happened in other parts of this land, and firſt in the yeere after the apéering of the blaſing ſtarre before mentioned, a mightie battell was fought betwixt the ſaid Egfrid and Edilred king of Mercia, néere to the riuer of Trent, where Alſwine the brother of king Egfrid was ſlaine, with manie other of the Northumbers, ſo that king Egfrid was conſtreined to returne home with loſſe. The archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus perceiuing that great warre and effuſion of bloud was like to follow thereupon, trauelled ſo in the matter betwixt them, that they were made friends, and Egfrid had a peece of monie in recompenſe of his loſſes. The foreſaid battell was fought in the yéere of our Lord 679; and in the yéere following, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 680, which was alſo in the tenth yéere of the reigne of Egfrid king of Northumberland, the firſt yéere of Edelred king of Mercia, the 17 of Aldwulfe king of Eaſtangles, and in the 7 of Lother king of Kent.

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A ſynod at Hatfield.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie Theodorus held another ſynod at Hatfield, about the 15 kalends of October, in the which all the clergie there preſent ſubſcribed to certeine articles touching the beléefe of the trinitie of perſons, in the vnitie of the Godhead of the like ſubſtance, and alſo of the ſame vnitie in trinitie, according to the true faith of the church of God. Moreouer, they acknowledged by the like ſubſcription, the fiue generall councels, of Nice, of Conſtantinople the firſt, of Epheſus, of Calcedon, and of Conſtantinople the ſecond, with the ſynod alſo holden at Rome in the daies of Martin biſhop of Rome about the yéere of the emperour Conſtantine. At this ſynod holden at Hatfield, was preſent one John the archchanter of S. Peters church at Rome, ſent into this land of purpoſe to bring from hence a certificat vnto pope Agatho of the agréement of the Engliſh church in matters of faith, with other churches of the chriſtian world: but the foreſaid archchanter died by the way in France, as he returned homewards, and was buried at Towers in Towraine.

Articles ſubſcribed.

The ſame yéere that famous woman Hilda abbeſſe of Whitbie departed this life, or (as other ſay) fiue yéeres after, hauing firſt béene deteined long with grieuous ſickeneſſe. She was the daughter of one Herrericus the nephue of king Edwin, and conuerted to the faith of Chriſt at the preaching of biſhop Pauline, and afterwards inſtructed by biſhop Aidan, ſhe profeſſed hirſelfe a nun, applieng hir whole ſtudie to the reading of the ſcriptures, to praier, & other godlie exerciſes. She builded the abbeie of Whitbie, wherein were placed both men and women, with ſuch an equalitie in all things, that there was no rich perſon amongſt them, nor anie that wanted things neceſſarie. She departed this life on the 15 kalends of December, being 66 yéeres of age. As ſome haue written ſhe argued ſtoutlie on biſhop Colmans part, at the diſputation holden in the monaſterie of Whitbie, in the yéere of Grace 664, whereof ye haue heard before. About the yéere of our Lord 682, that is to ſay, in the ſeuenth yere of Centwine or Centuinus king of Weſtſaxons, the ſame Centwine fought with the Britains, and ouercame them in battell, purſuing them with fire and ſword vnto the ſea ſide.

The abbeſſe Hilda. Bede.

Bale. Ran. Ceſt. Matth. Weſt. Beda.

Henrie Hunt.

The Britains diſcomfited.

¶ Thus (at this time as alſo at diuerſe other times) they were diſcomfited and put to flight, being a people allotted and ſhared out as it were to ſuffer many an ouerthrow, and abide manie a ſharpe and ſhamefull repulſe at the hands of their enimies, who conuerted the diſtreſſe of that people to their profit, and toke pleaſure in the extreamitie of the miſeries wherein they were plunged, as may be obſerued by the pitifull alteration of their ſtate vnder diuerſe gouernors, and ſpeciallie vnder the Daniſh dominion, who kept them in no leſſe vile ſeruitude than Pharao did the Hebrues at the making of bricke & chopping of ſtraw. So that ſome thinke this land to be corruptlie named Britania, but ought rather to be called Bridania, that is, *Libera Dania, ſiue regio in qua Dani libere viuant*, for they liued as lords in the land, & did (for the time being) what they liſted. But of this matter more ſhall be ſpoken hereafter in place conuenient.

Gorop. in Gotodanica lib. 7. pag. 759.

Cadwallader king of Britaine, the peo-
ple are brought into great miſerie, and he
forced to flee the land, he dieth at Rome, the
Britiſh writers noted of error, Ceadwalla king of
the Weſtſaxons, the kingdome is diuided; the valo-
rous mind of Ceadwalla, he is forced to forſake his countrie, he
vanquiſheth and killeth Edilwalke king of the Weſtſaxons, his
returne into his kingdome with reuenge vpon Berthun duke
of Suſſex and other his heauie friends, his vow if he might con-
quer the Ile of Wight, his bountifull offer to biſhop Wilfrid,
the Ile of Wight receiueth the faith; Ceadwalla inuadeth
Kent, of a barbarous warriour he becommeth a religious chri-
ſtian, his vertues, his death and buriall at Rome; Egfrid king
of Northumberland inuadeth Ireland, he is ſlaine by Bru-
deus king of the Picts; the neglect of good counſell
is dangerous; Etheldreda a wife and a widow
(hauing vowed chaſtitie) liued a virgine 12
yeeres with hir husband Egfride, ſhe
was called ſaint Auderie
of Elie.

The xxxvj. Chapter.

Cadwallader.

BVt now to returne vnto that which is found in the Britiſh hiſtories, by the tenor wherof it ſhould appeare, that when their king Cadwallo was dead, his ſon Cadwallader ſucceeded him in gouernement of the Britains,

676 ſaith Matth. Weſt.

in the yeere of our Lord 678, which was about the 10 yeere of the emperour Conſtantius Paganotus, and in the 13 yeere of the reigne of Childericus king of France. This Cadwallader, being the ſonne of Cadwallo, was begot by him of the halfe ſiſter of Penda king of Mercia, for one father begot them both, but of two ſundrie mothers, for ſhe had to mother a ladie deſcended of the noble blod of the Weſtſaxons, and was maried vnto Cadwallo when the peace was made betwixt him and hir brother the ſaid Penda. After that Cadwallader had reigned the ſpace of 12 yeers (as Geffrey of Monmouth ſaith) or (as others write) but 3 yeeres, the Britains were brought into ſuch miſerie through ciuill diſcord, and alſo by ſuch great and extreme famine as then reigned through all the land, that Cadwallader was conſtreined with the cheefeſt part of his people to forſake their natiue countrie, and by ſea to get them ouer into Britaine Armorike, there to ſeeke reliefe by vittels for the ſuſtentation of their languiſhing bodies.

Galfrid.

Cadwallader conſtreined to forſake the land.

¶ Long proceſſe is made by the Britiſh writers of this departure of Cadwallader, & of the Britains out of this land, and how Cadwallader was about to haue returned againe, but that he was admoniſhed by a dreame to the contrarie, the which bicauſe it ſeemeth but fabulous, we paſſe ouer. At length he went to Rome, and there was confirmed in the chriſtian religion by pope Sergius, where ſhortlie after he fell ſicke, and died the 12 kalends of May, in the yeere of

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our Lord 689. But herein appeareth the error of the Britiſh writers in taking one for another, by reaſon of reſemblance of names, for where Ceadwalla king of the Weſtſaxons about that time moued of a religious deuotion, after he was conuerted to the faith, went vnto Rome, and was there baptiſed, or elſe confirmed of the foreſaid pope Sergius, and ſhortlie after departed this life in that citie in the foreſaid yeere of 689 or therabouts. The Welſhmen count him to be their Cadwallader: which to be true is verie vnlike by that which may be gathered out of the learned writings of diuers good and approued authors.

Ceadwalla.

THis Ceadwalla king of the Weſtſaxons ſucceeded after Centwine or Centuinus, which Centwine reigned nine yeeres, though it ſhould appeare by that which is written by authors of good credit, that during two of thoſe yeers at the leaſt, the kingdome of Weſtſaxons was diuided betwixt him and Elcuinus or Elcuinus, ſo that he ſhould not reigne paſt ſeuen yeeres alone.

Wil. Malm. Beda.

But now to Ceadwalla, whome ſome take to be all one with Cadwallader, we find that he was lineallie deſcended from Cutha or Cutwine, the brother of Ceaulline or Keuling king of Weſtſaxons, as ſonne to Kenbert or Kenbright that was ſonne to Ceadda the ſonne of the foreſaid Cutha or Cutwin. Thus being extract of the noble houſe of the kings of Weſtſaxons, he proued in his youth a perſonage of great towardneſſe, and ſuch a one as no ſmall hope was of him conceiued: he would let no occaſion paſſe wherein he might exerciſe his force, to ſhew proofe of his high valiancie, ſo that in the end with his worthie attempts ſhewed therein, he purchaſed to himſelfe the enuie of thoſe that ruled in his countrie, by reaſon whereof he was baniſhed in a conſpiracie made againſt him. Wherevpon he tooke occaſion as it were in reuenge of ſuch vnthankefulneſſe to withdraw out of his countrie, leading with him all the principall youth of the ſame, the which either pitieng his preſent eſtate, or moued with pleaſure taken in his valiant doings, followed him at his going into exile.

Wil. Malm. Ranulf. Ceſt.

Ceadwalla driuen to depart out of his countrie.

The firſt brunt of his furious attempts after he was out of his countrie, Edilwalke the king of the Southſaxons talked, who in defenſe of himſelfe comming to trie battell with Ceadwalla, was ſlaine with the moſt part of all his armie. Ceadwalla then perceiuing the valiant courages of his ſouldiers, filled with good hope of this happie atchiued victorie, returned with good and proſperous ſpeed into his owne countrie, and that yer he was looked for, and earneſtlie purſuing his aduerſaries, droue them out of the kingdome, and taking vpon him to rule the ſame as king, reigned two yeeres, during the which he atchiued diuers notable enterpriſes.

And firſt, whereas Berthun and Authun dukes of Suſſex ſubiects vnto the late king Edilwalke, had both expelled him out of that countrie, after he had ſlaine the ſaid Edilwalke, and alſo taken vpon them the rule of that kingdome, hauing now atteined to the gouernement of the Weſtſaxons, he inuaded the countrie of Suſſex againe, and ſlue Berthun in battell, bringing that countrie into more bondage than before. He alſo ſet vpon the Ile of Wight, and well-neere deſtroied all the inhabitants, meaning to inhabit it with his owne people. Her bound himſelfe alſo by vow, although as yet he was not baptiſed, that if he might conquer it, he would giue a fourth part thereof vnto the Lord. And in performance of that vow, he offered vnto biſhop Wilfride (who then chanced to be preſent) when he had taken that Ile, ſo much therof as conteined 300 houſholds or families, where the whole conſiſted in 1200 houſholds. Wilfrid receiuing thankefullie the gift, deliuered the ſame vnto one of his clearks named Bernewine that was his ſiſters ſonne, appointing to him alſo a prieſt named Hildila, the which ſhould miniſter the word and the ſacrament of baptiſme vnto all thoſe that would receiue the ſame. Thus was the Ile of Wight brought to the faith of Chriſt laſt of all other the parties of this our Britaine, after that the ſame faith had failed here by the comming of the Saxons.

Beda lib. 4. cap. 15.

Berthun duke of Suſſex ſlaine.

Ceadwalla his vow.

The Ile of Wight conquered.

The Ile of Wight receiueth the faith.

Moreouer, king Ceadwalla inuaded the kingdome of Kent, where he loſt his brother Mollo, as after ſhall appeare, but yet he reuenged his death with great ſlaughter made of the inhabitants in that countrie. Finallie, this worthie prince Ceadwalla,

turning

turning himſelfe from the deſire of warre and bloudſhed, became right courteous, gentle and liberall towards all men, ſo that ye could not haue wiſhed more vertuous manners to reſt in one as yet not chriſtened. And ſhortlie after, willing to be admitted into the fellowſhip of the chriſtians (of whoſe religion he had taken good taſt) he went to Rome, where of pope Sergius he was baptiſed, and named Peter, and ſhortlie after ſurpaſſed with ſickenеſſe, he died, and was buried there within the church of ſaint Peter in the yeere of our Lord 689.

689 Beda, lib. 4. cap. 25.

In the meane while, that is to ſay, in the yeere of our Lord 684, Egfride king of Northumberland ſent an armie vnder the guiding of a captеine named Bertus into Ireland, the which waſted that countrie, ſparing neither church nor monaſterie, ſore indamaging the people of that countrie, which had euer bœne friends vnto the Engliſh nation, and deſerued nothing leſſe than ſo to be inuaded and ſpoiled at their hands. The Iriſh men defended themſelues to their power, beſeeching God with manie a ſalt teare, that he would reuenge their cauſe in puniſhing of ſuch extreme iniuries. And though curſers may not inherit the kingdome of heauen, yet they ceaſed not to curſe, hoping the ſooner that thoſe which with good cauſe were thus accurſed, ſhould worthilie be puniſhed for their offenſes by God, & ſo (peraduenture) it fell out. For in the yeere following, the ſaid Egfride had lead an armie into Pictland againſt Brudeus king of the Picts, and being trained into ſtraits within hils and craggie mounteins, he was ſlaine with the moſt part of all his armie, in the yeere of his age 40, and of his reigne 15, vpon the 13 kalends of June.

Ireland inuaded by the Northumbers.

king Egfride ſlain by Brudeus king of the Picts.

There were diuers of Egfrides friends, and namelie Cutberd (whome he had aduanced the ſame yeere vnto the biſhops ſée of Lindeſferne) that aduiſed him in no wiſe, either to haue taken this warre in hand againſt the Picts, or the other againſt them of Ireland, but he would not be counſelled, the puniſhment appointed for his ſinnes being ſuch, that he might not giue eare to his faithfull friends that aduiſed him for the beſt. From that time forth, the hope and power of the Engliſh people began to decaie. For not onelie the Picts recouered that part of their countrie which the Engliſhmen had held before in their poſſeſſion, but alſo the Scots that inhabited within this Ile, and likewiſe ſome part of the Britains tooke vpon them libertie, which they kept and maintеined a long time after, as Beda confeſſeth.

Theſe Britains were thoſe vndoutredlie & dwelt in the north-weſt parts of this Ile, and is not meant onlie by them of Wales.

Egfride died without iſſue, & left no children behind him. He had to wife one Ethelreda or Etheldrida, daughter vnto Anna king of the Eaſtangles, which liued with hir huſband the forſaid Egfride twelue yeeres in perfect virginitie (as is ſuppoſed) contrarie to the purpoſe of hir huſband, if he might haue perſuaded hir to the contrarie, but finallie he was contented that ſhe ſhould keepe hir firſt vow of chaſtitie which ſhe had made. She was both widow and virgine when he maried hir, being firſt coupled in wedlocke with one Eumbert a noble man, and a ruler in the ſouth parts of the countrie, where the people called Giruij inhabited, which is the ſame where the fennes lie in the confines of Lincolnſhire, Norfolke, Huntingtonſhire, & Cambridgeſhire, howbeit he liued with hir but a ſmall while. After ſhe had obteined licence to depart from the court, ſhe got hir firſt into Coldingham abbeie, and there was profeſſed a nun. Then ſhe went to Elie, and there reſtored the monaſterie, and was made abbeſſe of the place, in the which after ſhe had gouerned ſeuen yeeres, ſhe departed this life, and was there buried. This ſame was ſhe which commonlie is called ſaint Audrie of Elie, had in great reuerence for the opinion conceiued of hir great vertue and puritie of life.

Ethelreda.

Giruij.

Alfride (the baſtard) king of Northumberland, his life and death, Iohn archbiſhop of Canturburie reſigneth his ſee, Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound, Edrike getteth the regiment thereof but not without bloudſhed, Ceadwalla waſteth Kent being at ſtrife in it ſelfe, his brother Mollo burned to death; Withred made king of Kent, he vanquiſheth his enimies, Inas king of Weſtſaxons is made his friend, Suebhard and Nidred vſurpers of the Kentiſh kingdome, the age and death of Theodore archbiſhop of Canturburie, Brightwald the firſt archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation; the end of the Britiſh regiment, and how long the greateſt part of this Iland was vnder their gouernement.

The xxxvij. Chapter.



After that king Egfride was ſlaine (as before is mentioned) his brother Alfride was made king of Northumberland. This Alfride was the baſtard ſonne of king Oſwie, and in his brothers daies (either willinglie, or by violent meanes conſtreined) he liued as a baniſhed man in Ireland, where applieng himſelfe to ſtudie, he became an excellent philoſopher. And therfore being iudged to be better able to haue the rule of a kingdome, he was receiued by the Northumbers, and made king, gouerning his ſubiects the ſpace of 20 yeares and more, with great wiſedome and policie, but not with ſuch large bounds as his anceſtors had done: for the Picts (as before is mentioned) had cut off one peece of the north part of the ancient limits of that kingdome. About the 13 yeare of his reigne, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 698, one of his captеins named earle Berthzed, or Bertus, was ſlaine in battell by the Picts, whoſe confins he had as then inuaded. The curſe of the Iriſh men, whoſe countrie in the daies of king Egfrid he had cruellie waſted (as before is mentioned) was thought at this time to take place. Finallie king Alfride, after he had reigned 20 yeares & od months, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 705.

Alfride 685.

698 Beda in Epit. Matt. VVeſt.

705 Beda.

In the beginning of king Alfrids daies, Eata the biſhop of Yerham being dead, one Iohn a man of great holineſſe was admitted biſhop, and after that, biſhop Wilfrid was reſtored, when he had remained a long time in exile. The ſaid Iohn was remoued to the church of Yorke, the ſame being then void by the death of the archbiſhop Boſa. At length the foreſaid Iohn wearied with the cares of publike affaires reſigned his ſée, and got him to Beuerley, where he liued a ſolitarie life for the ſpace of foure yeares, and then died, about the yeare of our Lord 721, king Osrike as then reigning in Northumberland. He continued biſhop for the ſpace of 24 yeares, and builded a church, and founded a colledge of prieſts at Beuerley aforeſaid, in which church he lieth buried.

Iohn archbiſhop of Yorke.

He reſigneth his ſée. 721

The ſame yeare, or in the yeare after that king Egfrid was ſlaine, Lother king of Kent departed this life, the 8 Ides of Februarie, of a wound by him receiued in a battell which he fought againſt the Southſaxons, the which came in aid of Edrike, that was ſonne vnto his brother Egbert, and had maintеined warre againſt his vncle the ſaid Lother, euen from the beginning of his reigne, till finallie he was now in the ſaid battell ſtriken thorough the bodie with a dart, and ſo died thereof, after he had reigned 11 yeares, and ſeuen moneths. It was thought

686 ſaith Matth. Weſt. Lother king of Kent dieth of a wound.

that he was diſquieted with continuall warres and troubles, and finallie brought to his end before the naturall courſe of his time, for a puniſhment of his wicked conſent giuen to the putting to death of his couſins Ethelbert & Ethelbrit, as appeared, in that when they were reported to be martyrs, becauſe it was knowen they died innocentlie, he mocked them and made but a ieſt at it, although his brother in acknowledging his fault, repented him thereof, and gaue in recompenſe to their mother a part of the Ile of Thanet to the building of a monaſterie.

Wil. Malm.

Capgraue ſaith, their ſiſter.

Edricke.

THe foreſaid Edricke (after Lother was dead) got the dominion of Kent, and ruled as king thereof, but not without ciuill warre, inſomuch that before he had reigned the full terme of two yeares, he was ſlaine in the ſame warre. Then Ceadwalla king of the Weſtſaxons being thereof aduertiſed, ſuppoſing the time now to be come that would ſerue his purpoſe, as one ſtill coueting to worke the Kentiſhmen all the diſpleaſure he could, entred with an armie into their countrie, and began to waſte and ſpoile the ſame on ech ſide, till finallie the Kentiſhmen aſſembled themſelues togither, gaue battell to their enimies, and put them to flight. Mollo brother to Ceadwalla was driuen from his companie, and conſtrained to take an houſe for his refuge: but his enimies that purſued him ſet fire thereon, and burned both the houſe and Mollo within it to aſhes. Yet did not Ceadwalla herewith depart out of the countrie, but to weake his wrath, and to reuenge the griefe which he tooke for the death of his brother, he waſted and deſtroied a great part of Kent yer he returned home, and left (as it were) an occaſion to his ſucceſſor alſo to purſue the quarell with reuenging. Wherein we ſée the cankerd nature of man, ſpeciallie in a caſe of wrong or diſpleaſure; which we are ſo far from tollerating & forgiuing, that if with toth and naile we be not permitted to take vengeance, our hearts will breake with a full conceit of wrath. But the law of nature teacheth vs otherwiſe to be affected, namelie,

Mollo brother to king Ceadwalla burnt to death.

——— *per te nulli vnquam iniuria fiat,*
Sed verbis aliiſque modis fuge læ dere quenquam,
Quod tibi nolles, aliis feciſſe caueto,
Quódque tibi velles, aliis præſtare ſtudeto;
Hæc eſt naturæ lex optima, quam niſi ad vnguem
Seruabis, non ipſe Deo (mihi crede) placebis,
Póſtque obitum infœlix non aurea ſydera adibis.

Which leſſon taught by nature, and commanded of God, if theſe men had followed (as they minded nothing leſſe in the fier of their furie) they would haue béene content with a competent reuenge, and not in ſuch outragious maner with fier and ſword haue afflicted one another, nor (which is more than tigerlike crueltie) haue miniſtred occaſion to poſteritie to reuenge wrongs giuen and taken of their anceſtors. But we will let this paſſe without further diſcourſe, meaning hereafter in due place to declare the proceſſe.

The Kentiſhmen being deſtitute of a king, after that diuers had coueted the place, and ſought to attaine thereto, as well by force as otherwiſe, to the great diſquieting of that prouince for the ſpace of 6 yeares togither, at length in the 7 yeare after Edricks death, Withred an other of the ſonnes of king Egbert, hauing with diligent trauell ouercome enuie at home, & with monie redéemed peace abroad, was with great hope conceiued of his worthineſſe made king of Kent, the 11 of November, & 205 after the death of Hengiſt, he reigned 33 yeares, not deceiuing his ſubiects of their good conceiued opinion of him: for ouercomming all his aduerſaries which were readie to leuie ciuill warre againſt him, he alſo purchaſed peace of Inas king of the Weſtſaxons, which ment to haue made him warre, till with monie he was made his friend.

Withreds made king of Kent.

A little before that Withred was confirmed in the kingdome of Kent, there reigned two kings in that countrie, Suebhard and Nidred, or rather the ſame Withred, if the printed copie of Bedas booke intituled *Eccleſiaſtica hiſtoria gentis Anglorum* haue not that name corrupted: for where he ſheweth that the archbiſhop Theodorus being of the age of 88 yeares, departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 690, in the next chapter he declareth, that in the yeare 692, the firſt date of Iulie one Brightwald was choſen to ſucceéd in the archbiſhops ſée of Canturburie, Withredus and Suebhardus as then reigning in Kent: but whether Withredus gouerned as then with Suebhardus, or that ſome other named Nidred, it forceth not: for certeine it is by the agréement of other writers, that till Withred obteined the whole rule, there was great ſtrife and contention moued about the gouernement, and diuers there were that ſought and fought for it. But this ought to be noted, that the forenamed Brightwald was the eight archbiſhop in number, and firſt of the Engliſh nation that ſat in the ſée of Canturburie: for the other ſeuen that were predeceſſors to him, were ſtrangers borne, and ſent hither from Rome.

Hen. Hunt. Beda. lib. 5. Suebhard and Nidred kings by vſurpation and not by ſucceſſion, as Hen. Hunt. writeth.

Brightwald the firſt archbiſhop of the Engliſh nation.

¶ Here endeth the line and gouernement of the Britains, now called Welſhmen, which tooke that name of their duke or leader Wallo or Gallo; or elſe of a queene of Wales named Gales or Wales. But howſoeuer that name fell firſt vnto them, now they are called Welſhmen, which ſometime were called Britains or Brutons, and deſcended firſt of the Troians, and after of Brute, and laſtlie of Mulmucius Dunwallo: albeit they were mingled with ſundrie other nations, as Romans, Picts, &c. And now they be called Engliſh that in their beginning were named Saxons or Angles. To conclude therefore with this gouernement, ſo manie times intercepted by forren power, it appeareth by courſe of hiſtories treating of theſe matters, that the laſt yeare of Cadwallader was the yeare of our Lord 686, which makes the yere of the world 4647. So that (as Fabian ſaith) the Britains had the greater part of this land in rule (reckoning from Brute till this time) 1822 yeares. Which terme being expired, the whole dominion of this realme was Saxoniſh.

Thus farre the interrupted regiment of the Britains, ending at the fift booke.

The

THE SIXT BOOKE
of the Hiſtorie of England.

Inas king of the Weſtſaxons, the whole *monarchie of the realme falleth into their* hands, Inas for a ſumme of monie granteth *peace to the Kentiſhmen, whom he was purpoſed to* haue deſtroied, he & his coſen Nun fight with Ge*rent king of the Britains, and Cheolred king of Mercia, and* Ealdbright king of Southſaxons, the end of their kingdoms, Inas giueth ouer his roialtie, goeth in pilgrimage to Rome, and there dieth; his lawes written in the Saxon toong; of what buildings he was the founder, queene Ethelburgas deuiſe to perſuade Inas to forſake the world, he was the firſt procurer of Peter pence to be paid to Rome; king Ethelred, king Kenred, and king Offa become moonks; the ſetting vp of images in this land authoriſed by a viſion; king Ethelbalds exploits, he is ſlaine of his owne ſubiects by the ſuggeſtion of Bernred the vſurper, Boniface his letter of commendation to king Ethelbald, nuns kept for concubines, their pilgrimage.

The firſt Chapter.

Inas. 689

After that Ceadwalla, late K. of the Weſtſaxons was gone to Rome, where he departed this life (as afore is ſhewed) his coſen Inas or Ine was made king of the Weſtſaxons, begining his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 689, in the third yeere of the emperor Juſtinianus the third, the 11 yeere of the reigne of Theodoricus K. of France, and about the ſecond yeere of the reigne of Eugenius king of Scots. Now becauſe the rule of the Britains commonlie called Welſhmen, ceaſſed in this realme, as by confeſſion of their owne writers it appeareth, and that in the end the whole monarchie of the ſame realme came to the hands of the kings of Weſtſaxons, we haue thought meet to refer things generall vnto the reignes of the ſame kings, as before we did in the Britaine kings, reſeruing the particular doings to the kings of the other prouinces or kingdoms, as the ſame haue fallen out, and ſhall come to hand.

The Britains ceaſſe to reigne in this land.

Fabian. H. Hunt.

This Inas, whome ſome (miſtaking N for V) do wrongfullie name Iue or Iewy, proued a right excellent prince, he was deſcended of the ancient linage of the kings of the Weſtſaxons, as ſonne to one Kenred, that was ſonne to Ceolwald the ſon of Cutha or Cuthwine, that was ſonne to Kenricke the ſonne of Certicus, the firſt king of Weſtſaxons. But he was admitted to the kingdome more for the valiant prowes knowne to reſt in his worthie perſon, than for the ſucceſſiue offspring of which he was deſcended. The firſt vniage that he made, was againſt the Kentiſhmen, on whome he purpoſed to reuenge the death of his coſen Mollo, the griefe whereof as yet he kept in freſh memorie. But when the Kentiſhmen perceiued, that to reſiſt him by force, they were nothing able, they attempted by monie to buy their peace, and ſo obteined their purpoſe, vpon paiment made to him of thirtie thouſand marks of ſiluer. *Matt. Weſtm. Wil. Malm.*

After this, about the 21 yeere of his reigne, king Inas and his coſen Nun fought with Gerent king of the Britains. In the beginning of the battell, one Higelbald a noble man of the Weſtſaxons part was ſlaine, but in the end Gerent with his Britains was chaſed. In the 26 yeere of his reigne, the ſame Inas fought a mightie battell againſt Cheolred king of Mercia, at Wodneſburie, with doubtfull victorie, for it could not well be iudged whether part ſuſteined greater loſſe. In the 36 yeere of his reigne, king Inas inuaded the Southſaxons with a mightie armie, and ſlue in battell Ealdbright or Aldinius king of the Southſaxons, and ſoined that kingdome vnto the kingdome of the Weſtſaxons: ſo that from thenceforth the kingdome of thoſe Southſaxons ceaſſed, after they had reigned in that kingdome by the ſpace of fiue kings ſucceſſiuelie, that is to ſay, Ella, Ciſſa, Ethelwalke, Berutius, and this laſt Aldinius or Ealdbright. *Anno 708, as is noted by Matt. Weſt. H. Hunt. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith 718. Matth. Weſt. ſaith 722. The end of the kingdome of the Southſaxons.*

Finallie, when Inas had reigned 37 yeeres, and 1002 11 od moneths, he renounced the rule of his kingdome, togither with all worldlie pompe, and went vnto Rome as a poore pilgrime, and there ended his life: but before this, during the time of his reigne, he ſhewed himſelf verie deuout and zealous towards the aduancement of the chriſtian religion. He made and ordeined alſo good wholeſome lawes for the amendment of maners in the people, which are yet extant and to be read, written in the Saxon toong, and tranſlated into the Latine in times paſt, and now latelie againe by William Lambert gentleman, and printed by Iohn Day, in the yeere 1568, togither with the lawes and ſtatutes of other kings before the conqueſt, as to the learned maie appeere. *Inas went to Rome and there died.*

Moreouer, king Ine builded the monaſterie of Glaſſenburie, where Joſeph of Arimathea in times paſt builded an oratorie or chappell (as before is recited) when he with other chriſtians came into this land in the daies of Aruiragus, & taught the goſpell heere to the Britains, conuerting manie of them to the faith. Moreouer, king Ine or Inas builded the church of Welles, dedicating it vnto ſaint Andrew, where afterwards a biſhops ſee was placed, which at length was tranſlated vnto Saliſburie. He had to wife one Ethelburga, a woman of noble linage, who had beene earneſt with him a long time to perſuade him to forſake the world: but ſhe could by no meanes bring hir purpoſe to paſſe, till vpon a time the king and ſhe had lodged at a manor place in the countrie, where all proviſion had beene made for the receiuing of them and their traine in moſt ſumptuous maner that might be, as well in rich furniture of houſhold, as alſo in coſtlie viands, and all other things needfull, *Polydor. Ethelburga. Will. Malmeſ.*

full, or that might serue for pleasure, and when they were departed, the quæne the foresaid Ethelburga causeth the keeper of that house to remoue all the bedding, hangings, and other such things as had been brought thither and ordeined for the beautifull setting forth of the house, and in place thereof to bring ordure, straw, & such like filth, as well into the chambers and hall, as into all the houses of office, and that done, to laie a sow with pigs in the place where before the kings bed had stood. Herevpon when she had knowledge that euerie thing was ordered according to hir appointment, she persuaded the king to returne thither againe, feining occasions great and necessarie.

The deuise of quæne Ethelburga to persuade hir husband to forsake the world

Now when he was returned to that house, which before seemed to the eie a palace of most pleasure, and now finding it in such a filthie state as might loath the stomach of anie man to behold the same, she take occasion thereupon to persuade him to the consideration of the vaine pleasures of this world, which in a moment turne to naught, togither with the corruption of the flesh, being a filthie lumpe of claie, after it should once be dissolued by death: and in fine, where before she had spent much labour to moue him to renounce the world, though all in vaine, yet now the beholding of that change in his pleasant palace, wherein so late he had taken great delight, wrought such an alteration in his mind, that hir words lastlie take effect: so that he resigned the kingdome to his cosen Ethelard, and went himselfe to Rome (as aboue is mentioned) and his wife became a nun in the abbeie of Barking, where she was made abbesse, and finallie there ended hir life. This Inas was the first that caused the monie called Peter pence, to be paid vnto the bishop of Rome, which was for euerie houshold within his dominion a penie.

Peter pence.

In this meane time Edilred or Ethelred, hauing gouerned the kingdome of Mercia by the tearme of 29 yeares, became a monke in the abbeie of Bardenie, and after was made abbat of that house. He had to wife one Osfrida the sister of Egfride king of Northumberland, by whome he had a sonne named Ceolred. But he appointed Kenred the sonne of his brother Vulfher to succeed him in the kingdome. The said Osfrida was cruellie slaine by the treason of hir husbands subiects, about the yeare of our Lord 697. And as for Kenred, he was a prince of great vertue, deuout towards God, a furtherer of the commonwealth of his countrie, and passed his life in great sinceritie of manners. In the fift yeare of his reigne, he renounced the world, and went to Rome, togither with Offa king of the Eastsaxons, where he was made a monke: and finallie died there, in the yeare of our Lord 711. By the aid and furtherance of this Kenred, a monke of saint Benets order (called Egwin) builded the abbeie of Euesham, who afterwards was made bishop of Worcester.

King Ethelred becommeth a monke.

Osfrida.

Beda in Epit.

697

King Kenred

711

Nauclerus.

Egwin bishop of Worcester.

¶ We find recorded by writers, that this Egwin had warning giuen him by visions (as he constantlie affirmed before pope Constantine) to set vp an image of our ladie in his church. Whereupon the pope approuing the testifications of this bishop by his buls, writ to Brightwald archbishop of Canturburie, to assemble a synod, and by authoritie thereof to establish the vse of images, charging the kings of this land to be present at the same synod, vpon paine of excommunication. This synod was holden about the yeare of our Lord 712, in the daies of Inas king of Westsaxons, and of Ceolred king of Mercia, successor to the foresaid Kenred.

A fabulous and trifling deuise.

Bale.

712

After Kenred succeeded Ceolred, the sonne of his vncle Edilred, & died in the 8 yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Lichfield. Then succeeded Ethelbaldus that was descended of Eopa the brother of king Penda, as the fourth from him by lineall succession. This man gouerned a long time without anie notable trouble: some warres he had, and sped diuerslie. In the 18 yeare of his reigne, he besieged Sommerton and wan it. He also inuaded Northumberland, and got there great riches by spoile and pillage, which he brought from thence without anie battell offered to him.

Ran. Cestren.

He ouercame the Welshmen in battell, being then at quiet, and ioined as confederats with Cuthred king of Westsaxons. But in the 37 yeare of his reigne, he was ouercome in battell at Bereford by the same Cuthred, with whome he was fallen at variance, and within foure yeares after, that is to say, in the 41 yeare of his reigne, he was slaine in battell at Secandon, or Sekenton, by his owne subiects, which arreared warres against him, by the procurement and leading of one Bernred, who after he had slaine his naturall prince, take vpon him the kingdome: but he prospered not long, being slaine by Offa that succeeded him in rule of the kingdome of Mercia, as after shall be shewed. The bodie of Ethelbald was buried at Ripton.

Hen. Hunt.

Bereford.

755

Chron. mules from Tamworth.

Wil. Malm.

Osred king of Northumberland.

758

Matth. West.

Bonifacius the archbishop of Ment, or Moguntz, hauing assembled a councell with other bishops and doctors, deuised a letter, and sent it vnto this Ethelbald, commending him for his good deuotion and charitie in almes-giuing to the releefe of the poore, and also for his vpright dealing in administration of iustice, to the punishment of robbers and such like misdoers: but in that he abstained from marriage, and wallowed in filthie lecherie with diuerse women, and namelie with nuns, they sore blamed him, and withall declared in what infamie the whole English nation in those daies remained by common report in other countries for their licentious liuing in sinfull fornication, and namelie the most part of the noble men of Mercia by his euill example did forsake their wiues, and defloured other women which they kept in adulterie, as nuns and others. Moreouer, he shewed how that such euill women, as well nuns as other, vsed to make awaie in secret wise their children which they bare out of wedlocke, and so filled the graues with dead bodies, and hell with damned soules. The same Bonifacius in an other epistle which he wrote vnto Cutbert the archbishop of Canturburie, counselled him not to permit the English nuns to wander abroad so often on pilgrimage, because there were few cities either in France or Lombardie, wherein might not be found English women, that liued wantonlie in fornication and whordome.

The history of Wagd.

Nuns kept for concubines.

Pilgrimage of nuns.

Offa king of the Eastsaxons with other *go to Rome, he is shauen and becommeth a* moonke, succession in the kingdome of the *Eastsaxons and Eastangles, Osred king of Nor*thumberland hath carnall knowledge with nuns, he *is slaine in battell, Osrike renouncing his kingdome becom*meth a moonke, bishop Wilfrid twise restored to his see, Westsaxonie diuided in two dioceses, bishop Aldhelme a founder of religious houses; Ethelard succeedeth Inas in regiment, two blasing starres seene at once, and what insued, the king dieth: the, successiue reigne of Wichtreds three sonnes ouer Kent, what prouinces were gouerned by bishops; of what puissance Ethelbald king of Mercia was, Egbert archbishop of Yorke aduanceth his see; a notable remembrance of that excellent man Beda, his death.

The second Chapter.

IN this meane time Sighard and Seuered, kings of the Eastsaxons, being departed this life, one Offa that was sonne to Sigerius succeeded in gouernment

Kings of the Eastsaxons.

Beda lib. 5. cap. 20.

Offa king of Eastsaxons.

ment of that kingdome, a man of great towardneſſe, and of right comelie countenance: but after he had ruled a certeine time, being moued with a religious deuotion, he went to Rome in companie of Kenred king of Mercia, and of one Egwine biſhop of Worceſter, and being there thauen into the order of monks, ſo continued till he died. After him one Selred the ſonne of Sigbert the good, ruled the Eaſt ſarons the tearme of 38 yéeres. After Adulfe the king of Eaſtangles departed this fraile life, which chanced about the yéere of our Lord 688, his brother Elewold or Alwold ſucceéded him, and reigned about twelue yéeres. After whoſe deceaſe one Beorne was made king of Eaſtangles, and reigned about 26 yéeres. In this meane while, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 705, Alfride king of Northumberland being dead, his ſonne Oſred, a child of 8 yéeres of age ſucceéded him in the kingdome, and reigned 11 yéeres, ſpending his time when he came to ripe yéeres in filthie abuſing his bodie with nuns, and other religious women.

King Selred.

688

705

W. Malm. Oſred king of Northumberland.

Hect. Hect.

About the ſeuenth yéere of his reigne, that is to ſay, in the yéere of our Lord 711, one of his capteins named earle Berthfride fought with the Picts, betwixt two places called Yeue and Cere, and obteining the victorie, ſlue an huge number of the enimies. At length king Oſred by the traitorous means of his coſens that arreared warre againſt him, was ſlaine in battell, and ſo ended his reigne, leauing to thoſe that procured his death the like fortune in time to come. For Kenred reigning two yéeres, and Oſricke ten yéeres, were famous onelie in this, that being worthilie puniſhed for ſhedding the bloud of their naturall prince and ſouereigne lord, they finiſhed their liues with diſhonourable deaths, as they had well deſerued. Oſricke before his death, which chanced in the yéere of our Lord 729, appointed Ceolwolfe his brother of his predeceſſor Kenred, to ſucceed him in the kingdome, which he did, reigning as king of the Northumbers by the ſpace of 8 yéeres currant, and then renouncing his kingdom, became a monke in the Ile of Lindeſſerne.

Picts ouerthrowne by the Northumbers.

king Oſred ſlaine in batell

729

In this meane while, biſhop Wilfride being dead, one Acca that was his chapline was made biſhop of Herham. The ſaid Wilfride had béene biſhop by the ſpace of 45 yéeres: but he liued a long time in exile. For firſt being archbiſhop of Yorke, and exerciſing his iuriſdiction ouer all the north parts, he was after baniſhed by king Egbert, and againe reſtored to the ſée of Herham in the ſecond yéere of king Alfride, and within fiue yéeres after eftſoones baniſhed by the ſame Alfride, and the ſecond time reſtored by his ſucceſſor king Oſred; in the fourth yéere of whoſe reigne being the yéere after the incarnation of our Sauiour 709, he departed this life, and was buried at Ripon. Moreouer, after John the archbiſhop of Yorke had reſigned, one Wilfride ſurnamed the ſecond was made archbiſhop of that ſée: which Wilfride was chapline to the ſaid John, and gouerned that ſée by the ſpace of fiftéene yéeres, and then died. About the yéere of our Lord 710, the abbat Adrian which came into this land with Theodore the archbiſhop of Canturburie (as before ye haue heard) departed this life, about 39 yéeres after his comming thither.

Beda. Acca biſhop of Herham.

710

Also Inas the king of Weſtſarons, about the 20 yéere of his reigne, diuided the prouince of the Weſtſarons into two biſhops ſées, whereas before they had but one. Daniell was ordeined to gouerne the one of thoſe ſées, being placed at Wincheſter, hauing vnder him Suſſex, Southerie and Hamſhire. And Aldhelme was appointed to Shireburne, hauing vnder him, Barkeſhire, Wiltſhire, Sommerſetſhire, Dorſetſhire, Deuonſhire, and Cornwall. This Aldhelme was a learned man, and was firſt made abbat of Malmeſburie, in the yéere of our Lord 675, by Eleutherius then biſhop of the Weſtſarons, by whoſe diligence that abbeie was greatlie aduanced, being afore that time founded by one Medulfe a Scotiſh man, but of ſo ſmall reuenues afore Aldhelms time, that the monks were ſcarſe able to liue thereon. Also the ſame Aldheline was a great furtherer vnto king Inas in the building of Glaſtenburie.

Two biſhops ſées. Matth. Weſt.

Biſhop Daniell.

Biſhop Aldhelme.

The abbeie of Malmeſburie

Ethelard, the coſen of king Inas, to whome the ſame Inas reſigned his kingdome, began to gouerne the Weſtſarons in the yéere of our Lord 728, or rather 27, which was in the 11 yéere of the emperor Leo Iſaurus, in the ſecond yéere of Theodorus king of France, and about the 8 or 9 yéere of Mordacke king of the Scots. In the firſt yéere of Ethelards reigne, he was diſquieted with ciuill warre, which one Oſwald a noble man, deſcended of the roiall bloud of the Weſtſaxon kings, procured againſt him: but in the end, when he perceiued that the kings power was to ſtrong for him, he fled out of the countrie, leauing it thereby in reſt.

Ethelard.

728

Matt. Weſt. ſaith 727.

In the yéere 729, in the moneth of Januarie there appeered two comets or blaſing ſtarres, verie terrible to behold, the one riſing in the morning before the riſing of the ſunne, and the other after the ſetting thereof: ſo that the one came before the breake of the day, and the other before the cloſing of the night, ſtretching forth their fierie brands toward the north; and they appeered thus euerie morning and euening for the ſpace of a fortnight togither, menacing as it were ſome great deſtruction or common miſhap to follow. The Saracens ſhortlie after entred France, and were ouerthrowne. Finallie, when king Ethelard had reigned the terme of foureteene yéeres currant, he departed this life.

Matth. Weſt.

729

Blaſing ſtars

Now when Wichtred king of Kent had gouerned the Kentiſhmen by the ſpace of 33 yéeres, with great commendation for the good orders which he cauſed to be obſerued amongſt them, as well concerning matters eccleſiaſticall as temporall, he departed this life, leauing behind him three ſonnes, who ſucceſſiuelie reigned as heires to him one after another (that is to ſay) Edbert 23 yéeres, Ethelbert 11 yéeres currant, and Alrike 34 yéeres, the which three princes following the ſteps of their father in the obſeruance of politike orders & commendable lawes, vſed for the more part their fathers good lucke and fortune, except that in Ethelberts time the citie of Canturburie was burned by caſuall fire, and Alrike loſt a battell againſt them of Mercia, whereby the glorie of their times was ſomewhat blemiſhed: for ſo it came to paſſe, that whatſoeuer chanced euill, was kept ſtill in memorie, and the good haps that came forward, were ſone forgotten and put out of remembrance.

Wil. Malm.

Beda. lib. 5. cap. 24.

In the yéere of our Lord 731, Betrwald archbiſhop of Canturburie departed this life in the iſle of Ides of Januarie, after he had gouerned that ſée by the ſpace of 27 yéeres, 6 moneths, and 14 daies: in whoſe place the ſame yéere one Tacwine was ordeined archbiſhop, that before was a prieſt in the monaſterie of Bruidon within the prouince of Mercia. He was conſecrated in the citie of Canturburie, by the reuerend fathers Daniell biſhop of Wincheſter, Ingwald biſhop of London, Aldwin biſhop of Lichfield, and Aldwulfe biſhop of Rochеſter, the tenth day of June being ſundaie.

731

¶ As touching the ſtate of the Engliſh church for eccleſiaſticall gouernours, certeine it is, that the ſame was as hereafter followeth. The prouince of Canturburie was gouerned touching the eccleſiaſticall ſtate by archbiſhop Tacwine, and biſhop Aldwulfe. The prouince of the Eaſtſarons by biſhop Ingwald.

Biſhops what prouinces they gouerned.

Ingwald. The prouince of Eastangles by bishop Eadbertus and Hadulacus, the one keeping his see at Elsham, and the other at Dunwich. The prouince of the Westsaxons was gouerned by the foresaid Daniell and by Forthere, who succéeded next after Aldhelme in the see of Shereburne. This Forthere in the yéere of our Lord 738, left his bishoprike, and went to Rome in companie of the quéene of the Westsaxons. Many as well kings as bishops, noble and vnnoble, priests and laimen, togither with women, vsed to make such iournies thither in those daies. The prouince of Mercia was ruled by the foresaid Aldwine bishop of Lichfield, and one bishop Walfod holding his see at Yerford gouerned those people that inhabited beyond the riuer of Sauerne toward the west. The prouince of Wiccies, that is, Worcester, one Wilfride gouerned. The Southsaxons and the Ile of Wight were vnder the bishop of Winchester. In the prouince of the Northumbers were foure bishops, that is to say, Wilfride archbishop of Yorke, Edilwald bishop of Lindisserne, Acca bishop of Yerham, and Pechelmus bishop of Whiterne, otherwise called Candida Casa, he was the first that gouerned that church after the same was made a bishops see. And thus stood the state of the English church for ecclesiasticall gouernors in that season.

Matth. West.

And as for temporall gouernement, king Ceolwulfe had the souereigne dominion ouer all the Northumbers: but all the prouinces on the southside of Humber, with their kings and rulers, were subiect vnto Edilbald or Ethelbald king of Mercia. The nation of the Picts were in league with the English men, and gladlie became partakers of the catholike faith and veritie of the vniuersall church. Those Scots which inhabited Britaine, contenting themselues with their owne bounds, went not about to practise anie deceitfull traines nor fraudulent deuises against the Englishmen. The Britains otherwise called Welshmen, though for the more part of a peculiar hatred they did impugne the English nation, & the obseruance of the feast of Ester appointed by the whole catholike church, yet (both diuine and humane force vtterlie resisting them) they were not able in neither behalfe to atteine to their wished intentions, as they which though they were partlie free, yet in some point remained still as thrall and mancipate to the subiection of the Englishmen: who (saith Beda) now in the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse, manie amongst them of Northumberland, laieng armour and weapon aside, applied themselues to the reading of holie scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, than to exercise feates of warre: but what will come therof (saith he) the age that followeth shall see and behold. With these words doth Beda end his historie, continued till the yéere of our Lord 731, which was from the comming of the Englishmen into this land, about 285 yéeres, according to his account.

Ethelbald K. of Mercia, of what puissance he was.

732 In the yéere following, that is to say 732, in place of Wilfrid the second, Egbert was ordeined bishop of Yorke. This Egbert was brother vnto an other Egbert, who as then was king of Northumberland, by whose helpe he greatlie aduanced the see of Yorke, and recouered the pall: so that where all the other bishops that held the same see before him sith Paulins daies, wanted the pall, and so were counted simplie but particular bishops: now was he intituled by the name of archbishop. He also got togither a great number of good bookes, which he bestowed in a librarie at Yorke. ¶ In the yéere 733, on the 18 kalends of September, the sunne suffered a great eclipse about three of the clocke in the after noone, in somuch that the earth séemed to be couered with a blacke and horrible penthouse.

Wil. Malm.

733

In the yéere 735, that reuerend and profound learned man Beda departed this life, being 82 yéeres of age, vpon Ascension day, which was the 7 kalends of June, and 26 of Maie, as Matt. Westm. hath diligentlie obserued. W. Harison addeth hitherto, that it is to be read in an old epistle of Cuthert monke of the same house vnto Cuthwine, that the said Beda lieng in his death-bed, translated the gospell of saint John into English, and commanded his brethren to be diligent in reading and contemplation of good bookes, and not to exercise themselues with fables and friuolous matters. Finallie he was buried in the abbeie of Gerwie, distant fiue miles from Wiremouth, an abbeie also in the north parts, not far from Newcastell (as is before remembred.) He was brought vp in those two abbeies, and was scholer to John of Beuerley. How throughlie he was séene in all kinds of good literature, the bookes which hée wrote do manifestlie beare witnesse. His iudgement also was so much estéemed ouer all, that Sergius the bishop of Rome wrote vnto Celfride the abbat of Wiremouth, requiring him to send Beda vnto the court of Rome for the deciding of certein questions mooued there, which without his opinion might séeme to rest doubtfull. But whether he went thither or not we can not affirme: but as it is thought by men worthie of credit, he neuer went out of this land, but continued for the most part of his life in the abbeies of Gerwie and Wiremouth, first vnder Benet the first abbat and founder of the same abbeies, and after vnder the said Celfride, in whose time he receiued orders of priesthood at the hands of bishop John, surnamed of Beuerley: so that it may be maruelled that a man borne in the vttermost corner of the world, should prooue so excellent in all knowledge and learning, that his fame should so spread ouer the whole earth, and went neuer out of his natiue countrie to séeke it. But who that marketh in reading old histories the state of abbeies and monasteries in those daies, shall well perceiue that they were ordered after the maner of our schooles or colleges, hauing in them diuerse learned men, that attended onelie to teach & bring vp youth in knowledge of good learning, or else to go abroad and preach the word of God in townes and villages adioining.

735 Beda departed this life.

Cranzius.

The same yéere died archbishop Tacuine, and in the yéere following, that is to say 735, Nothelmus was ordeined archbishop of Canturburie in his place, and Egbert the archbishop of Yorke the same yéere got his pall from Rome, and so was confirmed archbishop, and ordeined two bishops, Fruidberd, and Fruidwald. But some refer it to the yéere 744.

735

Cuthred king of the Westsaxons, he is *greatlie troubled by Ethelbald king of* Mercia, they are pacified; Kenric king Cuth*reds sonne slaine, earle Adelme rebelleth against* him whom the king pardoneth; Cuthred fighteth *with Ethelbald at Hereford, he hath the victorie, he falleth* sicke and dieth; Sigebert succedeth him in the kingdome, he is cruell to his people, he is expelled from his roiall estate, murther reuenged with murther, succession in the kingdome of Eastangles, kings change their crownes for moonks cowles; the Britaines subiect to the king of Northumberland and the king of Picts, the moone eclipsed.

The third Chapter.

Cuthred.

After the decease of Ethelard king of Westsaxons, his cosine Cuthred was made king and gouernour of those people, reigning the tearme of 16 yéeres. He began his reigne in the yere

740 — yeare of our Lord 740, in the fiwentie fourth yeare of the emperour Leo Iſaurus, in the 14 yeare of the reigne of the ſecond Theodorus Cala K. of France, and about the 6 yeare of Ethſine king of Scots. This Cuthred had much to do againſt Edilbald king of Mercia, who one while with ſtirring his owne ſubiects the Weſtſaxons to rebellion, an other while with open warre, and ſometime by ſecret craft and ſubtill practiſes ſought to diſquiet him. Howbeit, in the fourth yeare of his reigne, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and then ioining their powers togither, they went againſt the Welſhmen, & gaue them a great ouerthow, as before is partlie touched. In the 9 yeare of this Cuthreds reigne, his ſonne Henric was ſlaine in a ſeditious tumult amongſt his men of warre, a gentleman yong in yeares, but of a ſtout courage, and verie forward, wherby (as was thought) he came the ſooner to his wofull end.

Mart. Weſt. Heal. Ant.

Henric the kings ſonne ſlaine.

749 — Matth. Weſt.

751 — In the 11 yeare of his reigne, Cuthred had wars againſt one of his earls called Adelme, who raiſing a commotion againſt him, aduentured to giue battell though he had the ſmaller number of men, and yet was at point to haue gone away with victorie, if by a wound at that inſtant receiued, his perſuric had not béene puniſhed, and the kings iuſt cauſe aduanced to triumph ouer his aduerſarie, whom yet by way of reconciliation he pardoned. In the 12 yeare of his reigne, king Cuthred being not well able to ſuffeine the proud exactions and hard dooings of Edilbald king of Mercia, raiſed his power, and encountered with the ſame Edilbald at Hereford, hauing before him the ſaid earle Adelme, in whoſe valiant proweſſe he put great hope to atteine victorie: neither was he deceiued, for by the ſtout conduct and noble courage of the ſaid Adelme, the loftie pride of king Edelbald was abated, ſo that he was there put to flight, and all his armie diſcomfited, after ſore and terrible fight continued and mainteined euen to the vttermoſt point. In the 24 yeare of his reigne, this Cuthred fought eſſones with the Welſhmen, and obteined the vpper hand, without anie great loſſe of his people: for the enimies were eaſilie put to flight and chaſed, to their owne deſtruction. In the yeare after, king Cuthred fell ſicke, and in the 16 yeare of his reigne he departed this life, after ſo manie great victories got againſt his enimies.

752 — Matt. Weſt.

K. Edilbald put to flight.

Sigibert.

755 — After him ſucceeded one Sigibert, a cruell and vnmercifull prince at home, but yet a coward abroad. This Sigbert or Sigibert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 755, verie neere ended. He intreated his ſubiects verie euill, ſetting law and reaſon at naught. He could not abide to heare his faults told him, and therefore he cruellie put to death an earle named Cumbra, which was of his councell, and faithfullie admoniſhed him to reforme his euill dooings: whereupon the reſt of his nobles aſſembled themſelues togither with a great multitude of people, and expelled him out of his eſtate in the beginning of the ſecond, or (as ſome ſay) the firſt yeare of his reigne. Then Sigibert, as he was fearefull of nature, fearing to be apprehended, got him into the wood called as then Andredeſwald, and there hid himſelfe, but by chance a ſwineheard that belonged to the late earle Cumbra at Priuetſtoud found him out, and perceiuing what he was, ſlue him in reuenge of his maiſters death.

¶ Lo here you may ſée how the righteous iuſtice of God rewardeth wicked dooings in this world with worthie recompenſe, as well as in the world to come, appointing euill princes ſometimes to reigne for the puniſhment of the people, according as they deſerue, permitting ſome of them to haue gouernment a long time, that both the froward nations may ſuffer long for their ſins, and that ſuch wicked princes may in an other world taſt the more bitter torments. Againe, other he taketh out of the waie, that the people may be deliuered from oppreſſion, and alſo that the naughtie ruler for his miſdemeanour may ſpéedilie receiue due puniſhment.

Ethelred.

After Beorne king of Eaſtangles one Ethelred ſucceéded in gouernment of that kingdome a man noted to be of good and vertuous qualities, in that he brought vp his ſonne Ethelred (which ſucceéded him) ſo in the feare of the Lord, that he proued a right godlie prince. This Ethelbert reigned (as writers ſay) the terme of 52 yeares.

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Egbert king of Northumberland.

After that Ceolvulfe king of Northumberland was become a monke in the abbie of Lindeſſerne, his vncles ſonne Egbert (by order taken by the ſaid Ceolvulfe) ſucceéded him in the kingdome, and gouerned the ſame right worthilie for the terme of 24 yeares, and then became a monke, by the example both of his predeceſſor the foreſaid Ceolvulfe, and alſo of diuers other kings in thoſe dates, ſo that he was the eight king who in this land had changed a kings crowne for a monks cowle (as Simon Dunel. writeth.)

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Changing of crownes for monkes cowles.

This Egbert (in the 18 yeare of his reigne) and Auguſt king of Picts came to the citie of Alcluid with their armies, and there receiued the Britains into their ſubiection, the firſt day of Auguſt: but the tenth day of the ſame month, the armie which he led from Duan vnto Newbourgh, was for the more part loſt and deſtroied. ¶ The ſame yeare on the 8 kalends of December, the mone being as then in hir full, appeared to be of a bloudie colour, but at length ſhe came to hir accuſtomed ſhew, after a marueilous meanes, for a ſtarre which followed hir, paſſed by hir, & went before hir, the like diſtãce as it kept in following hir before ſhe loſt hir vſuall light.

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Offa king of Mercia, his manhood and victories againſt the Kentiſhmen and Weſtſaxons, he killeth Egilbert king of Eaſtangles by a policie or ſubtill deuiſe of profered curteine, he inuadeth his kingdome, and poſſeſſeth it, the archbiſhops ſee of Canturburie remoued to Lichfield; archbiſhop Lambert laboring to defend his prerogatiue is depriued by king Offa, he ſeizeth vpon churches and religious houſes; miſtruſting his eſtate, he alieth himſelfe with other princes; he maketh amends for the wrongs that he had doone to churches and religious houſes, he goeth to Rome, maketh his realme tributarie to the ſaid ſee, Peter pence paid, he falleth ſicke and dieth, places to this day bearing his name in memorie of him, the ſhort reigne of his ſonne.

The fourth Chapter.

Offa.

After that Offa had ſlaine Bernred the vſurper of the kingdome of Mercia (as before is mentioned) the ſame Offa toke vpon him the gouernment of that kingdome 758, a man of ſuch ſtoutneſſe of ſtomach, that he thought he ſhould be able to bring to paſſe all things whatſoeuer he conceiued in his mind. He reigned 39 yeares. His doings were great and marueilous, and ſuch as ſome times his vertues ſurpaſſed his vices, and ſometime againe his vices ſéemed to ouermatch his vertues. He ouercame the Kentiſhmen in a great battell at Otteford, and the Northumbers alſo were by him vanquiſhed, and in battell put to flight. With Kenvulfe king of Weſtſaxons he fought

758 — Matth. Weſt.

Wil. Malm.

The victories of king Offa. Matth. Weſt.

772

fought in open battell, and obteined a noble victorie, with small losse of his people, although the same Kenwulfe was a right valiant prince, and a good capteine.

Falsehood in fellowship.

Againe, perceiuing that to proceed with craft, should sooner aduance his purpose, than to vse open force against Egilbert king of Eastangles, vnder faire promises to giue vnto him his daughter in mariage, he allured him to come into Mercia, and receiuing him into his palace, caused his head to be striken off, and after by wrongfull meanes inuaded his kingdome, and got it into his possession: yet he caused the bones of the first martyr of this land saint Albane (by a miraculous meanes brought to light) to be taken vp, and put in a rich shrine adorned with gold and stone, building a goodlie church of excellent workmanship, and founding a monasterie in that place in honor of the same saint, which he indowed with great possessions. He remoued the archbishops see from Canturburie vnto Lichfield, thereby to aduance his kingdome of Mercia, as well in dignitie & preheminence of spirituall power as temporall. He made great suit to bring his purpose to passe in the court of Rome, and at length by great gifts and rewards obteined it at the hands of pope Adrian the first, then gouerning the Romane see. And so Eadulfus then bishop of Lichfield was adorned with the pall, and taken for archbishop, hauing all those bishops within the limits of king Offa his dominion suffragans vnto him; namelie, Denebertus bishop of Worcester, Werebertus bishop of Chester, Eadulfus bishop of Dorcester, Wilnardus bishop of Hereford, Halard bishop of Elsham, and Cedferth bishop of Donwich. There remained onelie to the archbishop of Canturburie, the bishops of London, Winchester, Rochester, and Shireburne.

The archbishops see remoued from Canturburie to Lichfield.

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Matt. West.

The archbishop Lambert defended his cause.

This separation continued all the life time of the archbishop Lambert, although he trauelled earnestlie to maintein his prerogatiue. Now, for that he still defended his cause, and would not reuolt from his will, Offa depriued him of all his possessions & reuenues that he held or inioied within anie part of his dominions. Neither was Offa satisfied herewith, but he also tooke into his hands the possessions of manie other churches, and fleeced the house of Malmesburie of a part of hir reuennes. Because of these & other his hard doings, doubting the malice of his enimies, he procured the friendship of foren princes. Vnto Brightricke king of the Westsaxons he gaue his daughter Ethelburga in mariage. And sending diuers ambassadours ouer vnto Charles the great, that was both emperor & king of France, he purchased his friendship at length, athough before there had depended a peace of displeasure betwixt them, insomuch that the intercourse for trade of merchandize was staied for a time. One of the ambassadours that was sent vnto the said Charles (as is reported) was that famous clearke Albine or Alcwine, by whose persuasion the same Charles erected two vniuersities, as in place due and conuenient may more largelie appeare.

Offa alieth himselfe with other princes.

Matt. Westm.

The intercourse of merchants staied.

Alcwine an Englishman.

Finallie king Offa (as it were for a meane to appease Gods wrath, which he doubted to be iustlie conceiued towards him for his sinnes and wickednesse) granted the tenth part of all his goods vnto churchmen, and to poore people. He also indowed the church of Hereford with great reuenues, and (as some write) he builded the abbeie of Bath, placing monkes in the same, of the order of saint Benet, as before he had done at saint Albons. Moreouer he went vnto Rome, about the yeare of our Lord 775, and there following the example of Inas king of the Westsaxons, made his realme subiect

Polydor.

775

by way of tribute vnto the church of Rome, appointing that euerie house within the limits of his dominions, should yearelie pay vnto the apostolike see one pennie, which paiment was after named, Rome Scot, and Peter pence. After his returne from Rome, perceiuing himselfe to draw into yeares, he caused his sonne Egfrid to be ordeined king in his life time: and shortlie after departing out of this world, left the kingdome vnto him, after he had gouerned it by the space of 39 yeares.

Peter pence or Rome Scot.

Will. Malm. 797

Offa departeth this life.

Amongst other the doings of this Offa, which euerlie were great and maruellous, this may not passe with silence, that he caused a mightie great ditch to be cast betwixt the marshes of his countrie, and the Welsh confines, to diuide thereby the bounds of their dominions. This ditch was called Offaditch euer after, and stretched from the south side by Bristow, vnder the mountaines of Wales, running northward ouer the riuers of Seuerne and Dee, vnto the verie mouth of Dee, where that riuer falleth into the sea. He likewise builded a church in Warwikeshire, whereof the towne there taketh name, and is called Offchurch euen to this day. Egfrid taking vpon him the rule, began to follow the approued good doings of his father, and first restored vnto the churches their ancient priuileges, which his father sometimes had taken from them. Great hope was conceiued of his further good proceeding, but death cut off the same, taking him out of this life, after he had reigned the space of foure moneths, not for his owne offenses (as was thought) but rather for that his father had caused so much bloud to be spilt for the confirming of him in the kingdome, which so small a time he now inioied.

Offaditch.

Egfrid king of Mercia.

Osulph king of Northumberland traitorouslie murthered, Edilwald succeedeth him, the reward of rebellion, a great mortalitie of foules fishes and fruits, moonkes licenced to drinke wine, great wast by fire, Edelred king of Northumberland is driuen out of his countrie by two dukes of the same, Ethelbert king of the Eastangles commended for his vertues, Alfred the daughter of king Mercia is affianced to him, tokens of misshaps towards him, his destruction intended by queene Quendred, hir platforme of the practise to kill him, Offa inuadeth Ethelberts kingdome, Alfred his betrothed wife taketh his death greuouslie, and becommeth a nun, the decaie of the kingdome of Eastangles, succession in the regiment of the Westsaxons, the end of the gouernement of the Eastsaxons, prince Algar is smitten blind for seeking to rauish virgine Frisuide, and at hir praiers restored to his sight.

The fift Chapter.

When Eadbert or Egbert K. of Northumberland was become a monke, his sonne Osulphus succeeded him: but after he had reigned onelie one yeare, he was traitorouslie murthered by his owne seruants at Wikilwongton, on the 9 kalends of August. Then succeeded one Moll, otherwise called Edilwold or Edilwald, but not immediatlie, for he began not his reigne till the nones of August in the yeare following, which was after the birth of our sauiour 759. This man proued right valiant in gouernement of his subiects. He slue in battell an earle of his countrie named Oswin, who arrearing warre against him, fought with him in a pitcht field at Eadwines Cline, and receiued the worthie reward of rebellion.

Eadbert king of Northumberland.

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Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Edilwold king of Northumberland.

Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt.

This

This chanced in the third yeare of his reigne, and ſhortlie after, that is to ſay, in the yeare of our Lord 764, there fell ſuch a maruellous great ſnow, and therwith ſo extreame a froſt, as the like had not beene heard of, continuing from the beginning of the winter, almoſt till the middeſt of the ſpring, with the rigour whereof, trees and fruits withered awaie, and loſt their liuelie ſhape and grouth: and not onelie feathered foules, but alſo beaſts on the land, & fiſhes in the ſea died in great numbers. The ſame yeare died Ceolwulf then king of Northumberland, vnto whome Beda did dedicate his booke of hiſtories of the Engliſh nation. After that he was become a monke in the monaſterie of Lindeſſerne, the monks of that houſe had licence to drinke wine, or ale, whereas before they might not drinke anie other thing than milke, or water, by the ancient rule preſcribed them of the biſhop Aidan firſt founder of the place. The ſame yeare ſundrie cities, townes, and monaſteries were defaced and ſore walled with fier chancing on the ſudden, as Stretehu, Giwento Antwicke, London, Yorke, Doncaſter, &c.

Simon Dun. 764.

Monks licenced to drinke wine.

After that Moll had reigned 6 yeares, he reſigned his kingdome. But other write that he reigned 11 yeares, and was in the end ſlaine by treaſon of his ſucceſſor Alfred. This Alfred reigned ten years ouer the Northumbers, and was then expelled out of his kingdome by his owne ſubiects. Then was Ethelbert, named alſo Edelred, the ſonne of the foreſaid Moll, made king of Northumberland, and in the fift yeare of his reigne, he was driuen out of his kingdome by two dukes of his countrie named Edelbald and Herebert, who moning warre againſt him, had ſlaine firſt Aldulfe the ſonne of Boſa the generall of his armie at Kingeſcliffe; and after Kinewulfe and Egga, other two of his dukes, at Helatherne in a ſore foughten field: ſo that Ethelbert deſpairing of all recouerie, was conſtrained to get him out of the countrie. And thus was the kingdome of Northumberland brought into a miſerable ſtate, by the ambitious working of the princes and nobles of the ſame.

Will. Malm. Alfred began his reigne in the yeare 765 as Sim. Dun. ſaith. Hent. Hunt. Matt. Weſt. Ethelbert.

After that Ethelbert king of Eaſtangles was dead, his ſonne Ethelbert ſucceeded him, a prince of great towardneſſe, and ſo vertuouſlie brought vp by his fathers circumſpect care and diligence, that he vtterlie abhorred vice, and delighted onelie in vertue and commendable exerciſes, for the better atteining to knowledge and vnderſtanding of good ſciences. There remaine manie ſundrie ſaiengs & doings of him, manifeſtlie bearing witneſſe that there could not be a man more honorable, thankefull, courteous or gentle. Amongeſt other he had this ſaieng oftentimes in his mouth, that the greater that men were, the more humble they ought to beare themſelues: for the Lord putteth proud and mightie men from their ſeates, and exalteth the humble and meeke.

H. Hunt. John Capgraue. Matth. Weſt. and others. Ethelbert king of Eaſtangles.

The ſaieng of king Ethelbert.

Moreouer he did not onelie ſhew himſelfe wiſe in words, but deſired alſo to excell in ſtaiednes of maners, and continencie of life. Whereby he wan to him the hearts of his people, who perceiuing that he was nothing delighted in the companie of women, and therefore minded not mariage, they of a ſingular loue and fauour towards him, required that he ſhould in anie wiſe yet take a wife, that he might haue iſſue to ſucceed him. At length the matter being referred to his councell, he was perſuaded to follow their aduiſes. And ſo Alfreda the daughter of Offa king of Mercia was affianced to him: ſo that he himſelfe appointed (as meanes to procure more fauour at his father in lawes hands) to go fetch the bride from hir fathers houſe.

Manie ſtrange things that happened to him in taking vpon him this iournie, put him in great doubt of that which ſhould follow. He was no ſooner mounted on his horſſe, but that (as ſeemed to him) the earth ſhooke vnder him: againe, as he was in his iournie, about the mid-time of the day, ſuch a darke miſt compaſſed him on each ſide, that he could not ſee no diſcerne for a certeine time anie thing about him at all: laſtlie, as he laie one night aſleepe, he thought he ſaw in a dreame the roſe of his owne palace fall downe to the ground. But though with theſe things he was brought into great feare, yet he kept on his iournie, as he that miſtruſted no deceit, meaſuring other mens maners by his owne. King Offa right honourablie receiued him: but his wife named Quendred, a wiſe woman, but therewith wicked, conceiued a malicious deuiſe in hir hart, & ſtraightwaies went about to perſuade hir husband to put it in execution, which was to murther king Ethelbert, and after to take into his hands his kingdome.

Tokens of miſhap to follow.

The innocent miſtruſtfull of no euill.

Offa at the firſt was offended with his wife for this motion, but in the end, through the importunate requeſt of the woman, he conſented to hir mind. The order of the murther was committed vnto one Winnebert, that had ſerued both the ſaid Ethelbert & his father before time, the which feining as though he had beene ſent from Offa to will Ethelbert to come vnto him in the night ſeaſon, ſlue him that once miſtruſted not anie ſuch treaſon. Offa hauing thus diſpatched Ethelbert, inuaded his kingdome, and conquered it.

John Capgr. Winnebert.

Sim. Dun. ſaith 771. Offa conquereth Eaſtangles.

But when the bride Alfreda vnderſtood the death of hir liked make and bridegrome, abhorring the fact, ſhe curſſed father and mother, and as it were inſpired with the ſpirit of prophecie, pronounced that worthie puniſhment would ſhortlie fall on hir wicked mother for hir heinous crime committed in perſuading ſo deteſtable a deed: and according to hir words it came to paſſe, for hir mother died miſerablie within three moneths after. The maid Alfreda refuſing the world, profeſſed hirſelfe a nun at Crowland, the which place began to wax famous about the yeere of our Lord 695, by the meanes of one Gutlake, a man eſteemed of great vertue and holineſſe, which choſe to himſelfe an habitation there, and departing this life about the yeere of our Lord 714, was buried in that place, where afterwards an abbeie of monks was builded of ſaint Benets order. The bodie of K. Ethelbert at length was buried at Hereford, though firſt it was committed to buriall in a vile place, neere to the banke of a riuer called Lug.

Alfreda a nun Beda. Matth. Weſt.

The kingdome of Eaſtangles from thenceforth was brought ſo into decaie, that it remained ſubiect one while vnto them of Mercia, an other while vnto the Weſtſaxons, and ſomewhile vnto them of Kent, till that Edmund ſurnamed the martyr got the gouernment thereof (as after ſhall appeere.) After that Selred king of the Eaſtſaxons had gouerned the tearme of 38 yeeres, he was ſlaine, but in what maner, writers haue not expreſſed. After him ſucceeded one Swithed or Swithred, the 11 and laſt in number that particularlie gouerned thoſe people. He was finallie expelled by Egbert K. of Weſtſaxons, the ſame yeere that the ſaid Egbert ouercame the Kentiſhmen (as after ſhall be ſhewed) and ſo the kings of that kingdome of the Eaſtſaxons ceaſſed and tooke end.

H. Hunt.

¶ About this time, there was a maid in Oxford named Friſwide, daughter to a certeine duke or noble man called Didanus, with whome one Algar a prince in thoſe parties fell in loue, and would haue rauiſhed hir, but God the reuenger of ſinnes was at hand (as the ſtorie ſaith.) For when Algar followed the maid that fled before him, ſhe getting into the

Friſwide a virgine.

towne, the gate was shut against him, and his sight also was suddenlie taken from him. But the man by his praiers pacified Gods wrath towards him, so that his sight was againe restored to him. But whether this be a fable or a true tale, hereof grew the report, that the kings of this realme long times after were afraid to enter into the citie of Oxford. So readie is the mind of man turned to superstition (as saith Polydor.)

Kinewulfe king of Westsaxons, his conquest ouer the Britains, his securitie and negligence, he is slaine by conspirators, inquisition for Kineard the principall procurer of that mischefe, he is slaine in fight; legats from the pope to the kings and archbishops of this land about reformation in the church, a councell holden at Mercia; iudge Bearne burnt to death for crueltie; Alfwold reigneth ouer Northumberland, his owne subiects murther him; a booke of articles sent by Charles king of France into Britaine quite contrarie to the christian faith, Albinus writeth against it; great waste by tempests of wind and rage of fire.

The sixt Chapter.

Kinewulf Hon. Hunt.

AFter that the Westsaxons had depriued their vnprofitable king Sigibert, they aduanced Kinewulfe or Cinewulfus, the which began his reigne about the yeere of our Lord 756, which was in the 16 yeere of the emperor Constantinus, surnamed Copronimos, in the 6 yeere of the reigne of Pipin king of France, and about the 22 yeere of Ethfine king of Scots. This Kinewulfe proued a right worthie and valiant prince, and was descended of the right line of Cerdicus. He obteined great victories against the Britains or Welshmen, but at Benfington or Benton he lost a battell against Offa king of Mercia, in the 24 yeere of his reigne: and from that time forward tasted manie displeasures, at length through his owne follie came vnto a shamefull end. For whereas he had reigned a long time neither slouthfullie nor presumptuouslie, yet now as it were aduanced with the glorie of things passed, he either thought that nothing could go against him, or else doubted the suertie of their state whom he should leaue behind him, and therefore he confined one Kineard the brother of Sigibert, whose fame he perceiued to increase more than he would haue wished.

756 Simon Dun. saith 755.

The Britains vanquished.

This Kineard dissembling the matter, as he that could giue place to time, got him out of the countrie, and after by a secret conspiracie assembled togither a knot of vngratious companie, and returning priuilie into the countrie againe, watched his time, till he espied that the king with a small number of his seruants was come vnto the house of a noble woman, whome he kept as paramour at Merton, whereupon the said Kineard vpon the sudden beset the house round about. The king perceiuing himselfe thus besieged of his enimies, at the first caused the doores to be shut, supposing either by curteous words to appease his enimies, or with his princelie authoritie to put them in feare.

But when he saw that by neither meane he could doo good, in a great chafe he brake forth of the house vpon Kineard, and went verie neere to haue killed him: but being compassed about with multitude of enimies, whilest he stood at defense, thinking it a dishonour for him to flee, he was beaten downe and slaine, togither with those few of his seruants which he had there with him, who chose rather to die in seeking reuenge of their maisters death, than by cowardlie yeeld themselues into the murtherers hands. There escaped none except one Welshman or Britaine, an hostage, who was neuerthelesse sore wounded and hurt.

Kinewulfe slaine by conspirators.

The brute of such an heinous act was streightwaies blowne ouer all, and brought with speed to the eares of the noble men and peeres of the realme, which were not farre off the place where this slaughter had beene committed. Amongst other, one Dirike, for his age and wisedome accounted of most authoritie, exhorted the residue that in no wise they should suffer the death of their souereigne lord to passe vnpunished vnto their perpetuall shame and reproofe. Whereupon in all hast they ran to the place where they knew to find Kineard, who at the first began to plead his cause, to make large promises, to pretend cosenage, and so forth: but when he perceiued all that he could say or doo might not preuaile, he incouraged his companie to shew themselues valiant, and to resist their enimies to the vttermost of their powers. Heerevpon followed a doubtfull fight, the one part striuing to saue their liues, and the other to atteine honour, and punish the slaughter of their souereigne lord. At length the victorie rested on the side where the right was, so that the wicked murtherer after he had fought a while, at length was slaine, togither with foure score and eight of his mates. The kings bodie was buried at Winchester, & the murtherers at Repingdon. Such was the end of king Kinewulfe, after he had reigned the tearme of 31 yeeres. Simon Dun. H. Hunt.

In the yeere of our Lord 786, pope Adrian sent two legats into England, Gregorie, or (as some copies haue) George bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus bishop of Tuderto, with letters commendatorie vnto Offa king of Mercia, Alfwold king of Northumberland, Ieanbright or Lambert archbishop of Canturburie, and Eaubald archbishop of Yorke. These legats were gladlie receiued, not onlie by the foresaid kings and archbishops, but also of all other the high estates, aswell spirituall as temporall of the land, & namelie of Kinewulfe king of the Westsaxons, which repaired vnto king Offa to take counsell with him for reformation of such articles as were conteined in the popes letters. Eccle. hist. Magd. 786 H. Hunt. Legats from the pope.

There were twentie seuerall articles which they had to propone on the popes behalfe, as touching the receiuing of the faith or articles established by the Nicene councell, and obseruing of the other generall councels, with instructions concerning baptisme and keeping of synods yeerelie, for the examination of priests and ministers, and reforming of naughtie liuers. Moreouer touching discretion to be vsed in admitting of gouernors in monasteries, and curats or priests to the ministerie in churches: and further for the behauior of priests in wearing their apparell, namelie that they should not presume to come to the altar bare legged, lest their dishonestie might be discouered. And that in no wise the chalice or paten were made of the horne of an ore, bicause the same is bloudie of nature: nor the host of a crust, but of pure bread. Also whereas bishops vsed to sit in councels to iudge in secular causes, they were now forbidden so to doo. Twentie articles which the legats had to propone.

Manie other things were as meanes of reformation articled, both for spirituall causes, and also concerning ciuill ordinances, as disabling children to be heirs to the parents, which by them were not begot in lawfull matrimonie but on concubines, whether they were nunnes or secular women. Also of paiment of tithes, performing of vowes, auoiding of vndecent apparell, and abolishing of all maner of heathenish vsages and customes that sounded contrarie Nuns concubines.

Britricus K. of the Weſtſaxons, his inclination, Egbert being of the bloud roiall is baniſhed the land, & why 3 croſſes of bloudie colour and drops of bloud fell from heauen, what they did prognoſticate; the firſt Danes that arriued on the Engliſh coaſts, and the cauſe of their comming: firie dragons flieng in the aire foretokens of famine and warre; Britricus is poiſoned of his wife Ethelburga, hir ill qualities; why the kings of the Weſtſaxons decreed that their wiues ſhould not be called queenes, the miſerable end of Ethelburga; Kenulfe king of Mercia, his vertues, he reſtoreth the archbiſhops ſee to Canturburie which was tranſlated to Lichfield, he inuadeth Kent, taketh the king priſoner in the field, and bountifullie ſetteth him at libertie, the great ioy of the people therevpon; his rare liberalitie to churchmen, his death and buriall.

The ſeuenth Chapter.

AFter Kenwulfe, one Britricus or Brightrike was ordeined king of Weſtſaxons, and began his reigne in the yeere of our Lord 787, which was about the 8 yeere of the gouernment of the empreſſe Eirene with hir ſon Conſtantinus, and about the ſecond yeere of the reigne of Achaius K. of Scots. This Brightrike was deſcended of the line of Cerdicus the firſt king of Weſtſaxons, the 16 in number from him. He was a man of nature quiet & temperate, more deſirous of peace than of warre, and therefore he ſtood in doubt of the noble valiancie of one Egbert, which after ſucceeded him in the kingdome. The linage of Cerdicus was in that ſeaſon ſo confounded and mingled, that euerie one as he grew in greateſt power, ſtroue to be king and ſupreame gouernour. But ſpecſallie Egbertus was knowne to be one that coueted that place, as he that was of the bloud roiall, and a man of great power and luſtie courage. King Brightrike therefore to liue in more ſafetie, baniſhed him the land, and appointed him to go into France. Egbert vnderſtanding certeinlie that this his departure into a forreine countrie ſhould aduance him in time, obeied the kings pleaſure.

Britricus. Hen. Hunt. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith 787. Simon Dun. ſaith 786.

Egbert baniſhed.

About the third yeere of Brightrikes reigne, there fell vpon mens garments, as they walked abroad, croſſes of bloudie colour, and bloud fell from heauen as drops of raine. Some tooke this wonder for a ſignification of the perſecution that followed by the Danes: for ſhortlie after, in the yeere inſuing, there arriued three Danith ſhips vpon the Engliſh coaſts, againſt whome the lieutenant of the parties adioining made forth, to apprehend thoſe that were come on land, howbeit aduenturing himſelfe ouer raſhlie amongſt them, he was ſlaine: but afterwards when the Danes perceiued that the people of the countries about began to aſſemble, and were comming againſt them, they fled to their ſhips, and left their prey and ſpoile behind them for that time. Theſe were the firſt Danes that arriued here in this land, being onelie ſent (as was perceiued after) to view the countrie and coaſts of the ſame, to vnderſtand how with a greater power they might be able to inuade it, as ſhortlie after they did, and warred ſo with the Engliſhmen, that they got a great part of the land, and held it in their owne poſſeſſion. In the tenth yeere of king Brightrikes reigne, there were ſeene in the aire firie dragons flieng, which betokened (as was thought) two grieuous plagues that followed. Firſt a great dearth and famine: and ſecondlie a cruell war of the Danes, which ſhortlie followed, as ye ſhall heare.

A ſtrange wonder.

Matt. Weſt. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt.

Danes.

Famin & war ſignified.

P.ij. Finallie

Curtailing of beaſtes.

trarie to the order of chriſtianitie, as curtailing of horſes, and eating of horſes fleſh. Theſe things with manie other expreſſed in 20 principall articles (as we haue ſaid) were firſt concluded to be receiued by the church of the Northumbers in a councell holden there, and ſubſcribed by Alfwold king of the Northumbers, by Delberike biſhop of Yerham, by Eubald archbiſhop of Yorke, Higwald biſhop of Lindiſſerne, Edelbert biſhop of Whiterne, Aldulfe biſhop of Mieth, Ethelwine alſo another biſhop by his deputies, with a number of other of the clergie; and lords alſo of the temporaltie, as duke Alrike, duke Segwulfe, abbat Alebericke, and abbat Erhard. After this confirmation had of the Northumbers, there was alſo a councell holden in Mercia at Cealtide, in the which theſe perſons ſubſcribed, Jambert or Lambert archbiſhop of Canturburie, Offa king of Mercia, Hughbright biſhop of Lichfield, Edeulfe biſhop of Faron, with Unwone biſhop of Ligor, and nine other biſhops, beſides abbats; and three dukes, as Brorda, Farwald, and Bercoald, with earle Othbald.

But now to returne backe to ſpeake of other doings, as in other parts of this land they fell out. About the yeere of our Lord 764, the ſee of Canturburie being void, one Jambert or Lambert was elected archbiſhop there, and in the yeere 766, the archbiſhop of Yorke Egbert departed this life, in whoſe place one Adelbert ſucceeded. About the 25 yeere of Kenwulf king of Weſtſaxons, the Northumbers having to their capteine two noble men, Oſbald and Ethelherard, burned one of their iudges named Bearne, becauſe he was more cruell in iudgement (as they tooke the matter) than reaſon required. In which vengeance executed vpon the cruell iudge (if he were ſo ſeuere as this attempt of the two noble men doth offer the readers to ſuſpect) all ſuch of his liuerie & calling are taught lenitie & mildnes, wherwith they ſhould leuen the rigor of the lawe. For

capit indulgentia mentes,
Aſperitas odium ſeuaque bella mouet.
Odimus accipitrem, quia viuit ſemper in armis,
Et pauidum ſolitos in pecus ire lupos.
At caret inſidys hominum, quia mitis hirundo eſt,
Quáſque colat turres Chaonis ales habet.

Ouid. lib. 2. de art. am.

At the ſame time, one Alwald or Alfewald reigned ouer the Northumbers, being admitted K. after that Ethelbert was expelled, and when the ſame Alfwald had reigned 10, or (as ſome ſay) 11 yeeres, he was traitorouſlie and without all guilt made away; the cheefe conſpirator was named Siga. The ſame Alfwald was a iuſt prince, and worthilie gouerned the Northumbers to his high praiſe and commendation. He was murthered by his owne people (as before ye haue heard) the 23 of September, in the yeere of our Lord 788, and was buried at Yerham.

He began his reigne Anno. 779, as ſaith Simon Dun. and reigned but ten yeeres.

788 Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. 792

In the yeere 792, Charles king of France ſent a booke into Britaine, which was ſent vnto him from Conſtantinople, conteining certeine articles agreed vpon in a ſynod (wherein were preſent aboue the number of three hundred biſhops) quite contrarie and diſagreeing from the true faith, namelie in this, that images ought to be worſhipped, which the church of God vtterlie abhorreth. Againſt this booke Albinus that famous clearke wrote a treatiſe confirmed with places taken out of holie ſcripture, which treatiſe, with the booke in name of all the biſhops and princes of Britaine, he preſented vnto the king of France. ¶ In the yeere 800, on Chriſtmaſſe euen chanced a maruellous tempeſt of wind, which ouerthrew whole cities and townes in diuerſe places, and trees in great number, beſide other harmes which it did, as by death of cattell, &c. In the yeere following a great part of London was conſumed by fire.

Sim. Dunel. 800

Finallie, after that Wightrike had reigned the space of 16 yéeres, he departed this life, and was buried at Warham. Some write that he was poisoned by his wife Ethelburga daughter vnto Offa king of Mercia (as before ye haue heard) and he married hir in the fourth yere of his reigne. She is noted by writers to haue bin a verie euill woman, proud, and high-minded as Lucifer, and therewith disdainfull. She bare hir the more statelie, by reason of hir fathers great fame and magnificence: whome she hated she would accuse to hir husband, and so put them in danger of their liues. And if she might not so wreake hir rancour, she would not sticke to poison them.

Ran. Cest. lib. 5. cap 25. Wightrike departed this life.

Ethelburga hir conditions and wicked nature.

It happened one day, as she meant to haue poisoned a yong gentleman, against whome she had a quarell, the king chanced to tast of that cup, and died thereof (as before ye haue heard.) Hir purpose indeed was not to haue poisoned the king, but onelie the yong gentleman, the which drinking after the king, died also, the poison was so strong and vehement. For hir heinous crime it is said that the kings of the West saxons would not suffer their wiues to be called quéenes, nor permit them to sit with them in open places (where their maiesties should bée shewed) manie yéeres after. Ethelburga fearing punishment, fled into France with great riches and treasure, & was well cherished in the court of king Charles at the first, but after she was thrust into an abbeie, and demeaned hirselfe so lewdlie there, in keeping companie with one of hir owne countriemen, that she was banished the house, and after died in great miserie.

A decrée of the kings of the westsaxons against their wiues.

The end of Ethelburga. Simon Dun.

Egbert king of Mercia departing this life, after he had reigned foure moneths, ordeined his cosine Kenulfe to succeed in his place, which Kenulfe was come of the line of Penda king of Mercia, as rightlie descended from his brother Kenwalke. This Kenulfe for his noble courage, wisedome, and vpright dealing, was worthie to be compared with the best princes that haue reigned. His vertues passed his fame: nothing he did that enuie could with iust cause reproue. At home he shewed himselfe godlie and religious, in warre he became victorious, he restored the archbishops sée againe to Canturburie, wherein his humblenes was to be praised, that made no account of worldlie honour in his prouince, so that the order of the ancient canons might be obserued. He had wars left him as it were by succession from his predecessour Offa against them of Kent, and thervpon entring that countrie with a mightie armie, wasted and spoiled the same, and encountering in battell with king Edbert or Ethelbert, otherwise called Pzenne, ouerthrew his armie, and tooke him prisoner in the field, but afterwards he released him to his great praise and commendation. For whereas he builded a church at Winchcombe, vpon the day of the dedication thereof, he led the Kentish king as then his prisoner, vp to the high altar, and there set him at libertie, declaring thereby a great proofe of of his good nature.

Wil. Malm. Kenulfe.

The archbishops sée restored to Canturburie.

The king of Kent taken prisoner.

There were present at that sight, Cuthred whom he had made king of Kent in place of Ethelbert, or Edbert, with 13 bishops, and 10 dukes. The noise that was made of the people in reioising at the kings bountious liberalitie was maruellous. For not onelie he thus restored the Kentish king to libertie, but also bestowed great rewards vpon all the prelates and noble men that were come to the feast, euerie priest had a pece of gold, and euerie monke a shilling. Also he dealt and gaue away great gifts amongst the people, and founded in that place an abbete, indowing the same with great possessions. Finallie, after he had reigned 24 yéeres, he departed this life, and appointed his buriall to be in the same abbeie of Winchcombe, leauing behind him a sonne named Kenelme, who succeeded his father in the kingdome, but was soone murthered by his vnnaturall sister Quendred, the 17 of Julie, as hereafter shall be shewed.

Kenulfs liberalitie towards church men which was not forgotten by them in their histories.

Ofrike king of Northumberland leaueth the kingdome to Edelbert reuoked out of exile, king Alfwalds sons miserablie slaine, *Ofred is put to death, Ethelbert putteth away his* wife and marieth another, his people rise against *him therefore and kill him, Oswald succeeding him is driuen* out of the land; Ardulfe king of Northumberland, duke Wade raiseth warre against him and is discomfited; duke Aldred is slaine; a sore battell fought in Northumberland, the English men afflict one another with ciuill warres; king Ardulfe deposed from his estate; the regiment of the Northumbers refused as dangerous and deadlie by destinie, what befell them in lieu of their disloialtie; the Danes inuade their land and are vanquished; the roiall race of the Kentish kings decaieth, the state of that kingdome; the primasie restored to the see of Canturburie, Egbert (after the death of Britricus) is sent for to vndertake the gouernement of the Westsaxons, his linage.

The eight Chapter.

WHen Alfwald king of Northumberland was made away, his brother Ofred the sonne of Alred toke vpon him the rule of that kingdom anno 788, and within one yere was expelled, and left the kingdome to Ethelbert or Edelred as then reuoked out of exile, in which he had remained for the space of 12 yéeres, and now being restored, he continued in gouernement of the Northumbers 4 yéeres, or (as some say) 7 yéeres; in the second yére whereof duke Eardulfe was taken and led to Ripon, and there without the gate of the monasterie wounded (as was thought) to death by the said king, but the monks taking his bodie, and laieng it in a tent without the church, after midnight he was found aliue in the church.

Ofred. 788 Wil. Malm. Matth. West. Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun.

Duke Ardul taken and wounded.

Moreouer, about the same time the sonnes of king Alfwald were by force drawne out of the citie of Yorke, but first by a wile they were trained out of the head church where they had taken sanctuarie, and so at length miserablie slaine by king Ethelbert in Wonwaldremere, one of them was named Alfus, & the other Alfwin. In the yére of our Lord 792, Ofred vpon trust of the othes and promises of diuers noble men, secretly returned into Northumberland, but his owne souldiers forsake him, and so was he taken, and by king Ethelberts commandement put to death at Cunburge on the 14 day of September. *791

The same yére king Ethelbert maried the ladie Alfled the daughter of Offa king of Mercia, forsaking his former wife which he had, & hauing no iust cause of diuorce giuen on hir part, whereby his people toke such displeasure against him, that finallie after he had reigned now this second time 4 yéeres, or (as other say) seuen yéeres, he could not auoid the destinie of his predecessors, but was miserablie killed by his owne subiects at Cobre, the 18 day of Aprill. After whome, one Oswald a noble man was ordeined king, and within 27 or 28 daies after was expelled, and constreined to flie first into the Ile of Lindisferne, and from thence vnto the king of Picts.

Holie Iland. Ardulfe.

Then Ardulfe that was a duke and sonne to one Arnulfe was reuoked out of exile, made king, & consecrated also at Yorke by the archbishop Cumbald, and

and three other bishops, the 25 of June, in the yeare
796 396. About two yeares after, to wit, in the yeare 798,
one duke Wade, and other conspirators which had
beene also partakers in the murthering of king Ethelbert, raised warre against king Ardulfe, and
fought a battell with him at Wailey, but king Ar-
dulfe got the vpper hand, and chased Wade and other
pillage. his enimies out of the field. In the yeare 799, duke
799 Alured that had murthered Ethelbert or Athelred
king of Northumberland, was slaine by another
duke called Thorthmond, in reuenge of the death of
his maister the said Ethelbert. Shortlie after, about
the same time that Brightrike king of Westsax-
ons departed this life, there was a sore battell fought-
ten in Northumberland at Wellehare, in the which
Alricke the sonne of Herbert, and manie other with
him were slaine: but to rehearse all the battels with
The English men suffered such other sore ciuill wars. their successes and issues, it should be too tedious and
irkesome to the readers, for the English people be-
ing naturallie hard and high-minded, continuallie
scourged each other with intestine warres. About six
or seuen yeares after this battell, king Ardulfe was
expelled out of the state.

¶ Thus ye may consider in what plight things
stood in Northumberland, by the often seditions, tu-
mults and changings of gouernors, so that there be
which haue written, how after the death of king E-
thelbert, otherwise called Edelred, diuers bishops
and other of the chiefest nobles of the countrie dis-
daining such traitorous prince-killings, ciuill seditio-
ons, and iniurious dealings, as it were put in dailie
practise amongst the Northumbers, departed out of
their natiue borders into voluntarie exile, and that
from thenceforth there was not anie of the nobilitie
that durst take vpon him the kinglie gouernement
amongst them, fearing the fatall prerogatiue there-
of, as if it had beene Scians horsse, whose rider came
euer to some euill end. But yet by that which is here-
tofore shewed out of Simon Dunelm. it is euident,
that there reigned kings ouer the Northumbers,
but in what authoritie and power to command, it
may be doubted.

Howbeit this is certeine, that the sundrie mur-
therings and banishments of their kings and dukes
giue vs greatlie to gesse, that there was but sorie o-
bedience vsed in the countrie, whereby for no small
space of time that kingdome remained without an
head gouernor, being set open to the prey and iniu-
rie of them that were borderers vnto it, and likewise
vnto strangers. For the Danes, which in those daies
This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 790, as Simon Dun. saith. were great rouers, had landed before in the north
parts, & spoiled the abbeie of Lindisferne otherwise
called holie Iland, and perceiuing the fruitfulnesse
of the countrie, and easinesse for their people to in-
uade it (because that through their priuate quarel-
ling there was little publike resistance to be loked
for) at their comming home, entised their countries-
men to make voiages into England, and so landing
The Danes inuade Northumberland. in Northumberland, did much hurt, and obteined a
great part of the countrie in manner without re-
sistance, because there was no ruler there able to raise
anie power of men by publike authoritie to incoun-
ter with the common enimies, whereby the countrie
was brought into great miserie, partlie with war
of the Danes, and ciuill dissention amongest the
nobles and people themselues, no man being of au-
thoritie (I say) able to reforme such misorders. Yet
we find that the nobles and capteines of the coun-
trie assembling togither at one time against the
The Danes banquished. This was in anno 794. as Simon Dun. saith. Danes that were landed about Tinmouth, con-
strained them by sharpe fight to flee backe to their
ships, and toke certeine of them in the field, whose
heads they stroke off there vpon the shore. The other
that got to their ships, suffered great losse of men,
and likewise of their vessels by tempest.

¶ Here then we are taught that the safest way to
maintein a monarchie, is when all degrees liue in
loialtie. And that it is necessarie there should be one
supereminent, vnto whome all the residue should
stope: this frail bodie of ours may giue vs suffici-
ent instruction. For reason ruleth in the mind as
souereigne, and hath subiect vnto it all the affections
and inward motions, yea the naturall actions are di-
rected by hir gouernement: whereto if the will be
obedient there cannot creepe in anie outrage or dis-
order. Such should be the sole regiment of a king
in his kingdome; otherwise he may be called *Rex à regendo*, as *Mons à mouendo*. For there is not a greater
enimie to that estate, than to admit participants in
roialtie, which as it is a readie way to cause a sub-
uersion of a monarchie; so it is the shortest cut ouer
to a disordered anarchie. But to proceed in the
historie.

After that Alrike (the last of king Witchtreds
sonnes, which reigned in Kent successiuelie after
their father) was dead, the noble offspring of the
kings there so deceased, and began to bade awaie,
that euerie one which either by flattering had got ri-
ches togither, or by seditious partaking was had in
estimation, sought to haue the gouernement, and to
vsurp the title of king, abusing by vnworthie means
the honor and dignitie of so high an office. Amongest Edelbert.
others, one Egbert or Edelbert, surnamed also
Pzenne, gouerned the Kentishmen for the space of
two yeares, and was in the end vanquished by them
of Mercia, and taken prisoner, as before is said: so
that for a time he liued in captiuitie, and although
afterwards he was set at libertie, yet was he not
receiued againe to the kingdome, so that it is vn-
certeine what end he made. Cuthred that was ap-
pointed by Kinebulfe the king of Mercia, to reigne
in place of the same Egbert or Edelbert, continued
in the gouernement eight yeares as king, rather by
name than by act, inheriting his predecessors euill
hap and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discord.

After that Jambrith or Lambert the archbishop of Lambert.
Canturburie was departed this life, one Edelred
was ordeined in his place, vnto whome the prima-
sie was restored, which in his predecessors time was
taken awaie by Offa king of Mercia, as before is
recited. Also after the death of Eubald archbishop
of Yorke, another of the same name called Eubald
the second was admitted to succeed in that see. Af-
ter that Brightrike the king of Westsaxons was
departed this life, messengers were sent with all
speed into France, to giue knowledge thereof vnto
Egbert, which as before is shewed, was constrei-
ned by the said Brightrike to depart the countrie.
At the first, he withdrew vnto Offa king of Mercia,
with whome he remained for a time, till at length
(through suit made by Brightrike) he perceiued he
might not longer continue there without danger to
be deliuered into his enimies hands; and so Offa
winking at the matter, he departed out of his coun-
trie, and got him ouer into France. But being now
aduertised of Brightriks death, and required by
earnest letters sent from his friends to come and
receiue the gouernement of the kingdome, he retur-
ned with all conuenient speed into his countrie, and
was receiued immediatlie for king, by the generall Egbert receiued as king of Westsaxons
consent of the Westsaxons, as well in respect of the His linage.
good hope which they had conceiued of his worthie
qualities and aptnesse to haue gouernement, as of
his roiall linage, being lineallie descended from In-
nigils the brother of king Inas, as sonne to Alke-
mound, that was the sonne of one Easta, which Eas-
ta was sonne to Ope the sonne of the foresaid Ini-
gils.

Egbert reigneth ouer the Westsaxons, *his practise or exercise in the time of his* exile, his martiall exploits against the Cornishmen *and Welshmen, Bernulfe king of Mercia* taketh indignation at Egbert for the inlarging of his *roiall authoritie, they fight a sore battell, Egbert ouercommeth*, great ods betweene their souldiers, bishop Alstan a warriour; Kent, Essex, Southerie, Sussex, and Eastangles subiect to Egbert, he killeth Bernulfe K. of Mercia, and conquereth the whole kingdome, Whitlafe the king thereof becommeth his tributarie, the Northumbers submit themselues to Egbert, he conquereth Northwales and the citie of Chester, he is crowned supreme gouernour of the whole land, when this Ile was called England, the Danes inuade the land, they discomfit Egberts host, the Welshmen ioine with the Danes against Egbert, they are both vanquished, Egbert dieth.

The ninth Chapter.

Egbert. 802 as Simon Dunel. and M. W. hath noted but 801.

THis Egbert began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 800, which was the 4 yeare almost ended, after that the emperour Cirine began the second time to rule the empire, and in the 24 yeare of the reigne of Charles the great king of France, which also was in the same yeare after he was made emperour of the west, and about the second yeare of Conwall king of Scots. Whilest this Egbert remained in exile, he turned his aduersaries into an occasion of his valiancie, as it had béene a grindstone to grind awaie and remoue the rust of sluggish slouthfulnes, in so much that hawnting the wars in France, in seruice of Charles the great, he atteined to great knowledge and experience, both in matters apperteining to the wars, and likewise to the well ordering of the common wealth in time of peace. The first wars that he toke in hand, after he had atteined to the kingdome, was against the Cornishmen, a remnant of the old Britains, whome he shortlie ouercame and subdued. Then he thought good to tame the vnquiet Welshmen, the which still were readie to moue rebellion against the Englishmen, as they that being vanquished, would not yet seeme to be subdued, wherefore about the 14 yeare of his reigne, he inuaded the countrie of Wales, and went through the same from east to west, not finding anie person that durst resist him.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia.

King Egbert hauing ouercome his enimies of Wales and Cornewall, began to grow in authoritie aboue all the other rulers within this land, in so much that euerie of them began to feare their owne estate, but namelie Bernulfe king of Mercia sore stomached the matter, as he that was wise, and of a loftie courage, and yet doubted to haue to do with Egbert, who was knowen also to be a man both skilfull and valiant. At length yet considering with himselfe, that if his chance should be to speed well, so much the more should his praise be increased, he determined to attempt the fortune of warre, and thereupon intimated the same vnto Egbert, who supposing it should be a dishonor vnto him to giue place, boldlie prepared to mete Bernulfe in the field. Herevpon they incountred togither at Ellendon, & fought a sore battell, in the which a huge number of men were slaine, what on the one part, and on the other, but in the end the victorie remained with Egbert, although he had not the like host for number vnto Bernulfe, but he was a politike prince, and of great experience, hauing chosen his souldiers of nimble, leane, and hartie men; where Bernulfe souldiers (through long ease) were cowardlie persons, and ouercharged with flesh. The battell was fought in the yeare of our Lord 826.

A battell fought at Ellendon.

Egbert wan the victorie.

Wil. Malm. 826

King Egbert hauing got this victorie, was aduanced into such hope, that he persuaded himselfe to be able without great adoo to ouercome the residue of his neighbours, whose estates he saw plainelie sore weakened and fallen into great decaie. Herevpon before all other, he determined to assaile Edelwulfe king of Kent, whome he knew to be a man in no estimation amongest his subiects. A competent armie therefore being leuied, he appointed his sonne Ethelwulfe & Alstan bishop of Shireborne, with earle Walhard to haue the conduct thereof, and sent them with the same into Kent, where they wrought such maisteries, that they chased both the king and all other that would not submit themselues, out of the countrie, constreining them to passe ouer the Thames. And herewith the Westsaxons following the victorie, brought vnder subiection of king Egbert the countries of Kent, Esser, Southerie, and Susser. The Eastangles also about the same time receiued king Egbert for their souereigne Lord, and comforted by his setting on against Bernulfe king of Mercia, inuaded the confines of his kingdome, in reuenge of displeasures which he had done to them latelie before, by inuading their countrie, and as it came to passe, incountring with the said Bernulfe which came against them to defend his countrie, they slue him in the field.

Alstan bishop of Shireborne a warrior.

The conquest of the Westsaxons.

Henr. Hunt.

Bernulf king of Mercia slaine.

Thus their minds on both parts being kindled into further wrath, the Eastangles eftsones in the yeare following fought with them of Mercia, and ouercame them againe, and slue their king Ludicenus, who succéeded Bernulfe in that kingdome, with 5 of his earles. The state of the kingdome of Mercia being weakened, Egbert conceiued an assured hope of good successe, & in the 27 yeare of his reigne, made an open inuasion into the countrie, and chasing Whitlafe king of Mercia (that succéeded Ludicenus) out of his estate, conquered the whole kingdome of the Mercies. But yet in the yéere next following, or in the third yeare after, he restored it againe to Whitlafe, with condition, that he should inioy the same as tributarie to him, and acknowledge him for his supreme gouernour. The same yeare that Bernulfe king of Mercia was slaine by the Eastangles, there was a sore battell foughten at Gaurelford, betwixt them of Deuonshire, and the Britains, in the which manie thousands died on both parts.

Simon Dun.

These were the Cornish men as is to be supposed.

King Egbert hauing conquered all the English people inhabiting on the south side of Humber, led forth his armie against them of Northumberland: but the Northumbers being not onelie vexed with ciuill sedition, but also with the often inuasion of Danes, perceiued not how they should be able to resist the power of king Egbert: and therefore vpon good aduisement taken in the matter, they resolued to submit themselues, and therevpon sent ambassadors to him to offer their submission, committing themselues wholie vnto his protection. King Egbert gladlie receiued them, and promised to defend them from all forren enimies. Thus the kingdome of Northumberland was brought vnder subiection to the kings of the Westsaxons, after the state had béen sore weakened with contention and ciuill discord that had continued amongst the nobles of the countrie, for the space of manie yeares, beside the inuasion made by outward enimies, to the greeuous damage of the people.

King Egbert inuadeth Northumberland.

The Northumbers submit themselues to king Egbert.

After that king Egbert had finished his businesse in Northumberland, he turned his power towards the countrie of Northwales, and subdued the same, with

Wal. Hyd. Northwales and the citie of Chester conquered by Egbert.

with the citie of Chester, which till those daies, the Britains or Welshmen had kept in their possession. When king Egbert had obteined these victories, and made such conquests as before is mentioned, of the people here in this land, he caused a councell to be assembled at Winchester, and there by aduise of the high estates, he was crowned king, as souereigne gouernour and supreame lord of the whole land. It is also recorded, that he caused a commission to be directed forth into all parts of the realme, to giue commandement, that from thence forward all the people inhabiting within this land, should be called English men, and not Saxons, and likewise the land should be called England by one generall name, though it should appere (as before is mentioned) that it was so called shortlie after the first time that the Angles and Saxons got possession thereof.

The name of this Ile when it was chāged.

Now was king Egbert setled in god quiet, and his dominions reduced out of the troubles of warre, when suddenlie newes came, that the Danes with a nauie of 35 ships, were arriued on the English coasts, and began to make sore warre in the land. K. Egbert being thereof aduertised, with all conuenient spēd got togither an armie, and went forth to giue battell to the enimies. Herevpon incountring with them, there was a sore foughten field betwixt them, which continued with great slaughter on both sides, till the night came on, and then by chance of warre the Englishmen, which before were at point to haue gone awaie with victorie, were vanquished and put to flight, yet king Egbert by couert of the night escaped his enimies hands: but two of his chiefe capteins Dudda and Osmond, with two bishops, to wit, Herferd of Winchester, and Aigferd of Shireborne, were slaine in that battell, which was foughten at Carrum, about the 834 of Christ, and 34 yere of king Egberts reigne.

The Danes.

The Englishmen discomfited by Danes. Simon Dun. H. Hunt. Matth. West. 834

In the yere following, the Danes with their nauie came into Westwales, and there the Welshmen ioining with them, rose against king Egbert, but he with prosperous fortune vanquished and slue both the Danes and Welshmen, and that in great number, at a place called Hengistenton. The next yere after also, which was 836, he ouerthrew another armie of Danes which came against him, as one autor writeth. Finallie, when king Egbert had reigned the tearme of 36 yeres and seuen moneths with great glorie for the inlarging of his kingdome with wide bounds, which when he receiued was but of small compasse, he departed this life, leaning to his issue matter of worthie praise to maintaine that with order which he with painefull diligence had ioined togither. His bodie was buried at Winchester, and he left behind him two sonnes Ethelwulfe, otherwise named Athanlfe and Adelstan. The first he appointed to succeed him in the kingdome of Westsaxons, and Adelstan he ordeined to haue the gouernment of Kent, Sussex, and Essex.

Danes and Welshmen banquished. 836 Matth. West.

Egbert departeth this life. 837 Matth. West.

¶ Here we see the paterne of a fortunate prince in all his affaires, as well forreit as domesticall, wherein is first to be obserued the order of his education in his tender yeres, which agreeing well with a princes nature, could not but in the progresse of his age bring great matters to passe, his manifold victories are an argument that as he lacked no policie, so he had prowesse inough to incounter with his enimies, to whome he gaue manie a foule discomfiture. But among all other notes of his skill and hope of happie successe in his martiall affaires, was the god choise that he made of seruiceable souldiers, being such as knew how to get the victorie, and hauing gotten it, were not vntaught to vse it to their benefit, by their warinesse and heedfulnes, for

Sæpius incauta nocuit victoria turbæ.

The kingdome of Kent annexed to the *kingdome of the Westsaxons, the end of the* kingdome of Kent and Essex; Kenelme king of *Mercia murthered by the meanes of his owne sister* Quendred, the order of hir wicked practise; his *death prophesied or foreshewed by a signe, the kings of Mercia* put by their roialtie one after another, the kingdome of Britaine beginneth to be a monarchie; Ethelwulfe king of the Westsaxons, he marrieth his butlers daughter, his disposition; the fourth destruction of this land by forren enimies, the Danes sought the ruine of this Ile, how long they afflicted and troubled the same; two notable bishops and verie seruiceable to king Ethelwulfe in warre, the Danes discomfited, the Englishmen chased, Ethelwulfs great victorie ouer the Danes, a great slaughter of them at Tenet, king Ethelwulfs deuotion and liberalitie to churches, Peter pence paid to Rome, he marieth the ladie Iudith, his two sonnes conspire (vpon occasion of breaking a law) to depose him, king Ethelwulfe dieth, his foure sonnes by his first wife Osburga, how he bequeathed his kingdoms.

The tenth Chapter.

WHen Cuthred K. of Kent had reigned 8 yeres, as before is mentioned, he was constreined to giue place vnto one Baldred, that toke vpon him the gouernment, & reigned the space of 18 yeres, without anie great authoritie, for his subiects regarded him but sorlie, so that in the end, when his countrie was inuaded by the Westsaxons, he was easlie constreined to depart into exile. And thus was the kingdome of Kent annexed to the kingdome of the Westsaxons, after the same kingdome had continued in gouernment of kings created of the same nation for the space of 382 yeers, that is to say, from the yere of our Lord 464, vnto the yere 827. Suthred or Sathred king of Esser was vanquished and expelled out of his kingdome by Egbert king of Westsaxons (as before ye maie read) in the same yere that the Kentishmen were subdued by the said Egbert, or else verie shortlie after. This kingdome continued 281 yeres, from the yere 614, vnto the yere 795, as by the table of the Heptarchie set forth by Alexander Neuill appereth. After the decease of Kenwulfe king of Mercia, his sonne Kenelme a child of the age of seuen yeres was admitted king, about the yere of our Lord 821. He had two sisters, Quendred and Burgenild, of the which the one (that is to say) Quendred, of a malicious mind, moued through ambition, enuied hir brothers aduancement, and sought to make him awaie, so that in the end she corrupted the gouernour of his person one Alhbert, with great rewards and high promises persuading him to dispatch hir innocent brother out of life, that she might reigne in his place. Alhbert one day vnder a colour to haue the yong king forth on hunting, led him into a thicke wood, and there cut off the head from his bodie, an impe by reason of his tender yeres and innocent age, vnto the world vnknowne of guilt, and yet thus traitorouslie murthered without cause or crime: he was afterward reputed for a martyr.

Wil. Malm.

The end of the kingdome of Kent. 827

The end of the kingdome of Esser.

Matt. Westm. 821

The wickednes of Quendred.

King Kenelm murthered.

There hath gone a tale that his death should be signified at Rome, and the place where the murther was committed, by a strange manner: for (as they say) a white doue came and lighted vpon the altar of saint Peter, bearing a scrow in hir bill, which she let fall on the same altar, in which scroll among other things this was conteined, In clene loubalh, Kenelme kinbarne deth vnder thorne, beaued bereaued: that is, at Clent in a cowspasture, Kenelme the kings child lieth beheaded vnder a thorne. This tale

See *legenda aurea folio 69.* in the life of S. Kenelme.

I reherse, not for anie credit I thinke it woorthie of, but onelie for that it seemeth to note the place where the yong prince innocentlie lost his life.

Ceolwulfe K. of Mercia. 823

After that Kenelme was thus made awaie, his uncle Ceolwulfe the brother of king Kenulfe was created king of Mercia, and in the second yeere of his reigne was expelled by Bernwulfe. Bernwulfe in the third yeere of his reigne, was vanquished and put to flight in battell by Egbert king of Westsaxons, and shortlie after slaine of the Eastangles, as before ye haue heard. Then one Ludicenus or Ludicanus was created king of Mercia, and within two yeeres after came to the like end that happened to his predecessor before him, as he went about to reuenge his death, so that the kingdome of Britaine began now to reele from their owne estate, and leane to an alteration, which grew in the end to the erection of a perfect monarchie, and finall subuersion of their particular estates and regiments. After Ludicenus, succeeded Wightlafe, who first being vanquisht by Egbert king of Westsaxons, was afterwards restored to the kingdome by the same Egbert, and reigned 13 yeeres, whereof twelue at the least were vnder tribute which he paied to the said Egbert and to his sonne, as to his souereignes and supreame gouernours. The kingdome of Northumberland was brought in subiection to the kings of Westsaxons, as before is mentioned, in the yeere of our Lord 828, and in the yeere of the reigne of king Egbert 28, but yet heere it toke not end, as after shall apeere.

Matt. Westm. 728

828

Ethelwulfus.

Ethelwulfus, otherwise called by some writers Athaulfus, began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons in the yeere 837, which was in the 24 yeere of the emperor Ludouicus Pius that was also K. of France, in the tenth yeere of Theophilus the emperor of the East, & about the third yeere of Kenneth, the second of that name king of Scots. This Ethelwulfe minding in his youth to haue beene a priest, entered into the orders of subdeacon, and as some write, he was bishop of Winchester: but howsoeuer the matter stood, or whether he was or not, sure it is, that shortlie after he was absolued of his vowes by authoritie of pope Leo, and then maried a proper gentlewoman named Osburga, which was his butlers daughter. He was of nature courteous, and rather desirous to liue in quiet rest, than to be troubled with the gouernment of manie countries, so that contenting himselfe with the kingdome of Westsaxons, he permitted his brother Adelstan to inioy the residue of the countries which his father had subdued, as Kent and Esser, with other. He aided Burthred the king of Mercia against the Welshmen, and greatlie aduanced his estimation, by giuing vnto him his daughter in mariage.

Henrie Hunt. Matth. West.

Wil. Malm.

Foure especiall destructions of this land.

But now the fourth destruction which chanced to this land by forren enimies, was at hand: for the people of Denmarke, Norway, and other of those northeast regions, which in that season were great rouers by sea, had tasted the wealth of this land by such spoiles and preies as they had taken in the same, so that perceiuing they could not purchase more profit anie where else, they set their minds to inuade the same on ech side, as they had partlie begun in the daies of the late kings Wightrike and Egbert. The persecution vsed by these Danes seemed more grieuous, than anie of the other persecutions either before or sithens that time: for the Romans hauing quicklie subdued the land, gouerned it so like without seeking the subuersion thereof. The Scots and Picts onelie inuaded the north parts. And the Saxons seeking the conquest of the land, when they had once got it, they kept it, and did what they could, to better and aduance it to a flourishing estate.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

The Normans likewise hauing made a conquest, granted both life, libertie, and ancient lawes to the former inhabitants: but the Danes long time and often assailing the land on euerie side, now inuading it in this place, and now in that, did not at the first so much couet to conquer it, as to spoile it, nor to beare rule in it, as to waste and destroie it: who if they were at anie time ouercome, the victors were nothing the more in quiet: for a new nauie, and a greater armie was readie to make some new inuasion, neither did they enter all at one place, nor at once, but one companie on the east side, and an other in the west, or in the north and south coasts, in such sort, that the Englishmen knew not whether they should first go to make resistance against them.

The Danes fought the 25 battels of this land.

This mischiefe began chiefle in the daies of this king Ethelwulfe, but it continued about the space of two hundred yeeres, as by the sequele of this booke it shall appeere. King Ethelwulfe was not so much giuen to ease, but that vpon occasion for defense of his countrie and subiects, he was readie to take order for the beating backe of the enimies, as occasion serued, and speciallie chose such to be of his counsell, as were men of great experience and wisedome. Amongst other, there were two notable prelats, Swithune bishop of Winchester, and Adelstan bishop of Shireborne, who were readie euer to giue him good aduise. Swithune was not so much expert in worldlie matters as Adelstan was, & therefore chiefle counselled the king in things apperteining to his soules health: but Adelstan toke in hand to order matters apperteining to the state of the commonwealth, as prouiding of monie, and furnishing forth of men to withstand the Danes, so that by him manie things were both boldlie begun, and happilie atchiued, as by writers hath beene recorded. He gouerned the see of Shireborne the space of 50 yeeres, by the good counsell and faithfull aduise of those two prelats.

How long the persecution of the Danes lasted.

Will. Malmsb.

Two notable bishops in Ethelwulfs daies.

King Ethelwulfe gouerned his subiects verie politikelie, and by himselfe and his capteins oftentimes put the Danes to flight, though as chance of warre falleth out, he also receiued at their hands great losses, and sundrie sore detriments. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Danes arriued at Hampton, with 33 ships, against whome he sent earle Wulhard with part of his armie, the which giuing battell to the enimies, made great slaughter of them, and obteined a noble victorie. He sent also earle Adelhelme with the Dorsetshire men against an other number of the Danes, which were landed at Portesmouth, but after long fight, the said Adelhelme was slaine, and the Danes obteined the victorie. In the yeere following, earle Herbert fought against the Danes at Wersewar, and was there slaine, and his men chased. The same yeere, a great armie of Danes passing by the east parts of the land, as through Lindsey, Eastangle, and Kent, slue and murthered an huge number of people. The next yeere after this, they entered further into the land, and about Canturburie, Rochester, and London, did much mischiefe.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt.

Danes discomfited. Matth. West.

Englishmen put to flight.

They are ofttimes vanquished.

King Ethelwulfe in the fift yeere of his reigne, with a part of his armie incountred with the Danes at Carrum, the which were arriued in those parties with 30 ships, hauing their full fraught of men, so that for so small a number of vessels, there was a great power of men of warre, in so much that they obteined the victorie at that time, and put the king to the worse. About the tenth yeere of king Ethelwulfs reigne, one of his capteins called Ernwulfe, and bishop Adelstan, with the Summersetshire men, and an other capteine called Osred, with the Dorsetshire men, fought against the Danes, at a place called Pedredesmuth, and vanquished them with great triumph. In the sixteenth yeere of his reigne, Ethelwulfe and his sonne Edelbald hauing assembled

Carrum.

The Danes swim the water in battell. Danes are quitted. Simon Dun. 851

all

all their powers togither, gaue battell at Ockley, to a huge hoſt of Danes, the which with foure hundred and fiftie ſhips had arriued at Thames mouth, and deſtroied the famous cities of London and Canturburie, and alſo had chaſed Brightwulfe king of Mercia in battell, and being now entered into Southerie, were incountered by king Ethelwulfe at Ockley aforeſaid, & after ſore fight and incredible ſlaughter made on both ſides, in the end, the victorie by the power of God was giuen to thoſe that beléeued on him, and the loſſe reſted with great confuſion to the miſcreants.

The Danes ouerthrowne by land.

Thus king Ethelwulfe obteined a glorious victorie in ſo mightie a battell, as a greater had not béene lightlie heard of to chance within the Engliſh dominions. The ſame yeare alſo Athelſtan king of Kent and duke Ealhere fought by ſea with the Danes, and tooke 9 of their ſhips, and chaſed the reſidue. Moreouer, one earle Ceorle hauing with him the power of Deuonſhire, fought with the Danes at Wimleſhore, and got the victorie. This yéere was verie luckie to the Engliſh nation, but yet the armie of the Danes lodged all the winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Tenet. And this was the firſt time that they remained héere all the winter, vſing afore time but to come and make an inuaſion in one place or other, and immediatlie to returne home with the prey.

Danes ouercome by ſea.

The Deuonſhiremen vanquiſh the Danes.

Simon Dun. 852

In the 18 yeare of king Ethelwulfes reigne, he aided Burthred king of Mercia againſt the Welſhmen (as before is mentioned) and gaue to him his daughter in marriage, the ſolemnization whereof was kept at Chipnham. The ſame yeare king Ethelwulfe ſent his ſonne Alured as then but fiue yeers of age to Rome, where he was conſecrated K. by pope Leo the fourth, and was receiued of him as if he had béene his owne ſonne. Duke Ealhere or Eachere with the Kentiſhmen, and one Huda or rather Wada, with the men of Southerie, fought againſt the armie of Danes at Tenet, where great ſlaughter was made on both ſides, the Engliſhmen preuailing in the beginning, but in the end, both their foreſaid dukes or leaders died in that battell, beſide manie other that were ſlaine and drowned.

Great ſlaughter of Danes at Tenet.

In the 19 yeare of his reigne, king Ethelwulfe ordeined that the tenths or tithes of all lands due to be paid to the church, ſhould be free from all tribute, duties, or ſeruices regall. And afterwards, with great deuotion he went to Rome, where he was receiued with great honour, and taried there one whole yeare: he tooke with him his ſonne Alured, who had béene there before as ye haue heard. He repaired the Saxons ſchoole, which Offa king of Mercia had ſometime founded in that citie, and latelie had béene ſore decaied by fire. He confirmed the grant of Peter pence, to the intent that no Engliſhmen from thence-forth ſhould doo penance in bounds as he ſaw ſome there to doo before his face. It is alſo written, that he ſhould acquit all the churches of his realme of paieng tribute to his coffers (as before ye haue heard) & moreouer couenanted to ſend vnto Rome euerie yeare three hundred marks, that is to ſay, one hundred marks to ſaint Peters church, an other hundred marks to ſaint Paules light, and the third hundred marks to the Pope.

The Saxons ſchoole.

King Ethelwulfs liberalitie to churches. Will. Malmeſ. Simon Dun. Manuſcr.

In his returne thorough France, he married the ladie Judith, daughter to Charles the bald, then K. of France, and bringing hir with him into his countrie, placed hir by him in a chaire of eſtate, with which déed he offended ſo the minds of his ſubiects, becauſe it was againſt the order taken before him, for the offenſe of Ethelburga, that his ſonne Ethelbald and Adelſtan biſhop of Shireborne, with Enwulfe earle of Summerſet, conſpired to depoſe him from his kinglie authoritie; but by mediation of friends, the matter was taken vp, and ſo ordered, that the kingdome was diuided betwixt the father and the ſonne, with ſuch partialitie, that the ſonne had the better part lieng weſtward, and the father was conſtreined to content himſelfe with the eaſt part being the worſt.

The ladie Judith.

Wil. Malm.

Of this trouble of Ethelwulfe ſome write otherwiſe, after this manner word for word. ¶ Ethelwulfe king of the Weſt ſarons being returned from Rome & the parties beyond the ſeas, was prohibited the entrance into his realme by Adelſtane biſhop of Shireborne, and Ethelbald his eldeſt ſonne; pretending outwardlie the coronation of Alfride, the marriage of Judith the French kings daughter, and open eating with hir at the table, to be the onelie cauſe of this their manifeſt rebellion. Whereby he ſeemeth to inferre, that this reuolting of Adelſtane and his ſon, ſhould proceed of the ambitious deſire of Ethelbald to reigne, and likelie inough, or elſe this vnequall partition ſhould neuer haue béene made. 857

But howſoeuer the matter ſtood, king Ethelwulfe liued not long after his returne from Rome, but departed this life, after he had ruled the kingdome of the Weſt ſarons the ſpace of 20 yéeres and od moneths. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter. He left behind him foure ſonnes, Ethelbald, Ethelbert or Ethelbright, Ethelred, and Alfred or Alured, which was begotten of his firſt wife Oſburga. A little before his death he made his teſtament and laſt will, appointing his ſonne Ethelbald to ſucceed him in the whole regiment of his kingdoms of Weſtſex and Suſſex, which he held by inheritance: but the kingdoms of Kent and Eſſex he aſſigned to his ſon Ethelbright. About the ſame time alſo the Danes ſoiourned all the winter ſeaſon in the Ile of Sheppie.

Onelie weſtſex ſaith Matt. Weſtm. and Sim. Dunel. ſaith that Ethelbright had Suſſex alſo, and ſo doth H. Hunt.

¶ The old Sarons doo bring the genealogie of this Ethelwulfe to Adam, after this maner following. Matth. Paris.

Ethelwulfe the ſonne of Egbert,

the ſon of Alemund,	the ſon of Frethelwold,
the ſon of Eafka,	the ſon of Freolafe,
the ſon of Eoppa,	the ſon of Frethewolfe,
the ſon of Ingils,	the ſon of Finnie,
the ſon of Benred,	the ſon of Godulfe,
the ſon of Coelwald,	the ſon of *Geta,
the ſon of Cudwine,	the ſon of Teathwie,
the ſon of Ceawlin,	the ſon of Beame,
the ſon of Benric,	the ſon of Sceldie,
the ſon of Cerdic,	the ſon of Beafe,
the ſon of Elfic,	the ſon of Heremod,
the ſon of Gewiſe,	the ſon of Itermod,
the ſon of Wingie,	the ſon of Hordie,
the ſon of Freawin,	the ſon of Wale,
the ſon of Fridagare,	the ſon of Bedwie,
the ſon of Brendie,	the ſon of Sem,
the ſon of Beldegie,	the ſon of Noah,
the ſon of Woden,	and ſo forth to Adam, as

*De quo Sedulius in car. paſch.

you ſhall find it by retrogradation from the 32 verſe vnto the firſt of the fift chapter of Geneſis. Which genealogicall recapitulation in their nationall families and tribes, other people alſo haue obſerued; as the Spaniards, who reckon their deſcent from Heſperus, before the Gothes and Moors ouerran their land; the Italians from Aeneas, before they were mingled with the Vandals and Lumbards; the Sarons from Woden, before they were mired with the Danes and Normans; the French men at this day from the Thracians; the Germans from the children of Gwiſton; and other people from their farre fetcht anceſtrie. To conclude, of this Ethelwulfe it is written, that he was ſo well learned & deuout, that the clerks of the church of Wincheſter did chuſe him in his youth to be biſhop, which function he vndertooke, and was biſhop of the ſaid ſee by the ſpace of ſeuen yéeres before he was king.

John Caſtor. Simon Dun Matt. Parker. A kings ſon and heire a biſhop.

Bertwolfe

Bertwolfe king of Mercia tributarie to *the West saxons, the fame of Modwen an* Irish virgine, she was a great builder of mona*steries, she had the gift of healing diseases, Ethel*bald and Ethelbright diuide their fathers kingdome *betwixt them, Ethelbald marieth his mother, he dieth, Win*chester destroied by the Danes, they plaied the trucebreakers and did much mischiefe in Kent, Ethelbright dieth; Ethelred king of the Westsaxons, his commendable qualities, his regiment was full of trouble, he fought against the Danes nine times in one yere with happie successe, the kings of Mercia fall from their sealtie and allegiance to Ethelred, Hungar & Vbba two Danish capteines with their power lie in Eastangle, Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine of the Danes in battell, they set Yorke on fire, a commendation of bishop Adelstan, his departure out of this life.

The eleuenth Chapter.

Wertwolfe. of Mercia.

AFter Wightlafe king of Mercia, one Wertwolfe reigned as tributarie vnto the Westsaxons, the space of 13 yeeres, about the end of which tearme he was chased out of his countrie by the Danes, and then one Burthred was made king of that kingdome, which maried Ethelswida the sister of Ethelwolfe king of Westsaxons. In this season, one Modwen a virgine in Ireland was greatlie renowmed in the world, vnto whome the forenamed king Ethelwolfe sent his sonne Alfred to be cured of a disease, that was thought incurable: but by hir meanes he recouered health, and therefore when hir monasterie was destroied in Ireland, Modwen came ouer into England, vnto whom king Ethelwolfe gaue land to build two abbeies, and also deliuered vnto hir his sister Edith to be professed a nun. Modwen herevpon built two monasteries, one at Poulelworth, ioining to the bounds of Arderne, wherein she placed the foresaid Edith, with Osith and Athea: the other, whether it was a monasterie or cell, she founded in Strenshall or Trentsall, where she hir selfe remained solitarie a certeine time in praier, and other vertuous exercises. And (as it is reported) she went thrice to Rome, and finallie died, being 130 yeeres of age. Hir bodie was first buried in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Trent called Andresey, taking that name of a church or chappell of saint Andrew, which she had built in the same Iland, and dwelled therein for the space of seuen yeeres. Manie monasteries she builded, both in England (as partlie aboue is mentioned) and also in Scotland, as at Striueling, Edenbrough; and in Ireland, at Celestline, and elsewhere.

Matth. West. saith the daughter. Ranulf. Cest. Iohn Capgraue.

Ethelbald and Ethelbright. 857

EThelbald and Ethelbright diuiding their fathers kingdom betwixt them, began to reigne, Ethelbald ouer the Westsaxons and the Southsaxons, and Ethelbright ouer them of Kent and Esser, in the yeere of our Lord 857, which was in the second yeere of the emperor Lewes the second, & the 17 of Charles surnamed Caluus or the bald king of France, and about the first yeere of Donald the sixt of that name king of Scots. The said Ethelbald greatlie to his reproch tooke to wife his mother in law queene Iudith, or rather (as some write) his owne mother, whom his father had kept as concubine. He liued not past fiue yeeres in gouernement of the kingdome, but was taken out of this life to the great sorrow of his subiects whome he ruled right worthilie, and so as they had him in great loue and estimation. Then his brother Ethelbright tooke on him the rule of the whole gouernment, as well ouer the Westsaxons & them of Suller, as ouer the Kentishmen and them of Esser.

The vnlawful mariage of Ethelbald. Wil. Malm.

In his daies the Danes came on land, and destroid the citie of Winchester: but duke Osrike with them of Hamshire, and duke Adelwolfe with the Barkeshire men gaue the enimies battell, & vanquishing them, slue of them a great number. In the fift yeere of Ethelbrights reigne, a nauie of Danes arriued in the Ile of Tenet, vnto whome when the Kentishmen had promised a summe of monie to haue a truce granted for a time, the Danes one night, before the tearme of that truce was expired, brake forth and walked all the east part of Kent: whereupon the Kentishmen assembled togither, made towardes those trucebreakers, and caused them to depart out of the countrie. The same yeere, after that Ethelbright had ruled well and peaceably the Westsaxons fiue yeeres, and the Kentishmen ten yeeres, he ended his life, and was buried at Shireborne, as his brother Ethelbald was before him.

Hen. Hunt. Winchester destroied by Danes.

Danes vanquished.

Ethelred. 867

AFter Ethelbright succeeded his brother Ethelred, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons and the more part of the English people, in the yeere of our Lord 867, and in the 12 yeere of the emperour Lewes, in the 27 yeere of the reigne of Charles Caluus king of France, and about the 6 yeere of Constantine the second king of Scots. Touching this Ethelred, he was in time of peace a most courteous prince, and one that by all kind of meanes sought to win the hearts of the people: but abroad in the warres he was sharpe and sterne, as he that vnderstood what apperteined to good order, so that he would suffer no offense to escape vnpunished. By which meanes he was famous both in peace and warre: but he neither liued any long time in the gouernement, nor yet was suffered to passe the short space that he reigned in rest and quietnesse.

Foure yeeres six moneths saith Harison, Wil. Malm.

For whereas he reigned not past six yeeres, he was continuallie during that tearme vexed with the inuasion of the Danes, and speciallie towards the latter end, insomuch that (as hath béene reported of writers) he fought with them nine times in one yeere: and although with diuers and variable fortune, yet for the more part he went away with the victorie. Beside that, he oftentimes lay in wait for their forragers, and such as straied abroad to rob and spoile the countrie, whom he met withall and ouerthrew. There were slaine in his time nine earles of those Danes, and one king, beside other of the meaner sort without number.

Ethelred fought with the Danes nine times in one yeere.

But here is to be vnderstood, that in this meane time, whilest Ethelred was busied in warre to resist the inuasions of the Danes in the south and west parts of this land, the kings and rulers of Mercia and Northumberland taking occasion therof, began to withdraw their couenanted subiection from the Westsaxons, and toke vpon them as it were the absolute gouernment and rule of their countries, without respect to aid one another, but rather were contented to sustaine the enimies within their dominions, than to preuent the iniurie with dutifull assistance to those, whom by allegiance they were bound to serue and obeie.

The kings of Mercia and Northumberland neglect their duties.

By reason hereof, the Danes without resistance grew into greater power amongst them, whilest the inhabitants were still put in feare each day more than other, and euerie late gotten victorie by the enimies by the increase of prisoners, ministred occasion of some other conquest to follow. Euen about the beginning of Ethelreds reigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts an huge armie of the Danes, vnder the conduct of two renowmed capteins Hungar and Vbba, men of maruellous strength and valiancie, but both of them passing cruell of nature. They lay

The Danes grow in puissance.

Hungar and Vbba.

lay all the winter season in Ellandike, compounding with them of the countrie for mules vpon certeine conditions, sparing for a time to helpe their foes for quietnesse sake.

In the second yeere of king Ethelred, the said captains came with their armies into Yorkshire, finding the country vnprouided of necessarie defense because of the ciuill discord that reigned among the Northumbers, the which had lately expelled king Osbright, that had the gouernement of those parts, and placed one Ella in his roome: howbeit now they were constreined to reuoke him home againe, and sought to accord him and Ella. But it was long yer that might be brought to passe, notwithstanding yet at length they were made friends, by reason of this inuasion attempted by forren enimies, and then raising their powers they came to Yorke, where the Danes, hauing wasted the countrie euen to the riuer of Tine, were lodged.

Hen. Hunt. king Osbright deposed and Ella placed.

The English host entring the citie, began to fight with the Danes, by reason whereof a sore battell insued betwixt them: but in the end the two kings Osbright and Ella were slaine, and a great number of the Northumbers, what within the citie, and what without lost their liues at that time, the residue were constreined to take truce with the Danes. This battell was fought the 21 day of March being in Lent, on the Friday before Palmsunday, in the yere 655.

Osbright and Ella kings of Northumberland slaine.

It must be vpon the 10 kalends of April, or else it will not concurre with Palmsunday. Mat. West.

¶ Some haue written otherwise of this battell, reporting that the Northumbers calling home king Osbright (whome before they had banished) incountred with the Danes in the field, without the walles of Yorke, but they were easilie beaten backe, and chased into the citie, the which by the Danes pursuing the victorie, was set on fier and burnt, togither with the king and people that were fled into it for succour. How soeuer it came about, certeine it is, that the Danes got the victorie, and now hauing subdued the Northumbers, apointed one Egbert to reigne ouer them as king, vnder their protection, which Egbert reigned in that sort sir yeares ouer those which inhabited beyond the riuer of Tine. In the same yeare, Adelstane bishop of Shireborne departed this life, hauing gouerned that see the terme of 50 yeares. This Adelstane was a man of high wisedome, and one that had borne no small rule in the kingdome of the West Saxons, as hereby it may be coniectured, that when king Ethelwulfe returned from Rome, he would not suffer him to be admitted king, because he had done in certeine points contrarie to the ordinances and lawes of the same kingdome, whereupon by this bishops means Ethelbald the sonne of the same king Ethelwulfe was established king, and so continued till by agreement the kingdome was diuided betwixt them, as before is mentioned. Finallie, he greatlie inriched the see of Shireborne, and yet though he was feruentlie set on couetousnesse, he was neuertheles verie free and liberall in gifts: which contrarie extremities so ill matched, though in him (the time wherein he liued being considered) they might seeme somewhat tollerable; yet simplie & in truth they were vtterlie repugnant to the law of the spirit, which biddeth that none should do euill that good may come thereof. Against which precept because Adelstane could not but offend in the heat of his couetousnes, which is termed the rot of all mischiefe, though he was exceeding bountifull and large in distributing the wealth he had greedilie gotten togither; he must needs incur reprehension. But this is so much the lesse to be imputed vnto him as a fault, by how much he was ignorant what (by the rule of equitie and conscience) was requirable in a christian man, or one of his vocation.

The commendation of Adelstan bishop of Shireborne.

Bishop Adelstan couetous. Hen. Hunt.

Burthred king of Mercia with aid beseegeth the Danes in Nottingham. Basreeg and Halden two Danish kings with their powers inuade the Westsaxons. they are incountred by Ealdormanne earle of Barkshire. King Ethelred giueth them and their cheefe guides a sore discomfiture.

What Polydor Virgil recordeth touching one Ivarus king of the Danes, and the warres that Ethelred had with them, his death. Edmund king of Eastangles giueth battell to the Danes, he yeeldeth himselfe, and for christian religion sake is By them most cruellie murthered, the kingdome of the Eastangles endeth, Guthrun a Dane gouerneth the whole countrie, K. Osbright rauisheth the wife of one Bearne a noble man, a bloodie battell insueth thereupon, wherein Osbright and Ella are slaine.

The twelfth Chapter.

IN the yeare following, that is to say, in the third yere of Ethelreds reigne, he with his brother Alured went to aid Burthred king of Mercia, against the two foresaid Danish captcines Hungar and Ubba, the which were entred into Mercia, and had won the towne for the winter season. Whereupon the foresaid Ethelred and Burthred with their powers came to Notingham, and besieged the Danes within it. The Danes perceiuing themselues in danger, made suite for a truce & abstinence from war, which they obteined, and then departed backe to Yorke, where they soiourned the most part of all that yeare.

Burthred king of Mercia.

Danes besieged in Nottingham.

In the first yeare of king Ethelreds reigne, a new armie of great force and power came into the countrie of the Westsaxons vnder two leaders or kings of the Danes, Basreeg and Halden. They lodged at Reding with their maine armie, and within three daies after the earle of Berrockshire Edelwulfe fought at Englefield with two earles of those Danes, vanquished them, and slue the one of those earles, whose name was Sidroc. After this king Ethelred and his brother Alured came with a great host vnto Reding, and there gaue battell vnto the armie of Danes, so that an huge number of people died on both parts, but the Danes had the victorie.

Basreeg and Halden.

Edelwulfe erle of Barkshire fought at Englefield with the Danes.

After this also king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought againe with those Danes at Aschdon, where the armies on both sides were diuided into two parts, so that the two Danish kings lead the one part of their armie, & certeine of their earles lead the other part. Likewise on the English side king Ethelred was placed with one part of the host against the Danish kings, and Alured with the other part was appointed to incounter with the earles. Herevpon they being on both parts readie to giue battell, the euening comming on caused them to deferre it till the morow. And so earlie in the morning when the armies should ioine, king Ethelred stated in his tent the heare diuine seruice, whilest his brother vpon a forward courage hasted to incounter his enimies, the which receiued him so sharplie, and with so cruell fight, that at length, the Englishmen were at point to haue turned their backs. But herewith came king Ethelred and manfullie ended the battell, staied his people from running away, and so encouraged them, and discouraged the enimies, that by the power of God (whom as was thought in the morning he had serued) the Danes finallie were chased and put to flight, losing one of their kings (that is to say) Basreeg or Dreeg, and 5 earles, Sidroc the elder, and Sidroc the yonger, Osberne, Freine,

The Danes won the victorie at Reading.

The Danes discomfited.

Freine, and Harold. This battell was sore fought-ten, and continued till night, with the slaughter of manie thousands of Danes. About 12 daies after, king Ethelred and his brother Alured fought eftsoones with the Danish armie at Basing, where the Danes had the victorie. Also two monethes after this they likewise fought with the Danes at Merton. And there the Danes, after they had beene put to the worse, & pursued in chase a long time, yet at length they also got the victorie, in which battell Edmund bishop of Shireborne was slaine, and manie other that were men of worthie fame and good account.

A battell at Merton.

He was bishop of Shireborne as Matt. West. saith.

In the summer following, a mightie host of the Danes came to Reading, and there sojourned for a time. ¶ These things agree not with that which Polydor Virgil hath written of these warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes: for he maketh mention of one Iuarus a king of the Danes, who landed (as he writeth) at the mouth of Humber, and like a stout enimie inuaded the countrie adioining. Against whome Ethelred with his brother Alured came with an armie, and incountring the Danes, fought with them by the space of a whole day together, and was in danger to haue beene put to the worse, but that the night seuered them asunder. In the morning they joined againe: but the death of Iuarus, who chanced to be slaine in the beginning of the battell, discouraged the Danes, so that they were easilie put to flight, of whome (before they could get out of danger) a great number were slaine. But after that they had recouered themselues together, and found out a conuenient place where to pitch their campe, they chose to their capteines Agnerus, and Hubba, two brethren, which indeuored themselues by all meanes possible to repaire their armie: so that within 15 daies after, the Danes eftsoones fought with the Englishmen, and gaue them such an ouerthrow, that little wanted of making an end of all incounters to be attempted after by the Englishmen.

Polyd. Virg.

Iuarus.

Danes put to flight.

Agnerus and Hubba.

But yet within a few daies after this, as the Danes attended their market to spoile the countrie and range somewhat licentiouslie abroad, they fell within the danger of such ambushes as were laid for them by king Ethelred, that no small slaughter was made of them, but yet not without some losse of the Englishmen. Amongest others, Ethelred himselfe received a wound, whereof he shortlie after died. Thus saith Polydor touching the warres which king Ethelred had with the Danes, who yet confesseth (as the trueth is) that such authors as he herein followed, varie much from that which the Danish writers do record of these matters, and namelie touching the doings of Iuarus, as in the Danish historie you may see more at large.

But now to our purpose touching the death of king Ethelred, whether by reason of hurt received in fight against the Danes (as Polydor saith) or otherwise, certeine it is, that Ethelred anon after Easter departed this life, in the first yeare of his reigne, and was buried at Winborne abbey. In the daies of this Ethelred, the foresaid Danish capteins, Hungar, otherwise called Agnerus, and Hubba returning from the north parts into the countrie of the Eastangles, came vnto Thetford, whereof Edmund, who reigned as king in that season ouer the Eastangles, being aduertised, raised an armie of men, and went forth to giue battell vnto this armie of the Danes. But he with his people was chased out of the field, and fled to the castell of Framingham, where being enuironed with a siege by his enimies, he yeelded himselfe vnto them. And because he would not renounce the christian faith, they bound him to a tree, and shot arrowes at him till he died: and afterwards cut off his head from his bodie, and threw the same into a thicke grone of bri-thes. But afterwards his friends tooke the bodie with the head, and buried the same at Egleston: where afterward also a faire monasterie was buil-ded by one bishop Aswin, and changing the name of the place, it was after called saint Edmundsbu-rie. Thus was king Edmund put to death by the cruell Danes for his constant confessing the name of Christ, in the 16 yeare of his reigne, and so ceased the kingdome of Eastangles. For after that the Danes had thus slaine that blessed man, they con-quered all the countrie, & wasted it, so that through their tyrannie it remained without anie gouernor by the space of nine yeares, and then they appointed a king to rule ouer it, whose name was Guthrun, one of their owne nation, who gouerned both the East-angles and the Eastsaxons.

winborne abbeie.

Agnerus. Fabian.

870

Edmund K. of the East-angles.

Framingham castell.

King Edward shot to death.

Egleston.

Wil. Malm.

Eastangles without a gouernour.

Guthrunn Dane king of Eastangles.

We haue heard how the Danes slue Osrike and Ella kings of Northumberland. After which victo-rie by them obteined, they did much hurt in the north parts of this land, and amongest other cruell deeds, they destroied the citie of Aelud, which was a fa-mous citie in the time of the old Saxons, as by Be-da and other writers doth manifestlie appeare. Here is to be remembred, that some writers rehearse the cause to be this. Osbright or Osrike king of Nor-thumberland rauished the wife of one Berne that was a noble man of the countrie about Yorke, who tooke such great despight thereat, that he fled out of the land, and went into Denmarke, and there com-plained vnto the king of Denmarke his cosin of the iniurie done to him by king Osbright. Whereupon the king of Denmarke, glad to haue so iust a quarell against them of Northumberland, furnished forth an armie, and sent the same by sea (vnder the lea-ding of his two brethren Hungar and Hubba) into Northumberland, where they slue first the said king Osbright, and after king Ella, at a place besides Yorke, which vnto this day is called Ellas crosse, ta-king that name of the said Ella, being there slaine in defense of his countrie against the Danes. Which Ella (as we find registred by writers) was cleared king by such of the Northumbers, as in fauour of Berne had refused to be subiect vnto Osbright.

Polychron.

Caxton.

Alfred ruleth ouer the Westsaxons and *the greatest part of England, the Danes* afflict him with sore warre, and cruellie make *wast of his kingdome, they lie at London a whole* winter, they inuade Mercia, the king whereof (Bur-*thred by name) forsaketh his countrie and goeth to Rome, his* death and buriall; Halden king of the Danes diuideth Nor-thumberland among his people; Alfred incountreth with the Danes vpon the sea, they sweare to him that they will depart out of his kingdome, they breake the truce which was made betwixt him and them, he giueth them battell, and (besides a great discomfiture) killeth manie of their capteines, the Danes and English fight neere Abington, the victorie vncerteine, seuen foughten fieldes betwixt them in one yeare, the Danes soiourne at London.

The xiij. Chapter.

After the decease of king Ethelred, his brother Alu-red or Alfred succeeded him, and began his reigne ouer the Westsaxons, and other the more part of the people of England, in the yeare of our Lord 872, which was in the 19 yeare of the emperour Lewes the second, and 32 yeare of the reigne of Charles the bald, king of France, and about the eleuenth yeare of Constan-tine

Alured or Alfred.

871. as Mat. West. & Dunelmen. do note it. Henr. Hunt.

tine the ſecond king of Scotland. Although this Alured was conſecrated king in his fathers life time by pope Leo (as before ye haue heard) yet was he not admitted king at home, till after the deceaſe of his three elder brethren: for he being the yongeſt, was kept backe from the gouernement, though he were for his wiſdome and policie moſt highlie eſteemed and had in all honour.

Alured perſecuted by Danes.

In the beginning of his reigne he was wrapped in manie great troubles and miſeries, ſpeciallie by the perſecution of the Danes, which made ſore and greeuous wars in ſundrie parts of this land, deſtroieng the ſame in moſt cruell wiſe. About a moneth after he was made king, he gaue battell to the Danes of Wilton, hauing with him no great number of people, ſo that although in the beginning the Danes that day were put to the woorſe, yet in the end they obteined the victorie. Shortlie after, a truce was taken betwixt the Danes and the Weſtſaxons. And the Danes that had lien at Reading, remoued from thence vnto London, where they lay all the winter ſeaſon. In the ſecond yeare of Alured his reigne, the Danish king Halden led the ſame armie from London into Lindſeie, and there lodged all that winter at Torkſeie. In the yeare following, the ſame Halden inuaded Mercia, and wintered at Ripindon. There were come to him three other leaders of Danes which our writers name to be kings, Godrun, Eſketell, & Ammond, ſo that their power was greatlie increaſed. Burthred king of Mercia which had gouerned that countrie by the ſpace of 22 yeares, was not able to withſtand the puiſſance of thoſe enimies: wherevpon he was conſtreined to auoid the countrie, and went to Rome, where he departed this life, and was buried in the church of our ladie, nere to the Engliſh ſchole.

Marc. Weſtm.

The Danes obteine the victorie.

The Danes wintered at London.

874 Repton.

Burthred king of Mercia.

In the fourth yeare of king Alured the armie of the Danes diuided it ſelfe into two parts, ſo that king Halden with one part thereof went into Northumberland, and lay in the winter ſeaſon nere to the riuer of Tine, where hee diuided the countrie amongeſt his men, and remained there for the ſpace of two yeares, and oftentimes fetched thither booties and preies out of the countrie of the Picts. The other part of the Danish armie with the three foreſaid kings or leaders came vnto Cambridge, and remained there a whole yeare. In the ſame yeare king Alured fought by ſea with 7 ſhips of Danes, tooke one of them, & chaſed the reſidue. In the yeare next inſuing, the Danes came into the countrie of the Weſtſaxons, and king Alured tooke truce with them againe, and they ſware to him (which they had not vſed to do to anie afore that time) that they would depart the countrie. Their armie by ſea ſailing from Warham toward Exceſter, ſuſteined great loſſe by tempeſt, for there periſhed 120 ſhips at Swanewicke.

875 The Danes went into Northumberland.

The Danes at Cambridge

876

The Danes tooke an oth. Hen. Hunt.

Moreouer the armie of the Danes by land went to Exceſter in breach of the truce, and king Alured followed them, but could not ouertake them till they came to Exceſter, and there he approched them in ſuch wiſe, that they were glad to deliuer pledges for performance of ſuch couenants as were accorded betwixt him and them. And ſo then they departed out of the countrie, and drew into Mercia. But ſhortlie after, when they had the whole gouernment of the land, from Thames northward, they thought it not good to ſuffer king Alured to continue in reſt with the reſidue of the countries beyond Thames. And therefore the three foreſaid rulers of Danes, Godrun, Eſketell, and Ammond, inuading the countrie of Weſtſaxons came to Chipnam, diſtant 17 miles from Briſtow, & there pitched their tents.

The Danes went to Exceſter.

Henr. Hunt.

877

Polydor.

King Alured aduertiſed hereof, haſted thither, and lodging with his armie nere to the enimies, prouoked them to battell. The Danes perceiuing that either they muſt fight for their liues, or die with ſhame, boldlie came forth, and gaue battell. The Engliſhmen raſhlie incountered with them, and though they were ouermatched in number, yet with ſuch violence they gaue the onſet, that the enimies at the firſt were abaſhed at their hardie aſſaults. But when as it was perceiued that their ſlender ranks were not able to reſiſt the thicke leghers of the enimies, they began to ſhrinke & looke backe one vpon an other, and ſo of force were conſtreined to retire: and therewithall did caſt themſelues into a ring, which though it ſeemed to be the beſt way that could be deuiſed for their ſafetie, yet by the great force and number of their enimies on each ſide aſſailing them, they were ſo thronged togither on heaps, that they had no roome to ſtir their weapons. Which diſaduantage notwithſtanding, they ſlue a great number of the Danes, and amongeſt other, Hubba the brother of Agner, with manie other of the Daniſh capteins. At length the Engliſhmen hauing valiantlie foughten a long time with the enimies, which had compaſſed them about, at laſt brake out and got them to their campe. To be briefe, this battell was foughten with ſo equall fortune, that no man knew to whether part the victorie ought to be aſcribed. But after they were once ſeuered, they tooke care to cure their hurt men, and to burie the dead bodies, namelie the Danes interred the bodie of their capteine Hubba with great funerall pompe and ſolemnitie: which done, they held out their iournie till they came to Abington, whither the Engliſh armie ſhortlie after came alſo, and incamped faſt by the enimies.

Hubba ſlaine.

The victorie doubtfull.

Abington.

In this meane while, the rumor was ſpread abroad that king Alured had beene diſcomfited by the Danes, becauſe that in the laſt battell he withdrew to his campe. This turned greatlie to his aduantage: for thereby a great number of Engliſhmen haſted to come to his ſuccour. On the morrow after his comming to Abington, he brought his armie readie to fight into the field: neither were the enimies ſlacke on their parts to receiue the battell, and ſo the two armies ioined and fought verie ſore on both ſides: ſo that it ſeemed the Engliſhmen had not to do with thoſe Danes, which had beene diuerſe times before diſcomfited and put to flight, but rather with ſome new people freſh and luſtie. But neither the one part nor the other was minded to giue ouer: in ſo much that the horſſemen alighting on foot, and putting their horſſes from them, entered the battell amongſt the footmen, and thus they continued with equall aduantage till night came on, which parted the affraie, being one of the ſoreſt foughten fields that had beene heard of in thoſe daies. To whether partie a man might iuſtlie attribute the victorie, it was verie vncerteine, with ſo like loſſe & gaine the matter was tried & ended betwixt them. With the ſemblable chance of danger and glorie ſeuen times that yeare did the Engliſh and Danes incounter in battell, as writers haue recorded. At length, when their powers on both parts were ſore diminiſhed, they agreed vpon a peace, with theſe conditions, that the Danes ſhould not attempt anie further warre againſt the Engliſhmen, nor bring into this land anie new ſupplie of ſouldiers out of Denmarke. But this peace by thoſe peacemakers was violated and broken, in ſo much as they ment nothing leſſe than to fall from the conceiued hope which they had of bearing rule in this land, and of inriching themſelues with the goods, poſſeſſions, rents and reuenues of the inhabitants. The ſame yeare the Danes ſoiorned in the winter ſeaſon at London, according as they had done often times before.

The Danes and Engliſhmen fight neer to Abington.

Vncerteine victorie. Thus farre Polydor.

Ran. Higd.

A peace agreed vpon.

The Danes ſoiourned at London.

Rollo a noble man of Denmarke with *a fresh power entreth England, and beginneth* to waste it, king Alured giueth him battell, *Rollo saileth ouer into France, who first inhabited* Normandie, and whereof it tooke that name; the *Danes breake the peace which was made betwixt them and* Alured, he is driuen to his shifts by their inuasions into his kingdome, a vision appeereth to him and his mother; king Alured disguising himselfe like a minstrell entereth the Danish campe, marketh their behauiour vnsuspected, assalteth them on the sudden with a fresh power, and killeth manie of them at aduantage; the Deuonshire men giue the Danes battell vnder the conduct of Haldens brother, and are discomfited; Alured fighteth with them at Edanton, they giue him hostages, Gurthrun their king is baptised and named Adelstan, a league concluded betwixt both the kings, the bounds of Alureds kingdome.

The xiiij Chapter.

Ann. 876 Ex ith Simon Dun.

ABout the same time, or shortlie after, there came into England one Rollo, a noble man of Denmarke or Norway, with a great armie, and (notwithstanding the peace concluded betweene the Englishmen and the Danes) began to waste and destroy the countrie. King Alured hearing these newes, with all speed thought best in the beginning to stop such a common mischiefe, and immediatlie assembling his people, went against the enimies, and gaue them battell, in the which there died a great number of men on both sides, but the greater losse fell to Rollo his armie. Yet Matthew Westmin. saith, that the Englishmen were put to flight. After this, it chanced that Rollo being warned in a dreame, left England, & sailed ouer into France, where he found fortune so fauourable to him, that he obteined in that region for him and his people a countrie, the which was afterwards named Normandie, of those northerne people which then began to inhabit the same, as in the histories of France you maie see more at large.

30 yeres after this he was baptised.

The Danes which had concluded peace with king Alured (as before you haue heard) shortlie after, vpon the first occasion, brake the same, and by often inuasions which they made into the countrie of Westsarons, brought the matter to that passe, that there remained to king Alured but onelie the three countries of Hamshire, Wiltshire, & Summersetshire, in so much that he was constreined for a time to keepe himselfe close within the fennes and maresh grounds of Summersetshire, with such small companies as he had about him, constreined to get their liuing with fishing, hunting, and other such shifts. He remained for the most part within an Ile called Edlingsey, that is to say, the Iland of noble men, enuironed about with fennes and mareshes.

King Alured driuen to his shifts.

Edlingsey.

Whiles he was thus shut vp within this Iland, he was by dreame aduertised of better hap shortlie to follow: for as it hath beene said, saint Cuthbert appeered to him as he lai in sleepe, and comforted him, declaring to him, that within a while fortune should so turne, that he should recouer againe his kingdome to the confusion of his enimies. And to assure him that this should prooue true, he told him that his men which were gone abroad to catch fish, should bring home great plentie, although the season was against them, by reason that the waters were frosen, and that a cold rime fell that morning, to the hinderance of their purpose. His mother also at that time being in sleepe, saw the like vision. And as they had dreamed, so it came to passe: for being awakened out of their sleepe, in steed his men with so great foison of fish, that the same might haue sufficed a great armie of men, for the victelling of them at that season.

A vision if it be true.

Shortlie after, king Alured tooke vpon him the habit of a minstrell, and going forth of his closure, repaired to the campe of the Danish king, onelie accompanied with one trustie seruant, and tarrieng there certeine daies togither, was suffered to go into euerie part, and plaie on his instrument, as well afore the king as others, so that there was no secret, but that he vnderstood it. Now when he had seene and learned the demeanour of his enimies, he returned againe to his people at Edlingsey, and there declared to his nobles what he had seene and heard, what negligence was amongst the enimies, and how easie a matter it should be for him to indamage them. Whereupon they conceiuing a maruellous good hope, and imboldened with his words, a power was assembled togither, and spies sent forth to learne and bring word where the Danes lodged: which being done, and certificat made accordinglie, king Alured comming vpon them on the sudden, slue of them a great number, hauing them at great aduantage.

King Alured disguiseth himselfe. Polydor. Fabian.

Henr. Hunt. 877

About the same time the brother of king Halden came with thirtie and three ships out of Wales into the countrie of Westsarons, on the coast of Deuonshire, where the Deuonshire men gaue him battell, and slue him with 840 persons of his retinue. Other write, that Halden himselfe was present at this conflict, with Inguare, otherwise called Hungar, and that they were both slaine there, with twelue hundred of their companie (before a certeine castell called Kinwith) receiuing as they had deserued for their cruell dealing latelie by them practised in the parties of Southwales, where they had wasted all afore them with fire and sword, not sparing abbeies more than other common buildings.

878 Matth. West.

Simon Dun.

King Alured being with that good lucke the more comforted, builded a fortresse in the Ile of Edlingsey, afterwards called Athelney, and breaking out oftentimes vpon the enimies, distressed them at sundrie times with the aid of the Summersetshire men, which were at hand. About the seuenth weeke after Easter, in the seuenth yeere of his reigne, king Alured went to Egleringhithon, on the east part of Selwood, where there came to him the people of Summersetshire, Wiltshire, & Hamshire, reioising greatlie to see him abroad. From thence he went to Edanton, & there fought against the armie of the Danes, and chased them vnto their strength, where he remained afore them the space of fourteene daies. Then the armie of the Danes deliuered him hostages and couenants to depart out of his dominions, and that their king should be baptised, which was accomplished: for Gurthrun, whome some name Gurmond, a prince or king amongst these Danes, came to Alured and was baptised, king Alured receiuing him at the fontstone, named him Adelstan, and gaue to him the countrie of Eastangle, which he gouerned (or rather spoiled) by the space of twelue yeeres.

Athelney.

Edandune.

This battell should seeme the same that Polydor speaketh of fought at Abingdon. Polychron. Iohn Pike.

Gurthrun or Gurmond baptised, and named Adelstan, is made king of Eastangle.

Diuerse other of the Danish nobilitie to the number of thirtie (as Simon Dunelmensis saith) came at the same time in companie of their king Gurthrun, and were likewise baptised, on whome king Alured bestowed manie rich gifts. At the same time (as is to be thought) was the league concluded betwixt king Alured and the said Gurthrun or Gurmond, in which the bounds of king Alureds kingdome are set forth thus: First therefore let the bounds or marches of our dominion stretch vnto the riuer of Thames, " and from thence to the water of Lee, euen vnto the " head of the same water, and so forth streight vnto " Bedford; and finallie going alongst by the riuer of " Ouse, let them end at Watlingstreet. "

This league being made with the aduise of the same

sage personages as well English as those that inhabited within east England, is set forth in maister Lamberts booke of the old English lawes, in the end of those lawes or ordinances which were established by the same king Alured, as in the same booke ye may see more at large.

Th'English called diuers people Danes *whom the French named Normans, wher-* vpon that generall name was giuen them; Gur- *mo Anglicus K. of Denmark, whose father Frotto* was baptised in England; the Danes besiege Roche- *ster, Alfred putteth them to flight, recouereth London out* of their hands, and committeth it to the custodie of duke Eldred his sonne in law; he assaulteth Hasting a capteine of the Danes, causeth him to take an oth, his two sonnes are baptised; he goeth forth to spoile Alfreds countrie, his wife, children, and goods, &c: are taken, and fauourablie giuen him again; the Danes besiege Excester, they flie to their ships, gaine with great losse, they are vanquished by the Londoners, the death of Alfred, his issue male and female.

The xv. Chapter.

HEre is to be noted, that writers name diuerse of the Danish capteins, kings (of which no mention is made in the Danish chronicles) to reigne in those parties. But true it is, that in those daies, not onelie the Danish people, but also other of those northeast countries or regions, as Swedeners, Norwegians, the Wondens, and such other (which the English people called by one generall name Danes, and the Frenchmen Normans) vsed to roaue on the seas, and to inuade forren regions, as England, France, Flanders, and others, as in conuenient places ye may find, as well in our histories, as also in the writers of the French histories, and likewise in the chronicles of those north regions. The writers verelie of the Danish chronicles make mention of one Gurmo, whome they name Anglicus, because he was borne here in England, which succeeded his father Frotto in gouernement of the kingdome of Denmarke, which Frotto receiued baptisme in England, as their stories tell.

Gurmo.

Hen. Hunt. 878

In the eight yeere of king Alfred his reigne, the armie of the Danes wintered at Cirencester, and the same yeere an other armie of strangers called Wincigi laie at Fulham, and in the yeere following departed forth of England, and went into France, and the armie of king Godrun or Gurmo departed from Cirencester, and came into Eastangle, and there diuiding the countrie amongst them, began to inhabit the same. In the 14 yeere of king Alfred his reigne, part of the Danish armie which was gone ouer into France, returned into England and besieged Rochester. But when Alfred approched to the rescue, the enimies fled to their ships, and passed ouer the sea againe. King Alfred sent a nauie of his ships well furnished with men of warre into Eastangle. the which at the mouth of the riuer called Store, incountering with 16 ships of the Danes, set vpon them, and ouercame them in fight: but as they returned with their praies, they incountered with another mightie armie of the enimies, and fighting with them were ouercome and vanquished.

879 Simon Dun. Math. West.

Rochester besieged. 885

889 London recouered out of the hands of the Danes.

In the yeere following, king Alfred besieged the citie of London, the Danes that were within it fled from thence, and the Englishmen that were inhabitants thereof gladlie receiued him, reioising that there was such a prince bred of their nation, that was of power able to reduce them into libertie. This citie being at that season the chiefe of all Mercia, he deliuered into the keeping of duke Eldred, which had maried his daughter Ethelfleda, & held a great portion of Mercia, which Colwolphus before time possessed by the grant of the Danes, after they had subdued K. Burthred (as before is said.) About the 21 yere of K. Alfred, an armie of those Danes & Normans, which had beene in France, returned into England, and arriued in the hauen or riuer of Limene in the east part of Kent, neere to the great wood called Andredesley, which did conteine in times past 120 miles in length, and thirtie in breadth. These Danes landing with their people builded a castle at Appledore.

Wil. Malm. Ethelfleda. Colwolphus. Limer, now Rother. Andredeslegis A castell built at Appledore.

893 Simon Dun. At Milton.

In the meane time came Hasting with 80 ships into the Thames, and builded a castle at Middleton, but he was constreined by siege which king Alfred planted about him, to receiue an oth that he should not in any wise annoie the dominion of king Alfred, who vpon his promise to depart, gaue great gifts as well to him as to his wife and children. One of his sonnes also king Alfred held at the fontstone, and to the other duke Aldred was god father. For (as it were to win credit, and to auoid present danger) Hasting sent vnto Alfred these his two sonnes, signifieng that if it stood with his pleasure, he could be content that they should be baptised. But neuerthelesse this Hasting was euer most vntrue of word and deed, he builded a castle at Beamfield. And as he was going forth to spoile and wast the kings countries, Alfred toke that castle, with his wife, children, ships and goods, which he got together of such spoiles as he had abroad: but he restored vnto Hasting his wife and children, because he was their godfather.

Hasting the capteine of the Danes besieged. He receiueth an oth. Beamfield saith M. West.

Shortlie after, newes came that a great number of other ships of Danes were come out of Northumberland, and had besieged Excester. Whilest king Alfred went then against them, the other armie which lay at Appledore inuaded Esser, and built a castell in that countrie, and after went into the borders of Wales, and builded another castell neere vnto the riuer of Seuerne: but being driuen out of that countrie, they returned againe into Esser. Those that had besieged Excester, vpon knowledge had of king Alfreds comming, fled to their ships, and so remaining on the sea, roaued abroad, seeking praies. Besides this, other armies there were sent forth, which comming out of Northumberland toke the citie of Chester, but there they were so beset about with their enimies, that they were constreined to eate their horses. At length, in the 24 yeere of king Alfred, they left that citie, and fetcht a compas about Northwales, and so meaning to saile round about the coast to come into Northumberland, they arriued in Esser, and in the winter following drew their ships by the Thames into the water of Luie. That armie of Danes which had besieged Excester, toke praies about Chichester, and was met with, so that they lost manie of their men, and also diuerse of their ships.

This enterprise was atchiued by Ethelred duke of Mercia in the absence of the king, as Math. West. hath noted. Excester besieged. Seuerne. Chester taken by Danes. Great famine Hen. Hunt. The water of Luie, now Lee.

In the yeere following, the other armie which had brought the ships into the riuer Luie, began to build a castell neere to the same riuer, twentie miles distant from London: but the Londoners came thither, and giuing battell to the Danes, slue foure of the chiefe capteins. But by Simon Dunel. and Matt. Westm. it should seeme, that the Londoners were at this time put to flight, and that foure of the kings barons were slaine in fight. Howbeit Henrie Hunt. hath written as before I haue recited; and further saith, that when the Danes fled for their refuge to the castell, king Alfred caused the water of Luie to be diuided into three chanels, so that the Danes should not bring backe their ships out of the place where they laie at anchor. When the Danes

Hen. Hunt. The Londoners victors against the Danes.

N.j. perceiued

Quathbridge or Wakebridge.

perceiued this, they left their ships behind them, and went into the borders of Wales, where at Cartbridge vpon Seuerne they built another castell, and lay there all the winter following, hauing left their wiues and children in the countrie of Eastangles. King Alfred pursued them, but the Londoners tooke the enimies ships, and brought some of them to the citie, and the rest they burnt.

The Danish armie diuided into parts.

Thus for the space of three yéeres after the arriuing of the maine armie of the Danes in the hauen of Luie, they sore indamaged the English people, although the Danes themselues sustained more losse at the Englishmens hands than they did to them with all pilfering and spoiling. In the fourth yéere after their comming, the armie was diuided, so that one part of them went into Northumberland, part of them remained in the countrie of Eastangles, & another part went into France. Also certeine of their ships came vpon the coast of the Westsarons, oftentimes setting their men on land to rob and spoile the countrie. But king Alfred tooke order in the best wise he might for defense of his countrie and people, and caused certeine mightie vessels to be builded, which he appointed forth to incounter with the enimies ships.

The death of king Alfred.

Thus like a worthie prince and politike gouernor, he preuented each way to resist the force of his enimies, and to safegard his subiects. Finallie after he had reigned 29 yéeres and an halfe, he departed this life the 28 day of October. His bodie was buried at Winchester: he left behind him issue by his wife Ethelwitha the daughter vnto earle Ethelred of Mercia, two sonnes, Edward surnamed the elder, which succéeded him, and Adelwold: also three daughters, Elfleda or Ethelfleda, Ethelgeda or Edgiua, and Ethelwitha.

His issue.

Elfleda.

How Elfleda king Alfreds daughter *(being maried) contemned fleshlie pleasure*; the praise of Alfred for his good qualities, *his lawes for the redresse of theeues, his diuiding of* countries into hundreds and tithings, of what monasteries *he was founder, he began the foundation of the vniuersitie* of Oxford, which is not so ancient as Cambridge by 265 yeeres; king Alfred was learned, his zeale to traine his people to lead an honest life, what learned men were about him, the pitifull murthering of Iohn Scot by his owne scholers, how Alfred diuided the 24 houres of the day and the night for his necessarie purposes, his last will and bequests; the end of the kingdome of Mercia, the Danes haue it in their hands, and dispose it as they list, Eastangle and Northumberland are subiect vnto them, the Northumbers expell Egbert their king, his death; the Danes make Guthred king of Northumberland, priuileges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine; the death of Guthred, and who succeeded him in the seat roiall.

The xvj. Chapter.

IN the end of the former chapter we shewed what children Alfred had, their number & names, among whome we made report of Elfleda, who (as you haue heard) was maried vnto duke Edelred. This gentlewoman left a notable example behind hir of despising fleshlie pleasure, for bearing hir husband one child, and sore handled before she could be deliuered, she euer after forbare to companie with hir husband, saieng that it was great folishnesse to vse such pleasure which therwith should bring so great griefe.

The notable saieng of Elfleda.

To speake sufficientlie of the worthie praise due to so noble a prince as Alfred was, might require eloquence, learning, and a large volume. He was of person comelie and beautifull, and better beloued of his father and mother than his other brethren. And although he was (as before is touched) greatly disquieted with the inuasion of forren enimies, yet did he both manfullie from time to time indeuour himselfe to repell them, and also attempted to sée his subiects gouerned in good and vpright iustice. And albeit that good lawes amongst the clinking noise of armor are oftentimes put to silence, yet he perceiuing how his people were greeued with theeues and robbers, which in time of warre grew and increased, deuised good statutes and wholsome ordinances for punishing of such offendors.

Will. Malm.

King Alfred his lawes.

Amongst other things he ordeined that the countries should be diuided into hundreds and tithings, that is to say, quarters conteining a certeine number of townships adioining togither, so that euerie Englishman liuing vnder prescript of lawes, should haue both his hundred and tithing; that if anie man were accused of anie offense, he should find suertie for his good demeanor: and if he could not find such as would answer for him, then should he tast extremitie of the lawes. And if anie man that was giltie fled before he found suertie, or after: all the inhabitants of the hundred or tithing where he dwelt, should be put to their fine. By this deuise he brought his countrie into good tranquillitie, so that he caused bracelets of gold to be hanged vp aloft on hils where anie common waies lay, to sée if anie durst be so hardie to take them away by stealth. He was a liberall prince namelie in relieuing of the poore. To churches he confirmed such priuileges as his father had granted before him, and he also sent rewards by way of deuotion vnto Rome, and to the bodie of saint Thomas in India. Sighelmus the bishop of Shireborne bare the same, and brought from thence rich stones, and swéet oiles of inestimable valure. From Rome also he brought a péece of the holy crosse which pope Martinus did send for a present vnto king Alfred.

Foundation of monasteries.

Moreouer king Alfred founded three godlie monasteries, one at Edlingsey, where he liued sometime when the Danes had bereaued him almost of all his kingdome, which was after called Athelney, distant from Taunton in Somersethire about fiue miles: the second he builded at Winchester, called the new minster: and the third at Shaftesburie, which was an house of nuns, where he made his daughter Ethelgeda or Edgiua abbesse. But the foundation of the vniuersitie of Oxford passed all the residue of his buildings, which he began by the good exhortation and aduise of Neotus an abbat, in those daies highlie estéemed for his vertue and lerning with Alfred. This worke he toke in hand about the 23 yéere of his reigne, which was in the yéere of our Lord 895. So that the vniuersitie of Cambridge was founded before this other of Oxford about 265 yeeres, as Polydor gathereth. For Sigebert king of the Eastangles began to erect that vniuersitie at Cambridge about the yéere of our Lord 630.

895. Polydor. The vniuersitie of Oxford erected.

King Alfred was learned himselfe, and giuen much to studie, insomuch that beside diuerse good lawes which he translated into the English tong, gathered togither and published, he also translated diuerse other bookes out of Latine into English, as *Orosius, Pastorale Gregorij, Beda de gestis Anglorum, Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, and the booke of Psalmes; but this he finished not, being preuented by death. So this worthie prince minded well toward the common wealth of his people, in that season when learning was little estéemed amongst the west nations, did studie by all meanes possible to instruct his subiects

The vertuous ſtate of Alured to bring his people to an honeſt trade of life.

iects in the trade of leading an honeſt life, and to incourage them generallie to imbrace learning. He would not ſuffer anie to beare office in the court, except he were lerned: and yet he himſelfe was twelue yeeres of age before he could read a word on the booke, and was then trained by his mothers perſuaſion to ſtudie, promiſſing him a goodlie booke which ſhe had in hir hands, if he would learne to read it.

He is perſuaded by his mother, to applie himſelfe to learning.

Herevpon going to his booke in ſport, he ſo earneſtlie ſet his mind thereto, that within a ſmall time he profited maruellouſlie, and became ſuch a fauorer of learned men, that he delighted moſt in their companie, to haue conference with them, and allured diuerſe to come vnto him out of other countries, as Aſſerius Meneuenſis biſhop of Shirborne, & Werefridus the biſhop of Worceſter, who by his commandement tranſlated the bookes of Gregories dialogs into Engliſh. Alſo I. Scot, who whiles he was in France tranſlated the booke of Dionyſius Ariopagita, intituled *Hierarchia*, out of Greeke into Latine, and after was ſchoolemaſter in the abbeie of Malmeſburie, and there murthered by his ſcholers with penknifes. He had diuerſe other about him, both Engliſhmen & ſtrangers, as Plegmond afterward archbiſhop of Canturburie, Grimbald gouernor of the new monaſterie at Wincheſter, with others.

Aſſerius Meneuenſis. Werefridus. John Scot.

Grimbald.

But to conclude with this noble prince king Alured, he was ſo carefull in his office, that he diuided the 24 houres which conteine the day and night, in three parts, ſo that eight houres he ſpent in writing, reading, and making his praiers, other eight he employed in relieuing his bodie with meat, drinke and ſléepe, and the other eight he beſtowed in diſpatching of buſineſſe concerning the gouernement of the realme. He had in his chapell a candle of 24 parts, whereof euerie one laſted an houre: ſo that the ſexton, to whome that charge was committed, by burning of this candle warned the king euer how the time paſſed away. A little before his death, he ordeined his laſt will and teſtament, bequeathing halfe the portion of all his goods lawfullie gotten, vnto ſuch monaſteries as he had founded. All his rents and reuenues he diuided into two equall parts, and the firſt part he diuided into three, beſtowing the firſt vpon his ſeruants in houſhold, the ſecond to ſuch labourers and workemen as he kept in his works of ſundrie new buildings, the third part he gaue to ſtrangers. The ſecond whole part of his reuenues was ſo diuided, that the firſt portion thereof was diſperſed amongſt the poore people of his countrie, the ſecond to monaſteries, the third to the finding of poore ſcholers, and the fourth part to churches beyond the ſea. He was diligent in inquirie how the iudges of his land behaued themſelues in their iudgements, and was a ſharpe corrector of them which tranſgreſſed in that behalfe. To be briefe, he liued ſo as he was had in great fauour of his neighbours, & highlie honored among ſtrangers. He maried his daughter Ethelſwida or rather Elſtride vnto Baldwine earle of Flanders, of whome he had two ſonnes Arnulfe and Adulfe, the firſt ſucceeding in the erledome of Flanders, and the yonger was made earle of Bullogne.

Alured diuided the time for his neceſſarie vſes.

His laſt will and teſtament

The bodie of king Alured was firſt buried in the biſhops church: but afterwards, becauſe the Canons raiſed a fond tale that the ſame ſhould walke a nights, his ſonne king Edward remoued it into the new monaſterie which he in his life time had founded. Finallie, in memorie of him a certeine learned clarke made an epitath in Latine, which for the worthineſſe thereof is likewiſe (verſe for verſe, and in a maner word for word) tranſlated by Abraham Fleming into Engliſh, whoſe no little labor hath beene diligentlie imploied in ſupplieng ſundrie inſufficiences found in of this huge volume.

NObilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem
Nobilitie by birth to thee (ô *Alfred ſtrong in armes*)
(Armipotens Alfrede) dedit, probitáſque laborem,
Of goodnes hath the honor giuen, and honor toſaſting harmes.
Perpetuúmque labor nomen, cui mixta dolori
And toilſome harmes an endleſſe name, whoſe ioies were alwaies mext
Gaudia ſemper erant, ſpes ſemper mixta timori.
With ſorow, and whoſe hope with feare was euerſore perplext.
Si modò victor eras, ad craſtina bella pauebas,
If this day thou were conqueror, the next daies warre thou dreadſt.
Si modò victus eras, in craſtina bella parabas,
If this day thou were conquered, to next daies war thou ſpeedſt.
Cui veſtes ſudore iugi, cui ſica cruore
Whoſe clothing wet with dailie ſweat, whoſe blade with bloudie ſtaine,
Tinctæ, vgi quantum ſit onus regnare probarunt.
Do proue how great a burthen to rule in quietie to raine.
Nón fuit immenſi quiſquam per climata mundi,
There hath not beene in anie parts of all the world ſo wide,
Cui tot in aduerſis vel reſpirare liceret,
One that was able breath to take, and troubles ſuch abide,
Nec tamen aut ferro conatus ponere ferrum,
And yet with weapons weavie would not weapons lay aſide,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finiſſe labores:
Or with the ſword the toilſomneſſe of life by death deuide.
Iam poſt tranſactos regni vitæque labores,
Now after labours paſt of realme and life (*which he did ſpend*)
Chriſtus ei ſit vera quies ſceptrúmque perenne.
Chriſt is to him true quietneſſe and ſcepter void of end.

IN the daies of the foreſaid king Alured, the kingdome of Mercia tooke end. For after that the Danes had expelled king Burthred, when he had reigned 22 yeares, he went to Rome, and there died, his wife alſo Ethelſwida, the daughter of king Athulfe that was ſonne to king Egbert followed him, and died in Pauia in Lumbardie. The Danes hauing got the countrie into their poſſeſſion, made one Cewulfe K. thereof, whome they bound with an oth and deliuerie of pledges, that he ſhould not longer kéepe the ſtate with their pleaſure, and further ſhould be readie at all times to aid them with ſuch power as he ſhould be able to make. This Cewulfe was the ſeruant of king Burthred. Within foure yeares after the Danes returned, and tooke one part of that kingdome into their owne hands, and left the reſidue vnto Cewulfe. But within a few yeares after, king Alured obteined that part of Mercia which Cewulfe ruled, as he did all the reſt of this land, except thoſe parcels which the Danes held, as Northumberland, the countries of the Eaſtangles, ſome part of Mercia, and other.

Cewulfe.

THe yeare, in the which king Alured thus obteined all the dominion of that part of Mercia, which Cewulfe had in gouernance, was after the birth of our Sauiour 886, ſo that the foreſaid kingdome continued the ſpace of 302 yeares vnder 22 kings, from Crida to this laſt Cewulfe. But there be that account the continuance of this kingdome, onelie from the beginning of Penda, vnto the laſt yeare of Burthred, by which reckoning it ſtood not paſt 270 yeares vnder 18, or rather 17 kings, counting the laſt Cewulfe for none, who began his reigne vnder the ſubiection of the Danes, about the yeare of our Lord 874, where Penda began his reigne 604.

886
Matth. Weſt.

THe Eaſtangles and the Northumbers in theſe daies were vnder ſubiection of the Danes, as partlie may be perceiued by that which before is rehearſed. After Guthrum that gouerned the Eaſtangles by the terme of 12 yeares, one Edhitrike or Edzike had the rule in thoſe parts, a Dane alſo, and reigned 14 yeares, and was at length bereued of his gouernement by king Edward the ſonne of king Alured, as after ſhall appeare. But now, although that the Northumbers were brought greatlie vnder, ſoo by the Danes, yet could they not forget their old accuſtomed maner to ſtirre tumults and rebellion againſt their gouernours, inſomuch that in the yeare 872, they expelled not onelie Egbert, whome the Danes had appointed king ouer one part of the countrie (as before you haue heard) but alſo their archbi-

Guthrun K. of the eaſtangles died 890. Simon. Dun.

Simon Dun.

872
Egbert king of Northumberland expelled from his kingdome.

archbishop Wilfehere. In the yeare following, the same Egbert departed this life, after whome one Rigsig or Riesige succéded as king, and the archbishop Wolfehere was restored home.

Egbert departed this life. Riesig.

In the same yeare the armie of Danes which had wintered at London, came from thence into Northumberland, and wintered in Lindseie, at a place called Torksey, and went the next yeare into Mercia. And in the yeare 975, a part of them returned into Northumberland, as before ye haue heard. In the yeare following, Riesig the king of Northumberland departed this life: after whome an other Egbert succéded. And in the yeare 983, the armie of the Danes meaning to inhabit in Northumberland, and to settle themselues there, chose Guthred the sonne of one Hardicnute to their king, whome they had sometime sold to a certeine widow at Watingham. But now by the aduise of an abbat called Aldred, they redéemed his libertie, and ordeined him king to rule both Danes and Englishmen in that countrie. It was said, that the same Aldred being abbat of holie Iland, was warned in a vision by S. Cuthberd, to giue counsell both to the Danes and Englishmen, to make the same Guthred king. This chanced about the 13 yeare of the reigne of Alured king of Westsaxons.

The Danes winter in Lindseie.

975

Riesig departed this life.

983

Guthred ordeined king of Northumberland.

When Guthred was established king, he caused the bishops sée to be remoued from holie Iland vnto Chester in the stréet; and for an augmentation of the reuenues and iurisdiction belonging thereto, he assigned and gaue vnto saint Cuthbert all that countrie which lieth betwixt the riuers of Teise and Tine. ¶ Which christian act of the king, liuing in a time of palpable blindnesse and mistie superstition, may notwithstanding be a light to the great men and péeres of this age (who pretend religion with zeale, and profesle (in shew) the truth with feruencie) not to impouerish the patrimonie of the church to inrich themselues and their posteritie, not to pull from bishoprikes their ancient reuenues to make their owne greater, not to alienate ecclesiasticall liuings into temporall commodities, not to séeke the conuersion of college lands into their priuat possessions; not to intend the subuersion of cathedrall churches to fill their owne cofers, not to ferret out concealed lands for the supporte of their owne priuat lordlines; not to destroy whole townships for the erection of one statelie manour; not to take and pale in the commons to inlarge their seueralles; but like good and gratious common-wealth-men, in all things to preferre the peoples publike profit before their owne gaine and glorie, before their owne pompe and pleasure, before the satisfieng of their owne inordinate desires.

The bishops sée remoued frō holie Iland to Chester in the stréet.

Moreouer, this priuiledge was granted vnto saint Cuthberts shrine: that whosoeuer fled vnto the same for succour and safegard, should not be touched or troubled in anie wise for the space of thirtie & seuen daies. And this frédome was confirmed not onelie by king Guthred, but also by king Alured. Finallie king Guthred departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 894, after he had ruled the Northumbers with much crueltie (as some say) by the terme of a 11 yeares, or somewhat more. He is named by some writers Gurmond, and also Gurmo, & thought to be the same whome king Alured caused to be baptised. Whereas other affirme, that Guthred, who ruled the Eastangles, was he that Alured receiued at the fontstone: William Malmesburie taketh them to be but one man, which is not like to be true. After this Guthred or Gurmo his sonne Sithrike succéded, and after him other of that line, till king Adelstane depriued them of the dominion, and tooke it into his owne hands.

Priuiledges granted to S. Cuthberts shrine.

894

Polydor. Will. Malmes.

Wil. Malm. Sithrike.

Edward succeedeth his father Alured *in regiment, he is disquieted by his brother* Adelwold a man of a defiled life, he flieth to *the Danes and is of them receiued, king Edwards* prouision against the irruptions and forraies of the *Danes, Adelwold with a nauie of Danes entreth Eastangles*, the Essex men submit themselues, he inuadeth Mercia, and maketh great wast, the Kentishmens disobedience preiudiciall to themselues, they and the Danes haue a great conflict, king Edward concludeth a truce with them, he maketh a great slaughter of them by his Westsaxons and Mercians, what lands came to king Edward by the death of Edred duke of Mercia, he recouereth diuers places out of the Danes hands, and giueth them manie a foile, what castels he builded, he inuadeth Eastangles, putteth Ericke a Danish king therof to flight, his owne subiects murther him for his crueltie, his kingdome returneth to the right of king Edward with other lands by him thereto annexed, his sister Elfleda gouerned the countrie of Mercia during hir life.

The xvij. Chapter.

Edward the elder.

After the decease of Alured, his sonne Edward surnamed the elder began his reigne ouer the more part of England, in the yeare of our Lord 901, which was in the second yeare of the emperor Lewes, in the eight yeare of the reigne of Charles surnamed Simpler king of France, and about the eight yeare of Donald king of Scotland. He was consecrated after the maner of other kings his ancestors by Athelred the archbishop of Canturburie. This Edward was not so learned as his father, but in princelie power more high and honorable, for he ioined the kingdome of Eastangles and Mercia with other vnto his dominion, as after shall be shewed, and vanquished the Danes, Scots, and Welshmen, to his great glorie and high commendation.

901

In the beginning of his reigne he was disquieted by his brother Adelwold, which tooke the towne of Winborne besides Bath, and maried a nun there, whome he had defloured, & attempted manie things against his brother. Wherevpon the king came to Bath, and though Adelwold shewed a countenance as if he would haue abidden the chance of warre within Winborne, yet he stole awaie in the night, and fled into Northumberland, where he was ioifullie receiued of the Danes. The king tooke his wife being left behind, and restored hir to the house from whence she was taken. ¶ Some haue written, that this Adelwold or Ethelwold was not brother vnto king Edward, but his vncles sonne.

Winborne.

Hen. Hunt. Adelwold fleeth to the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

After this, king Edward prouiding for the suertie of his subiects against the forraies, which the Danes vsed to make, fortified diuers cities and townes, and stuffed them with great garrisons of souldiers, to defend the inhabitants, and to expell the enimies. And suerlie the Englishmen were so inured with warres in those daies, that the people being aduertised of the inuasion of the enimies in anie part of their countrie, would assemble oftentimes without knowledge of king or capteine, and setting vpon the enimies, went commonlie awaie with victorie, by reason that they ouermatched them both in number and practise. So were the enimies despised of the English souldiers, and laughed to scorne of the king for their foolish attempts. Yet in the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Adelwold his brother came with a nauie of Danes into the parties of the Eastangles, and euen at the first the Esser men yelded themselues vnto him. In the yeare

The English nation practised in warres, go commonlie awaie with the victorie.

Hen. Hunt.

Esser yeldes to Adelwold.

yere following he inuaded the countrie of Mercia with a great armie, walking and spoiling the same vnto Trikelade, and there passing ouer the Thames, rode forth till he came to Basingstoke, or (as some bookes haue) Brittenden, harieng the countrie on each side, and so returned backe vnto Eastangles with great ioy and triumph.

Ran. Higd.

Brittenden.

Hen. Hunt.

King Edward awakened herewith, assembled his people, and followed the enimies, walking all the countries betwixt the riuer of Muse and saint Edmunds ditch. And when he should returne, he gaue commandement that no man should staie behind him, but come backe togither for doubt to be forelaid by the enimies. The Kentishmen notwithstanding this ordinance and commandement, remained behind, although the king sent seuen messengers for them. The Danes awaiting their aduantage, came togither, and fiercelie fought with the Kentishmen, which a long time valiantlie defended themselues. But in the end the Danes obteined the victorie, although they lost more people there than the Kentishmen did: and amongst other, there were slaine the foresaid Adelwold, and diuerse of the chiefe capteins amongst the Danes. Likewise of the English side, there died two dukes, Siwolfe & Singlem or Sigbelme, with sundrie other men of name, both temporall and also spirituall lords and abbats. In the first yere of his reigne, king Edward concluded a truce with the Danes of Eastangle and Northumberland at Itingford. But in the yere following, he sent an armie against them of Northumberland, which slue manie of the Danes, and toke great booties both of people and cattell, remaining in the countrie the space of fiue weekes.

The Kentishmen disobeieng the kings commandement, are surprised by the enimies.

Adelwold king Edwards brother.

Foxtie daies saith Simon Dun.

The yere next insuing, the Danes with a great armie entered into Mercia, to rob & spoile the countrie, against whome king Edward sent a mightie host, assembled togither of the Westsaxons & them of Mercia, which set vpon the Danes, as they were returning homeward, and slue of them an huge multitude, togither with their chiefe capteins and leaders, as king Halden, and king Eolwils, earle Uter, earle Scurfa, and diuerse other. In the yere 912, or (as Simon Dunel. saith) 908, the duke of Mercia Edzed or Etheldzed departed this life, and then king Edward seized into his hands the cities of London and Oxford, and all that part of Mercia which he held. But afterwards he suffered his sister Elfleda to inioy the most part thereof, except the said cities of London and Oxford, which he still reteined in his owne hand. This Elfleda was wife to the said duke Edzed or Etheldzed, as before you haue heard: of whose worthie acts more shall be said hereafter.

Hen. Hunt.

In the ninth yere of his reigne, king Edward built a castell at Hertford, and likewise he builded a towne in Essex at Wigtham, and lay himselfe in the meane time at Maldon, otherwise Meauldun, bringing a great part of the countrie vnder his subiection, which before was subiect to the Danes. In the yere following, the armie of the Danes departed from Northampton and Chester in breach of the former truce, and slue a great number of men at Hochnerton in Oxfordshire. And shortlie after their returne home, an other companie of them went forth, and came to Leighton, where the people of the countrie being assembled togither, fought with them & put them to flight, taking from them all the spoile which they had got, and also their horsses.

Wigthams.

Chester, or rather Leicester, as I thinke.

Digetune.

In the 11 yere of king Edward, a fleet of Danes compassed about the west parts, & came to the mouth of Seuerne, and so toke preies in Wales: they also toke prisoner a Welsh bishop named Camelgaret, at Irchenfield, whome they led to their ships: but king Edward redéemed him out of their hands, paieng them fortie pounds for his ransome. After that the armie of Danes went forth to spoile the countrie about Irchenfield, but the people of Chester, Hereford, and other townes and countries thereabout assembled togither, and giuing battell to the enimies, put them to flight, and slue one of their noble men called earle Rehald, and Geolcil the brother of earle Uter, with a great part of their armie, & draue the residue into a castell, which they besieged till the Danes within it gaue hostages, and couenanted to depart out of the kings land. The king caused the coasts about Seuerne to be watched, that they should not breake into his countrie: but yet they stale twise into the borders: neuertheless they were chased and slaine as manie as could not swim, and so get to their ships. Then they remained in the Ile of Stepen, in great miserie for lacke of vittels, bicause they could not go abroad to get anie. At length they departed into Northwales, and from thence sailed into Ireland.

Irchenfield.

Danes discomfited.

The Ile of Stepen. Deomedun.

Danes saile into Ireland.

The same yere king Edward came to Buckingham with an armie, and there taried a whole moneth, building two castels, the one vpon the one side of the water of Muse, and the other vpon the other side of the same riuer. He also subdued Turketillus an earle of the Danes that dwelt in that countrie, with all the residue of the noble men and barons of the shires of Bedford and Northampton. In the 12 yere of king Edwards reigne, the Kentishmen and Danes fought togither at Holme: but whether partie had the victorie, writers haue not declared. Simon Dunelm. speaketh of a battell which the citizens of Canturburie fought against a number of Danish rouers at Holme, where the Danes were put to flight, but that should be (as he noteth) 8 yeres before this supposed time, as in the yere 904, which was about the third yere of king Edwards reigne.

Turketillus an earle.

Simon Dun.

After this, other of the Danes assembled themselues togither, and in Staffordshire at a place called Tottenhall fought with the Englishmen, and after great slaughter made on both parties, the Danes were ouercome: and so likewise were they shortlie after at Wodfield or Wodensield. And thus king Edward put the Danes to the worse in each place commonlie where he came, and hearing that those in Northumberland ment to breake the peace: he inuaded the countrie, and so afflicted the same, that the Danes which were inhabitants there, gladlie continued in rest and peace. But in this meane time, Ericke the king of those Danes which held the countrie of Eastangle, was about to procure new warre, and to allure other of the Danes to ioine with him against the Englishmen, that with common agréement they might set vpon the English nation, and vtterlie subdue them.

Anno, 911. Simon Dun.

Polydor.

Ericke king of Eastangles.

King Edward hauing intelligence hereof, purposed to preuent him, and thereupon entering with an armie into his countrie, cruellie wasted and spoiled the same. King Ericke hauing alreadie his people in armor throughout displeasure conceiued hereof, and desire to be reuenged, hasted forth to incounter his enimies: and so they met in the field, and fiercelie assailed ech other. But as the battell was rashlie begun on king Ericks side, so was the end verie harmefull to him: for with small a do, after great losse on both sides, he was vanquished and put to flight.

King Edward inuadeth the countrie of the Eastangles.

Ericke put to flight.

After his comming home, bicause of his great ouerthrow and fowle discomfiture, he began to gouerne his people with more rigor & sharper dealing than before time he had vsed. Whereby he prouoked the malice of the Eastangles so highlie against him, that they fell vpon him and murthered him: yet did they not gaine so much hereby as they looked to haue done:

done: for ſhortlie after, they being brought low, and not able to defend their countrie, were compelled to ſubmit themſelues vnto king Edward. And ſo was that kingdome ioined vnto the other dominions of the ſame king Edward, who ſhortlie after annexed the kingdome of Mercia vnto other of his dominions, immediatlie vpon the death of his ſiſter Elfleda, whom he permitted to rule that land all hir life.

The kingdom of the Eaſtangles ſubdued by K. Edward

Elfleda the ſiſter of king Edward highlie commended for gouernment, what a neceſſarie ſtaie ſhe was vnto him in hir life time, what townes ſhe builded and repared, hir warlike exploits againſt the Danes, hir death and buriall; the greateſt part of Britaine in K. Edwards dominion, he is a great builder and reparer of townes, his death, the dreame of his wife Egina, and the iſſue of the ſame, what children king Edward had by his wiues, and how they were employed, the decay of the church by the meanes of troubles procured by the Danes, England firſt curſſed and why; a prouinciall councell ſummoned for the reliefe of the churches ruine, Pleimond archbiſhop of Canturburie ſent to Rome, biſhops ordeined in ſundrie prouinces; diſſention among writers what pope ſhould denounce the foreſaid curſſe; a ſucceſſion of archbiſhops in the ſee of Canturburie, one brother killeth an other.

The xviij. Chapter.

NOt without good reaſon did king Edward permit vnto his ſiſter Elfleda the gouernment of Mercia, during hir life time: for by hir wiſe and politike order vſed in all hir doings, he was greatlie furthered & aſſiſted; but ſpeciallie in reparing and building of townes & caſtels, wherein ſhe ſhewed hir noble magnificence, in ſo much that during hir gouernment, which continued about eight yeares, it is recorded by writers, that ſhe did build and repare theſe towns, whoſe names here inſue: Tamworth beſide Lichfield, Stafford, Warwike, Shrewſburie, Waterſburie or Weddeſburie, Elilſburie or rather Cadſburie, in the forreſt of Dela mere beſides Cheſter, Brimſburie bridge vpon Seuerne, Rouncorne at the mouth of the riuer of Mercia with other. Moreouer, by hir helpe the citie of Cheſter, which by Danes had bene greatlie defaced, was newlie repared, fortified with walls and turrets, and greatlie inlarged. So that the caſtell which ſtood without the walls before that time, was now brought within compaſſe of the new wall.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Tamworth was by hir repared, anno 914. Cadſburie and Warwike. 915 Cheſter repared, 905. Sim. Dun.

Moreouer ſhe boldlie aſſalted hir enimies which went about to trouble the ſtate of the countrie, as the Welſhmen and Danes. She ſent an armie into Wales, and toke the towne of Brecknocke with the queene of the Welſhmen at Brecenamere. Alſo ſhe wan from the Danes the towne of Darbie, and the countrie adioining. In this enterpriſe ſhe put hir owne perſon in great aduenture: for a great multitude of Danes that were withdrawen into Darbie, valiantlie defended the gates and entries, in ſo much that they ſlue foure of hir chiefe men of warre, which were named wardens of hir perſon, euen faſt by hir at the verie entrie of the gates. But this notwithſtanding, with valiant fight hir people entered, and ſo the towne was won: ſhe got diuerſe other places out of their hands, & conſtreined them of Worke-ſhire to agree with hir, ſo that ſome of them promiſed to become hir ſubiects: ſome vowed to aid hir, and ſome ſware to be at hir commandement.

Queene of the Welſhmen taken. Brecenamere Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt. 918 Darbie won from the Danes.

Finallie, this martiall ladie and manlie Elfleda, the ſupporter of hir countriemen, and terrour of the enimies, departed this life at Tamworth about the 12 of June, in the 18 or rather 19 yeare of hir brother king Edwards reigne, as by Matth. Weſt. it ſhould appeare. But Simon Dunelm. writeth, that ſhe deceaſſed in the yeare of Chriſt 915, which ſhould be about the 14 yeare of king Edwards reigne. Hir bodie was conueied to Gloceſter, and there buried within the monaſterie of S. Peter, which hir huſband and ſhe in their life time had builded, and tranſlated thither the bones of ſaint Oſwill from Bardona. The ſame monaſterie was after deſtroied by Danes. But Aldredus the archbiſhop of Worke, who was alſo biſhop of Worceſter, repared an other in the ſame citie, that was after the chiefe abbeie there. Finallie, in memorie of the ſaid Elfleds magnanimitie and valorous mind, this epitaph was fixed on hir towne.

Hen. Hunt.

Anno Chriſti 919 Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Ranul.

O Elfleda potens, ô terror virgo virorum,
O Elfleda potens, nomine digna viri.
Te quoque ſplendidior fecit natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare decet ſed ſolum nomina ſexus,
Tu regina potens rexque trophea parans.
Iam nec Cæſareos tantum mirere triumphos,
Cæſare ſplendidior virgo virago, vale.

O puiſſant Elfled, ô thou maid
of men the dread and feare,
O puiſſant Elfled worthie maid
the name of man to beare.
A noble nature hath thee made
a maiden mild to bee,
Thy vertue alſo hath procurde
a manlie name to thee.
It doth but onelie thee become,
of ſex to change the name,
A puiſſant queene, a king art thou
preparing trophes of fame.
Now maruell not ſo much at Cæſars triumphs [trim to vieu;]
O manlike maiden more renowmd
than Cæſar was, adieu.

Tranſlated by Abraham Fleming.

After the deceaſſe of Elfleda, king Edward toke the dominion of Mercia (as before we haue ſaid) into his owne hands, and ſo diſherited his neece Alfwen or Elfwen, the daughter of Elfleda, taking hir awaie with him into the countrie of Weſtſaxons. By this meanes he ſo amplified the bounds of his kingdome, that he had the moſt part of all this Iland of Britaine at his commandement: for the kings of the Welſhmen; namelie the king of Stretcled, and of the Scots, acknowleging him to be their chiefe ſouereigne lord, and the Danes in Northumberland were kept ſo ſhort, that they durſt attempt nothing againſt him in his latter daies: ſo that he had time to aplie the building and reparing of cities, townes, and caſtels, wherein he ſo much delighted. He builded a new towne at Nottingham on the ſouthſide of Trent, and made a bridge ouer that riuer betwixt the old towne and the new. He alſo repared Mancheſter beyond the riuer of Mercia in Lancaſhire, accounted as then in the ſouth end of Northumberland, and he built a towne of ancient writers called Thilwall, neere to the ſame riuer of Mercia, and placed therein a garriſon of ſouldiers: diuerſe other townes and caſtels he built, as two at Buckingham on either ſide the water of Duſe (as before is ſhewed) and alſo one at the mouth of the riuer of Auon. He likewiſe built or new repared the townes of Tocetor and Wigmore, with diuerſe other, as one at Glademuth, about the laſt yeare of his reigne. Some alſo he deſtroied which ſeemed to ſerue the enimies turne for harborough, as a caſtell at Temneſford, which the Danes builded and fortified.

This Alfwen was ſiſter to Edelfled, as H. Hunt. ſaith.

Stratcland or Stretcled, a kingdome in wales.

K. Edward a great builder and reparer of townes.

Nottingham bridge built.

Matt. Weſt. Mancheſter repared. Anno 816. Simon Dun.

Henr. Hunt.

At length, after that this noble prince king Edward had reigned ſomewhat aboue the tearme of 23 yeares, he was taken out of this life at Faringdon: his

his bodie was conueied from thence vnto Winche-
ter, and there buried in the new abbeie. He had three
wiues, or (as ſome haue written) but two, aſſeming
that Edgiua was not his wife, but his concubine, of
whome he begat his eldeſt ſonne Adelſtan, who ſuc-
Polydor. ceeded him in the kingdome. This Edgiua (as hath
A dreame. beene reported) dreamed on a time that there roſe a
moone out of hir belly, which with the bright ſhine
thereof gaue light ouer all England: and telling hir
dreame to an ancient gentlewoman, who coniectu-
ring by the dreame that which followed, tooke care of
hir, and cauſed hir to be brought vp in good manners
and like a gentlewoman, though ſhe were borne but
of baſe parentage.

Herevpon when ſhe came to ripe yeeres, king Ed-
ward by chance comming to the place where ſhe was
remaining, vpon the firſt ſight was ſtreight rauiſhed
with hir beautie (which in deed excelled) that ſhe could
not reſt till he had his pleaſure of hir, and ſo begot of
hir the foreſaid Adelſtan: by hir he had alſo a daugh-
ter that was maried vnto Sithrike a Dane and K.
Matt. Weſt. of Northumberland. The Scotiſh writers name hir
Polydor. Beatrice, but our writers name hir Editha. His ſe-
cond or rather his firſt wife (if he were not maried
to Eguina mother to Adelſtan) was called Elfleda
or Elfrida, daughter to one earle Etheline, by whom
The iſſue of K. Edward. he had iſſue; to wit, two ſonnes Ethelward and Ed-
win, which immediatlie departed this life after their
father; and ſir daughters, Elfleda, Edgiua, E-
thelhilda, Ethilda, Edgitha, and Elfgiua. Elfleda
became a nun, and Ethelhilda alſo liued in perpetu-
all virginitie, but yet in a laie habit.

Ihan Edgiua Edgitha was maried to Charles king of France,
ſurnamed Simpler. And Ethilda by helpe of hir bro-
Wil. Malm. ther Adelſtan was beſtowed vpon Hugh ſonne to
Robert earle of Paris, for hir ſingular beautie moſt
highlie eſteemed: ſith nature in hir had ſhewed as it
were hir whole cunning, in perfecting hir with all
gifts and properties of a comelie perſonage. Edgiua
and Elgiua were ſent by their brother Adelſtan in-
to Germanie, vnto the emperor Henrie, who beſtow-
ed one of them vpon his ſonne Otho, that was after
emperor, the firſt of that name; and the other vpon a
duke inhabiting about the Alpes: by his laſt wife
named Edgiua, he had alſo two ſonnes, Edmund &
Edred, the which both reigned after their brother A-
delſtan ſucceſſiuelie. Alſo he had by hir two daugh-
ters, Edburge that was made a nun, and Edgiue a
ladie of excellent beautie, whom hir brother Adelſtan
gaue in mariage vnto Lewes king of Aquitaine.

Rau. Higd. Wil. Malm. Matth. Weſt. Whileſt this land was in continuall trouble of
warres againſt the Danes, as before is touched,
ſmall regard was had to the ſtate of the church, in ſo
much that the whole countrie of the Weſtſaxons by
the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres togither (in the daies of this
king Edward) remained without anie biſhop, to
take order in matters apperteining to the church.
England firſt excurſed. Wherevpon the pope had accurſed the Engliſh peo-
ple, becauſe they ſuffred the biſhops ſees to be vacant
ſo long a time. King Edward to auoid the curſſe, aſ-
Anno 903. ſembled a prouinciall councell, 905, in the which the
archbiſhop of Canturburie Pleimond was preſi-
dent. Wherein it was ordeined, that whereas the pro-
uince of Weſtſaxons in times paſt had but two bi-
ſhops, now it ſhould be diuided into fiue dioceſſes, e-
uerie of them to haue a peculiar biſhop.

When all things were ordered and concluded in
this ſynod (as was thought requiſite) the archbiſhop
was ſent to Rome with rich preſents, to appeaſe the
popes diſpleaſure. When the pope had heard what or-
der the king had taken, he was contented therewith.
And ſo the archbiſhop returned into his countrie, and
in one day at Canturburie ordeined ſeuen biſhops,
as fiue to the prouince of Weſtſaxons, that is to ſay,
Frideſtane to the ſee of Winchester, Adelſtan to S. Germans in Cornwall, Werſtan to Shireborne, A-
delme to Welles, and Edulfe to Kirton. Also to the prouince of Suſſex he ordeined one Bernegus, and to Dorcheſter for the prouince of Mercia one Ce-
nulfus.

Winchester. Cornwall. Shireborne. Welles. Kirton. Mercia.

¶ Here ye muſt note, that where William Malme. Polychro. and other do affirme, that pope Formoſus did accurſe king Edward and the Engliſh nation, for ſuffering the biſhops ſees to be vacant, it can not ſtand with the agreement of the time, vnleſſe that the curſſe pronounced by Formoſus for this matter long afore was not regarded, vntill Edward had reſpect thereto. For the ſame Formoſus began to gouerne the Romane ſee about the yeere of our Lord 892, and liued in the papaſie not paſt ſir yeeres, ſo that he was dead before king Edward came to the crowne. But how ſo euer this matter maie fall out, this ye haue to conſider: although that Pleimond was ſent vnto Rome to aduertiſe the pope what the king had decreed & done, in the ordeining of biſhops to their ſeuerall ſees, as before ye haue heard, yet (as maiſter Fox hath noted) the gouernance and direction of the church depended chiefly vpon the kings of this land in thoſe daies, as it manifeſtlie appeareth, as well by the decrees of king Alfred, as of this king Edward, whoſe authoritie in the election of biſhops (as before ye haue heard) ſeemed then alone to be ſufficient.

Wil. Malm. ſaith that pope Formoſus pronounced this curſſe. 904

Polydor.

Moreouer, I thinke it good to aduertiſe you in this place, that this Pleimond archbiſhop of Canturbu-
rie (of whome ye haue heard before) was the 19 in
number from Auguſtine the firſt archbiſhop there:
for after Brightwold that was the 8 in nomber, and
firſt of the Engliſh nation that gouerned the ſee, ſuc-
ceeded Tadwin, that ſat three yeeres, Notelm fiue
yeeres, Cuthbert 18 yeeres, Brethwin three yeeres,
Lambert 27 yeeres, Adelard 13 yeeres, Wilfred 28
yeeres, Theologildus or Pleogildus 3 yeeres, Celno-
tus or Chelnius 10 yeeres. Then ſucceeded Aldred, of
whome king Edward receiued the crowne, and he
was predeceſſor to Pleimond. A little before the death
of king Edward, Sithrike the king of Northumber-
land killed his brother Rigellus, and then king Rei-
nold conquered the citie of Yorke.

Hen. Hunt.

Adelſtane ſucceedeth his father Ed-
ward in the kingdome, Alfred practiſing
by treaſon to keepe him from the gouerne-
ment, ſanke downe ſuddenlie as he was taking his
oth for his purgation; the cauſe why Alfred oppoſed
himſelfe againſt Adelſtane, whoſe praiſe is notable, what he
did to ſatiſfie the expectation of his people, ladie Beatrice
king Edwards daughter maried to Sithrike a Daniſh gouernor
of the Northumbers, by whoſe meanes Edwin king Edwards
brother was drowned, practiſes of treaſon, the ladie Beatrice
ſtrangelie put to death by hir ſteplons for being of coun-
ſell to poiſon hir husband Sithrike, hir death
reuenged vpon the tormentors by hir father
king Edward, and how chronographers
varie in the report of this
hiſtorie.

The xix. Chapter.

Adelſtan. Matt. Weſt. Wil. Malmeſ. 924

Adelſtane the eldeſt ſonne of king Edward began his reigne ouer the more part of all England, the yeere of our Lord 924, which was in the 6 yere of the emperour Hen-
rie the firſt, in the 31 yeere of the reigne of Charles ſurna-
med Simpler king of France, three moneths after the burning of Pauie, & about the 22 or 23 yeere of Conſtantine the third, king of Scotland. This A-
delſtane

delstane was crowned and consecrated king at Kingstone vpon Thames, of Adelme the archbishop of Canturburie, who succéeded Pleimond. He was the 24 king in number from Cerdicus or Cerdike the first king of the West saxons. There were in the beginning some that set themselues against him, as one Alfred a noble man, which practised by treason to haue kept him from the gouernement: but he was apprehended yer he could bring his purpose to passe, and sent to Rome there to trie himselfe giltie or not giltie. And as he toke his oth for his purgation before the altar of saint Peter, he suddenlie fell downe to the earth, so that his seruants toke him vp, and bare him into the English schoole or hospitall, where the third night after he died.

Alfred striueth in vaine to kéepe Adelstane from the gouernment. Wil. Malm. See more hereof in the acts and monuments set forth by M. Fox, vol. 1. leafe 195.

Pope Iohn the tenth sent vnto king Adelstane, to know if he would that his bodie should be laid in christian buriall or not. The king at the contemplation of Alfreds friends and kinsfolks, signified to the pope that he was contented that his bodie should be interred amongst other christians. His lands being forfeited were giuen by the king vnto God and saint Peter. The cause that moued Alfred and other his complices against the king, was (as some haue alledged) his bastardie. But whether that allegation were true or but a slander, this is certeine, that except that steine of his honor, there was nothing in this Adelstane worthie of blame: so that he darkened all the glorious fame of his predecessors, both in vertuous conditions and victorious triumphs. Such difference is there to haue that in thy selfe wherein to excell, rather than to stand vpon the worthinesse of thine ancestors, sith that can not rightlie be called a mans owne.

After that king Adelstane was established in the estate, he indeuored himselfe to answer the expectation of his people, which hoped for great wealth to insue by his noble and prudent gouernance. First therfore meaning to prouide for the suertie of his countrie, he concluded a peace with Sithrike king of the Northumbers, vnto whome (as ye haue heard) he gaue one of his sisters named Editha in mariage. Sithrike liued not past one yéere after he had so maried hir. And then Adelstane brought the prouince of the Northumbers vnto his subiection, expelling one Aldulph out of the same that rebelled against him. There be that write, that Godfrie and Aulafe the sonnes of Sithrike succeeding their father in the gouernement of Northumberland, by practising to moue warre against king Adelstane, occasioned him to inuade their countrie, and to chase them out of the same, so that Aulafe fled into Ireland, & Godfrie into Scotland: but other write, that Godfrie was the father of Reignold which wan Norke, after that Sithrike had slaine his brother Nigellus, as before is mentioned.

Anno 925. Simon Dun. Polydor.

Wil. Malm.

H. Hunt.

¶ The Scotish chronicles varie in report of these matters from the English writers: whose chronicles affirme, that in the life time of king Edward, his daughter Beatrice was giuen in mariage to Sithrike, the gouernor of the Danes in Northumberland, with condition that if anie male were procreated in that mariage, the same should inherit the dominions of king Edward after his decease. King Edward had a brother (as they say) named Edwin, a iolie gentleman, and of great estimation amongst the Englishmen. He by Sithrikes procurement was sent into Flanders in a ship that leaked, and so was drowned, to the great reioising of all the Danes, least if he had surused his brother, he would haue made some businesse for the crowne.

Hect. Boetius. The Scotish writers varie from our English authors. Beatrice daughter to K. Edward as the Scotish writers say. Edwin was not brother to K. Edward but son to him.

About the same time Adelstane a base sonne of K. Edward fled the realme, for doubt to be made away by some like traitorous practise of the Danes. Shortlie after, king Edward vnderstanding that Sithrike went about some mischiefe toward him, persuaded his daughter to poison hir husband the said Sithrike. Then Aulafe or Aualasius, and Godfrie the sonnes of Sithrike, finding out by diligent examination, that Beatrice was of counsell in poisoning hir husband, they caused hir to be apprehended and put to death on this wise. She was set naked vpon a smithes cold anuill or stithie, and therewith hard rosted egs being taken out of the hot imbers were put vnder hir armepits, and hir armes fast bound to hir bodie with a cord, and so in that state she remained till hir life passed from hir. King Edward in reuenge of his daughters death moued warre against the two brethren, Aulafe and Godfrie, and in battell finallie vanquished them, but was slaine in the same battell himselfe.

Adelstane flieth the realme.

Beatrice put to death by the stepsons.

Thus haue the Scotish chronicles recorded of these matters, as an induction to the warres which followed betwixt the Scots and Danes as confederates against king Adelstane: but the truth thereof we leaue to the readers owne iudgement. For in our English writers we find no such matter, but that a daughter of king Edward named Edgitha or Editha, after hir fathers decease was by hir brother king Adelstane, about the first yéere of his reigne, giuen in mariage (as before ye haue heard) vnto the foresaid Sithrike king of Northumberland, that was descended of the Danish bloud, who for the loue of the yong ladie, renounced his heathenish religion and became a christian; but shortlie after, forsaking both his wife and the christian faith, he set vp againe the worshipping of idols, and within a while after, as an apostata miserablie ended his life. Wherupon the yong ladie, hir virginitie being preserued, and hir bodie vndefiled (as they write) passed the residue of hir daies at Polleswoth in Warwikeshire, spending hir time (as the same writers affirme) in fasting, watching, praieng, and doing of almesdéedes, and so at length departed out of this world. Thus our writers differ from the Scotish historie, both in name and maner of end as concerning the daughter of king Edward that was coupled in mariage with Sithrike.

Editha a virgine.

Adelstane subdueth Constantine king of Scots, Howell king of Wales, and Wulferth king of Northwales, the Scots possesse a great part of the north countries, Adelstane conquereth the Scots for aiding Godfrie his enimie; a miracle declaring that the Scots ought to obey the king of England; king Adelstane banisheth his brother Edwin, he is for a conspiracie drowned in the sea, Adelstane repenteth him of his rigour (in respect of that misfortune) against his brother; Aulafe sometimes king of Northumberland inuadeth England, he disguiseth himselfe like a minstrell and surueieth the English campe vnsuspected, he is discouered after his departure, he assaileth the English campe, Adelstane being comforted with a miracle discomfiteth his enimies, he maketh them of Northwales his tributaries, he subdueth the Cornishmen, his death; the description of his person, his vertues, of what abbeis & monasteries he was founder, his estimation in forren realmes, what pretious presents were sent him from other princes, and how he bestowed them; a remembrance of Guy the erle of Warwike.

The xx. Chapter.

After that king Adelstane had subdued them of Northumberland, he was aduertised, that not onelie Constantine king of Scots, but also Hudnale or Howell K. of Wales went about a priuie conspiracie against him.

Here-

Wil.Malm. Hereupon with all conuenient ſpéd aſſembling his power, he went againſt them, and with like good fortune ſubdued them both, and alſo Uimer or Wulferth K. of Northwales, ſo that they were conſtreined to ſubmit themſelues vnto him, who ſhortlie after moued with pitie in conſidering their ſudden fall, reſtored them all three to their former eſtates, but ſo as they ſhould acknowledge themſelues to gouerne vnder him, pronouncing withall this notable ſaieng, that More honorable it was to make a king, than to be a king.

Math.Weſt. The noble ſaieng of king Adelſtane.

926

We muſt vnderſtand, that (as it appeareth in the Scotiſh chronicles) the Scottiſhmen in time of wars that the Danes gaue the Engliſh nation, got a part of Cumberland and other the north countries into their poſſeſſion, and ſo by reaſon of their néere adioining vnto the confines of the Engliſh kings, there chanced occaſions of warre betwixt them, as well in the daies of king Edward, as of this Adelſtane his ſonne, although in déed the Danes held the more part of the north countries, till that this Adelſtane conquered the ſame out of their hands, and ioined it vnto other of his dominions, conſtreining as well the Danes (of whome the more part of the inhabitants then conſiſted) as alſo the Engliſhmen, to obey him as their king and gouernour. Godfrie (as is ſaid) being fled to the Scots, did ſo much preuaile there by earneſt ſute made to king Conſtantine, that he got a power of men, and entring with the ſame into Northumberland, beſieged the citie of Dureſme, ſoliciting the citizens to receiue him, which they would gladlie haue done, if they had not perceiued how he was not of power able to reſiſt the puiſſance of king Adelſtane: and therefore doubting to be puniſhed for their offenſes if they reuolted, they kept the enimies out. King Adelſtane being ſore moued againſt the king of Scots, that thus aided his enimies, raiſed an armie, and went northward, purpoſing to reuenge that iniurie.

Polydor.

934

Ran.Higd. At his comming into Yorkſhire, he turned out of the way, to viſit the place where ſaint Johan of Beuerlie was buried, and there offered his knife, promiſing that if he returned with victorie, he would redéeme the ſame with a worthie price: and ſo proceeded and went forwards on his iournie, and entring Scotland, waſted the countrie by land vnto Dunfoader and Wertermore, and his naule by ſea deſtroied the coaſts alongſt the ſhore, euen to Catneſſe, and ſo he brought the king of Scots and other his enimies to ſubiection at his pleaſure, conſtreining the ſame K. of Scots to deliuer him his ſon in hoſtage.

Sim.Dun.

The Scots ſubdued.

It is ſaid, that being in his iournie néere vnto the towne of Dunbar, he prated vnto God, that at the inſtance of ſaint Johan of Beuerlie, it would pleaſe him to grant, that he might ſhew ſome open token, whereby it ſhould appeare to all them that then liued, and ſhould hereafter ſucceed, that the Scots ought to be ſubiect vnto the kings of England. Herewith, the king with his ſword ſmote vpon a great ſtone ſtanding néere to the caſtle of Dunbar, and with the ſtroke, there appeared a clift in the ſame ſtone to the length of a cubite, which remained to be ſhewed as a witneſſe of that thing manie yeares after. At his comming backe to Beuerlie, he reuoked his knife with a large price, as before he had promiſed.

A token ſhewed miraculouſlie that the Scots ought to be ſubiect to the kings of England.

Wil.Malm. Mate Weſt. 934

After this was Edwin the kings brother accuſed of ſome conſpiracie by him begun againſt the king, whereupon he was baniſhed the land, and ſent out in an old rotten veſſell without power or mariner, onelie accompanied with one eſquier, ſo that being launched forth from the ſhore, through deſpaire Edwin leapt into the ſea, and drowned himſelfe, but the eſquier that was with him recouered his bodie, and brought it to land at Withſand beſides Canturburie. But Iames Maier in the annales of Flanders ſaieth, that he was drowned by fortune of the ſeas in a ſmall veſſell, and being caſt vp into a créeke on the coaſt of Picardie, was found by Adolfe earle of Bullongne that was his coſin germane, and honorablie buried by the ſame Adolfe in the church of Bertine. In conſideration of which déed of pietie and dutie of mindfull conſanguinitie, the king of England both hartilie thanked earle Adolfe, and beſtowed great gifts vpon the church where his brother was thus buried. For verelie king Adelſtane after his diſpleaſure was aſſwaged, and hearing of this miſerable end of his brother, ſore repented himſelfe of his rigour ſo extended towards him, in ſo much that he could neuer abide the man that had giuen the information againſt him, which was his cupbearer, ſo that on a time as the ſaid cupbearer ſerued him at the table, and came towards him with a cup of wine, one of his feet chanced to ſlide, but he recouered himſelfe with the helpe of the other foot, ſaieng, One brother yet hath holpen & ſuccored the other: which words coſt him his life. For the king remembring that by his accuſation he had loſt his brother that might haue béene an aid to him, cauſed this ſaid cupbearer to be ſtraight put to death.

Repentance too late.

In this meane while, Aulafe the ſonne of Sithrike, late king of Northumberland (who is alſo named by writers to be king of the Iriſhmen, and of manie Iſlands) aſſembled a great power of Danes, Iriſhmen, Scots, and other people of the out Iles, and imbarked them in 615 ſhips and craiers, with the which he arriued in the mouth of Humber, and there comming on land, began to inuade the countrie. This Aulafe had maried the daughter of Conſtantine king of Scots, by whoſe procurement, notwithſtanding his late ſubmiſſion, Aulafe toke in hand this iournie. King Adelſtane aduertiſed of his enimies arriuall, gathered his people, and with all conuenient ſpéd haſted towards them, and approching néerer vnto them, pitcht downe his field at a place called by ſome Brimesburie, by others Brimesford, and alſo Brunanburgh, and by the Scotiſh writers Browningfield.

Wil.Malm.

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Simon Dun.

Hen.Hunc. Wil.Malm. March.Weſt. Hector Boet. Ran.Higd.

When knowledge hereof was had in the enimies campe, Aulafe enterpriſed a maruelous exploit, for taking with him an harpe, he came into the Engliſh campe, offring himſelfe diſguiſed as a minſtrell, to ſhew ſome part of his cunning in muſicke vpon his inſtrument: and ſo being ſuffered to paſſe from tent to tent, and admitted alſo to plaie afore the king, ſurueied the whole ſtate and order of the armie. This done, he returned, meaning by a cammiſado to ſet vpon the kings tent. But one that had ſerued as a ſouldier ſometime vnder Aulafe, chanced by marking his demeanour to know him, and after he was gone, vttered to the king what he knew. The king ſeemed to be diſpleaſed, in that he had not told him ſo much before Aulafs departure: but in excuſing himſelfe, the ſouldier ſaid: We muſt remember (if it like your grace) that the ſame faith which I haue giuen vnto you, I ſometime owght vnto Aulafe, therfore if I ſhould haue betraied him now, you might well ſtand in doubt leaſt I ſhould hereafter do the like to you: but if you will follow mine aduiſe, remoue your tent, leaſt haplie he aſſaile you vnwares. The king did ſo, and as it chanced in the night following, Aulafe came to aſſaile the Engliſh campe, and by fortune comming to the place where the kings tent ſtood before, he found a biſhop lodged, which with his companie was come the ſame day to the armie, and had pitcht vp his tent in that place from whence the king was remoued: and ſo was the ſame biſhop, and moſt part of his men there ſlaine. which ſlaughter executed, Aulafe paſſed forward,

Aulafe diſguiſed, commeth to view the Engliſh camp

Aulafe aſſaileth the Engliſh campe.

ward, and came to the kings tent, who in this meane time, by reason of the alarum raised, was got vp, and taking to him his sword in that sudden fright, by chance it fell out of the scabbard, so that he could not find it, but calling to God and S. Aldelme (as saith Polychron.) his sword was restored to the scabbard againe. The king comforted with that miracle, boldlie pressed forth vpon his enimies, and so valiantlie resisted them, that in the end he put them to flight, and chased them all that morning and day following, so that he slue of them an huge number. Some haue written, that Constantine king of Scots was slaine at this ouerthrow, and fiue other small kings or rulers, with 12 dukes, and welnére all the armie of those strange nations which Aulafe had gathered togither. But the Scotish chronicles affirme, that Constantine was not there himselfe, but sent his sonne Malcolme, which yet escaped sore hurt and wounded from the battell, as in the same chronicles ye may sée more at large.

Ran. Higd.

Wil. Malm. The enimies discomfited.

Ran. Higd.

When K. Adelstane had thus vanquished his enimies in the north parties of England, he went against them of Northwales, whose rulers and princes he caused to come before him at Hereford, and there handled them in such sort, that they couenanted to pay him yerlie in lieu of a tribute 20 pounds of gold, 300 pounds of siluer, and 25 head of neate, with hawks and hounds a certeine number. After this, he subdued the Cornishmen: and whereas till those daies they inhabited the citie of Excester, mingled amongest the Englishmen, so that the one nation was as strong within that citie as the other, he rid them quite out of the same, and repared the walles, and fortified them with ditches and turrets as the maner then was, and so remoued the Cornish men further into the west parts of the countrie, that he made Tamer water to be the confines betwéene the Englishmen and them. Finallie the noble prince king Adelstane departed out of this world, the 26 day of October, after he had reigned the tearme of 16 yeares. His bodie was buried at Malmesburie.

Tribute.

The Cornish men subdued.

Excester repared.

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Simon Dun. The decease of king Adelstane.

He was of such a stature, as exceeded not the common sort of men, stoping somewhat, and yellowe haired, for his valiancie ioined with courtesie beloued of all men, yet sharpe against rebels, and of inuincible constancie: his great deuotion toward the church appeared in the building, adorning & indowing of monasteries and abbeis. He built one at Wilton within the diocesse of Salisburie, and an other at Michelnie in Summersetshire. But besides these foundations, there were few famous monasteries within this land, but that he adorned the same either with some new péece of building, iewels, bookes, or portion of lands. He had in exceeding fauour Wolstan archbishop of Yorke that liued in his daies, for whose sake he greatlie inriched that bishoprike. His fame spread ouer all the parties of Europe, so that sundrie princes thought themselues happie if they might haue his friendship, either by affinitie or otherwise: by meanes whereof, he bestowed his sisters so highlie in mariage as before ye haue heard. He receiued manie noble and rich presents from diuers princes, as from Hugh king of France, horsses and sundrie rich iewels, with certeine relikes: as Constantines sword, in the hilt whereof was set one of the nailes wherewith Christ was fastened to the crosse, the speare of Charles the great, which was thought to be the same wherewith the side of our sauiour was pearced, the banner of saint Maurice, with a part of the holie crosse, and likewise a part of the thorned crowne: yet Mandeuile saw the one halfe of this crowne in France, and the other at Constantinople, almost 400 yeares after this time, as he writeth. Of these iewels king Adelstane gaue part to the abbie of saint Swithon at Winchester, and part to the abbie of Malmesburie. Moreouer, the king of Norwaie sent vnto him a goodlie ship of fine workmanship, with gilt sterne and purple sailes, furnished round about the decke within with a rowe of gilt pauises. ¶ In the daies of this Adelstane reigned that right worthie Guy earle of Warwike, who (as some writers haue recorded) fought with a mightie giant of the Danes in a singular combat, and vanquished him.

Wolstan archbishop of Yorke.

His estimation in forraine realmes.

Harding.

Edmund succeedeth Adelstane in the *kingdome, the Danes of Northumberland* rebell against him, a peace concluded betwene *Aulafe their king and king Edmund vpon conditions*, Aulafe dieth, another of that name succeedeth him; *king Edmund subdueth the Danes, and compelleth* them to receiue the christian faith, Reinold and Aulafe are baptised, they violate their fealtie vowed to king Edmund, they are put to perpetuall exile; why king Edmund wasted all Northumberland, caused the eies of king Dunmails sonnes to be put out, and assigned the said countrie to Malcolme king of Scots; the Scotish chroniclers error in peruerting the time & order of the English kings, king Edmunds lawes, by what misfortune he came to his end, how his death was foreshewed to Dunstane in a vision, a tale of the vertue of the crosse, Dunstane reproueth duke Elstane, his dreame, and how the interpretation thereof came to passe.

The xxj. Chapter.

After that Adelstane was departed this life, without leauing issue behind to succéed him in the kingdome, his brother Edmund, sonne of Edward the elder, borne of his last wife Edgiue, tooke vpon him the gouernement of this land, and began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 940, which was in the fift yeare of the emperor Otho the 1, in the 13 of Lewes surnamed Transmarinus king of France, and about the 28 yeare of Constantine the third king of Scotland. The Danes of Northumberland rebelled against this Edmund, and ordeined Aulafe to be their king, whom they had called out of Ireland. Some write that this Aulafe, which now in the beginning of Edmunds reigne came into Northumberland, was king of Norwaie. & hauing a great power of men with him, marched forth towards the south parts of this land, in purpose to subdue the whole: but king Edmund raised a mightie armie, and incountred with his enimies at Leicester; howbeit, yer the matter came to the vttermost triall of battell, through the earnest sute of the archbishop of Canterburie and Yorke Odo and Wolstan, a peace was concluded; so as Edmund should inioy all that part of the land, which lieth from Watling street southward, & Aulafe should inioy the other part as it lieth from the same street northward. Then Aulafe tooke to wife the ladie Aldiua, daughter to earle Ormus, by whose counsell and assistance he had thus obteined the vpper hand. But this Aulafe in the yeare following, after he had destroied the church of saint Walter, and burned Tinningham, departed this life. Then the other Aulafe that was sonne to king Sithrike, tooke vpon him to gouerne the Northumbers.

Edmund.

Wil. Malm. 940

Simon Dun.

A peace concluded.

941 Matth. West. Aulafe deceaseth. Another Aulafe taketh vpon him to rule.

After this, in the yeare 942, king Edmund assembling an armie, first subdued those Danes which had got into their possession the cities and towns of Lincolne, Leicester, Darbie, Stafford, and Notingham,

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ham, constreining them to receiue the christian faith, and reduced all the countries euen vnto Humber vnder his subiection. This done, Aulafe and Reinold the sonne of Garmo, who (as you haue heard) subdued Yorke, as a meane the sooner to obteine peace, offered to become christians, & to submit themselues vnto him: whereupon he receiued them to his peace. There be that write, that this Aulafe is not that Aulafe which was sonne to king Sithrike, but rather that the other was he with whom king Edmund made partition of the realme: but they agree, that this second Aulafe was a Dane also, & being conuerted to the faith as well through constraint of the kings puissance, as through the preaching of the gospell, was baptised, king Edmund being godfather both vnto him, and vnto the foresaid Reinold, to Aulafe at the verie font stone, and to Reinold at his confirmation at the bishops hands. Neuertheles, their wicked natures could not rest in quiet, so that they brake both promise to God, and to their prince, and were therefore in the yeare next following driuen both out of the countrie, and punished by perpetuall exile. And so king Edmund adioined Northumberland, without admitting anie other immediat gouernor, vnto his owne estate.

Garmo or Godfrey. Will. Malm.

944 Simon. Dun.

Moreouer, he walked and spoiled whole Cumberland, because he could not reduce the people of that countrie vnto due obeisance, and conformable subiection. The two sonnes of Dunmaile king of that prouince he apprehended, and caused their eies to be put out. Herewith vpon consideration either of such aid as he had receiued of the Scots at that time, or some other friendlie respect, he assigned the said countrie of Cumberland vnto Malcolme king of Scots, to hold the same by fealtie of him and his successors. The Scotish chronicles, peruerting the time and order of the acts and doings of the English kings which reigned about this season, affirme, that by couenants of peace concluded betwixt Malcolme king of Scotland, and Adelstan king of England, it was agreed, that Cumberland should remaine to the Scots: as in their chronicles you may find at full expressed. And againe, that Indulfe, who succeeded Malcolme in the kingdome of Scotland, aided king Edmund against Aulafe, whom the same chronicles name Aualaffus, but the time which they attribute vnto the reignes of their kings, will not alow the same to stand. For by account of their writers, king Malcolme began not his reigne till after the decease of king Adelstan, who departed this life in the yeare 940. And Malcolme succeeded Constantine the third in the yeare 944, which was about the third yeare of king Edmunds reigne, and after Malcolme (that reigned 15 yeares) succeeded Indulfe in the yeare 959. The like discordance proceedeth and followeth in their writers, as to the diligent reader, in conferring their chronicles with ours, manifestlie appeareth. We therefore (to satisfie the desirous to vnderstand and see the diuersitie of writers) haue for the more part in their chronicles left the same as we found it.

Leolin king of South-wales aided king Edmund in this enterprise. 946

But now to the other doings of king Edmund: it is recorded, that he ordeined diuers good and wholsome lawes, verie profitable and necessarie for the commonwealth, which lawes with diuers other of like antiquitie are forgot and blotted out by rust of time, the consumer of things worthie of long remembrance (as saith Polydor:) but sithens his time they haue béene recouered for the more part, & by maister William Lambert turned into Latine, & were imprinted by Iohn Day, in the yeare 1568, as before I haue said. Finallie, this prince king Edmund, after he had reigned fiue yeares and a halfe, he came to his end by great misfortune. For (as some say) it chanced, that espieng where one of his seruants was in danger to be slaine amongest his enimies that were about him with drawen swords, as he stepped in to haue holpen his seruant, he was slaine at a place called Pulcher church, or (as other haue) Michelsbourgh.

Polydor. The lawes of king Edmund.

Fiue yeares and 7 months hath Si. Dun.

Other say, that keeping a great feast at the aforesaid place on the day of saint Augustine the English apostle (which is the 26 of Maie, and as that yeare came about, it fell on the tuesday) as he was set at the table, he espied where a common robber was placed neere vnto him, whome sometime he had banished the land, and now being returned without licence, he presumed to come into the kings presence, wherewith the king was so moued with high disdaine, that he suddenlie arose from the table, and flew vpon the theefe, and catching him by the heare of the head, threw him vnder his feet, wherewith the theefe, hauing fast hold on the king, brought him downe vpon him also, and with his knife stroke him into the bellie, in such wise, that the kings bowels fell out of his chest, and there presentlie died. The theefe was hewen in peeces by the kings seruants, but yet he slue and hurt diuers before they could dispatch him. This chance was lamentable, namelie to the English people, which by the vnexpectmelie death of their king, in whome appeared manie euident tokens of great excellencie, lost the hope which they had conceiued of great wealth to increase by his prudent and most princelie gouernement. His bodie was buried at Glastenburie where Dunstane was then abbat.

Prædecire saith Si. Dun. Will. Malm. Matth. West. 946

There be that write, that the death of king Edmund was signified aforehand to Dunstane, who about the same time attending vpon the same king, as he remoued from one place to an other, chanced to accompanie himselfe with a noble man, one duke Elstane, and as they rode togither, behold suddenlie Dunstane saw in the waie before him, where the kings musicians rode, the diuell running and leaping amongst the same musicians after a reioising maner, whome after he had beheld a good while, he said to the duke; Is it possible that you may see that which I see? The duke answered that he saw nothing otherwise than he ought to see. Then said Dunstane, Bless your eies with the signe of the crosse, and trie whether you can see that I see. And when he had done as Dunstane appointed him, he saw also the fiend in likenesse of a little short euill fauoured Aethiopian dansing and leaping, whereby they gathered that some euill hap was towards some of the companie: but when they had crossed and blessed them, the foule spirit vanished out of their sight.

Capgraue.

A vaine tale.

Crossing driueth sight of the diuels, and crossing driueth them away.

Now after they had talked of this vision, and made an end of their talke touching the same, the duke required of Dunstane to interpret a dreame which he had of late in sleepe, and that was this: He thought that he saw in a vision the king with all his nobls sit in his dining chamber at meate, and as they were there making merrie togither, the king chanced to fall into a dead sleepe, and all the noble men, and those of his councell that were about him were changed into robucks and goats. Dunstane quicklie declared that this dreame signified the kings death, and the changing of the nobles into dum and insensible beasts betokened that the princes & gouernors of the realme should decline from the waie of truth, and wander as foolish beasts without a guide to rule them. Also the night after this talke when the king was set at supper, Dunstane saw the same spirit, or some other, walke vp and downe amongst them that waited at the table, and within three daies after, the king was slaine, as before ye haue heard.

Dunstane an interpretor of dreames.

Dunstan seeth the diuell often, but now he was become a waiter at the table when Dunstane sat with the king.

Edred succedeth his brother Edmund *in the realme of England, the Northumbers* rebell against him, they and the Scots *sweare to be his true subiects, they breake their* oth and ioine with Aulafe the Dane, who returneth *into Northumberland, and is made king thereof, the people* expell him and erect Hericius in his roome, king Edred taketh reuenge on the Northumbers for their disloialtie, the rereward of his armie is assalted by an host of his enimies issuing out of Yorke, the Northumbers submit themselues, and put awaie Hericius their king. Wolstane archbishop of Yorke punished for his disloialtie, whereto Edred applied himselfe after the appeasing of ciuill tumults, his death and buriall, a speciall signe of Edreds loue to Dunstane abbat of Glastenburie, his practise of cousenage touching king Edreds treasure.

The xxij. Chapter.

Edred.

EDred the brother of Edmund, and sonne to Edward the elder and to Edgiue his last wife, began his reigne ouer the realme of England in the yeere of our Lord 946, or (as other say) 997, which was

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in the twelfe yeere of the emperor Otho the first, and in the 21 yeere of the reigne of Lewes K. of France, & about the third or fourth yeere of Malcolme the first of that name, king of Scotland. He was crowned and annointed the 16 day of August by Odo the archbishop of Canturburie at Kingstone vpon Thames. In the first yeere of his reigne, the Northumbers rebelled against him, wherevpon he raised an armie, inuaded their countrie, and subdued them by force. This done, he went forward into Scotland: but the Scots without shewing anie resistance submitted themselues vnto him, and so both Scots and Northumbers receiued an oth to be true vnto him, which they obserued but a small while, for he was no sooner returned into the south parts, but that Aulafe which had beene chased out of the countrie by king Edmund, as before ye haue heard, returned into Northumberland with a great nauie of ships, and was ioifullie receiued of the inhabitants, and restored againe to the kingdome, which he held by the space of foure yeeres, and then by the accustomed disloialtie of the Northumbers he was by them expelled, and then they set vp one Hirke or Hericius the sonne of one Harrold to reigne ouer them, who held not the estate anie long time. For in the third yeere of his reigne, Edred in the reuenge of such disloiall dealings in the Northumbers, destroied the countrie with fire & sword, sleaing the most part of the inhabitants. He burnt the abbeie of Ripon, which was kept against him.

Hen. Hunt. The Northumbers rebell and are subdued.

Aulafe returned into Northumberland.

Hirke or Hericius.

Wil. Malm. The disloialtie of the Northumbers punished.

As he was returning homeward, an host of enimies brake out of Yorke, and setting vpon the rereward of the kings armie at a place called Easterford, made great slaughter of the same. Wherefore the king in his rage ment to haue begun a new spoile and destruction, but the Northumbers humbled themselues so vnto him, that putting awaie their forsaid king Hirke or Hericius, and offering great rewards and gifts to buy their peace, they obteined pardon. But because that Wolfstane the archbishop of Yorke was of counsell with his countriemen in reuolting from king Edred, and aduancing of Hericius, king Edred tooke him and kept him in prison a long time after, but at length in respect of the reuerence which he bare to his calling, he set him at libertie, and pardoned him his offense. Matth. Westm. reciteth an other cause of Wolfstans imprisonment, as thus. In the yeere of Grace, saith he,

Ran. Higd. Simon Dun.

Easterford.

The archbishop of Yorke imprisoned. Matth. West.

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951, king Edred put the archbishop of Yorke in close prison, because of often complaints exhibited against him, as he which had commanded manie townesmen of Theadford to be put to death, in reuenge of the abbat Aldelme by them vniustlie slaine and murthered.

After this, when Edred had appeased all ciuill tumults and dissentions within his land, he applied him selfe to the aduancing of religion, wholie following the mind of Dunstane, by whose exhortation he suffered patientlie manie torments of the bodie, and exercised himselfe in praier and other deuout studies. This Edred in his latter daies being greatlie addicted to deuotion & religious priests, at the request of his mother Edgiua, restored the abbeie of Abington which was built first by king Inas, but in these daies sore decaied and fallen into ruine. Finallie, after he had reigned nine yeeres and a halfe, he departed this life to the great greeuance of men, and reioising of angels (as it is written) and was buried at Winchester in the cathedrall church there. ¶ Here is to be noted, that the foresaid Edred, when he came first to the crowne, vpon a singular and most especiall fauour which he bare towards Dunstane the abbat of Glastenburie, committed vnto him the chiefest part of all his treasure, as charters of lands with other monuments, and such ancient princelie iewels as belonged to the former kings, with other such as he got of his owne, willing him to lay the same in safe keeping within his monasterie of Glastenburie.

Wil. Malm.

Edred ouercometh his life.

Dunstane in fauour.

Afterward, when king Edred perceiued himselfe to be in danger of death by force of that sickenesse, which in deed made an end of his life, he sent into all parties to such as had anie of his treasure in keeping, to bring the same vnto him with all speed, that he might dispose thereof before his departure out of this life, as he should see cause. Dunstane tooke such things as he had vnder his hands, & hasted forward to deliuer the same vnto the king, and to visit him in that time of his sickenesse according to his dutie: but as he was vpon the waie, a voice spake to him from heauen, saieng; Behold king Edred is now departed in peace. At the hearing of this voice, the horsse whereon Dunstane rode fell downe and died, being not able to abide the presence of the angell that thus spake to Dunstane. And when he came to the court, he vnderstood that the king died the same houre in which it was told him by the angell, as before ye haue heard.

But was not this a deuise thereby to determe the treasure? for I do not read that he deliuered it out of his hands.

An angell, or as some think a woorse creature.

Edwin succeedeth Edred in the kingdome *of England, his beastlie and incestu-* ous carnalitie with a kinswoman of his on the *verie day of his coronation, he is reproued of Dun-* stane and giueth ouer the gentlewomans companie, *Dunstane is banished for rebuking king Edwin for his vnlaw-* full lust and lewd life, the diuell reioised at his exile, what reuenging mischiefs the king did for displeasure sake against the said Dunstane in exile, the middle part of England rebelleth against king Edwin, and erecteth his brother Edgar in roiall roome ouer them, he taketh thought and dieth; Edgar succeedeth him, he is a fauourer of moonks, his prouision for defense of his realme, his policie and discretion in gouernment, what kings he bound by oth to be true vnto him, eight princes row his barge in signe of submission, the vicious inconueniences that grew among the Englishmen vpon his fauouring of the Danes, a restraint of excessiue quaffing; Dunstane is made bishop of Worcester and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester; iustice in Edgars time seuerelie executed, theft punished with death, a tribute of woolfs skins paid him out of Wales, and the benefit of that tribute.

The xxiij. Chapter.

Edwin.

AFter the decease of Edred, his nephue Edwin the eldest sonne of king Edmund was made king of England, and began his reigne

955 reigne ouer the ſame in the yeere of our Lord 955, & in the 20 yeere of the emperor Otho the firſt, in the 28 and laſt yeere of the reigne of Lewes king of France, and about the twelfe yeere of Malcolme the firſt of that name, king of Scotland. He was conſecrated at Kingſton vpon Thames by Odo the archbiſhop of Canturburie. On the verie day of his coronation, as the lords were ſet in councell about weightie matters touching the gouernment of the realme, he roſe from the place, gat him into a chamber with one of his neere kinſwomen, and there had to do with hir, without anie reſpect or regard had to his roiall eſtate and princelie dignitie. Dunſtane latelie before named abbat of Glaſtenburie, did not onlie without feare of diſpleaſure reproue the K. for ſuch ſhamefull abuſing of his bodie, but alſo cauſed the archbiſhop of Canturburie to conſtreine him to forſake that woman whom vnlawfullie he kept.

There be that write, that there were two women, both mother and daughter, whome king Edward kept as concubines: for the mother being of noble parentage, ſought to ſatiſfie the kings luſt, in hope that either he would take hir or hir daughter vnto wife. And therefore perceiuing that Dunſtane was ſore againſt ſuch wanton paſtime as the king vſed in their companie, ſhe ſo wrought, that Dunſtane was through hir earneſt trauell baniſhed the land. This is alſo reported, that when he ſhould depart the realme, the diuell was heard in the weſt end of the church, taking vp a great laughter after his roring maner, as though he ſhould ſhew himſelfe glad and ioifull at Dunſtanes going into exile. But Dunſtane perceiuing his behauiour, ſpake to him, and ſaid: Well thou aduerſarie, do not ſo greatly reioiſe at the matter, for thou doeſt not now ſo much reioiſe at my departure, but by Gods grace thou ſhalt be as ſorrowfull for my returne.

Thus was Dunſtane baniſhed by king Edwine, ſo that he was compelled to paſſe ouer into Flanders, where he remained for a time within a monaſterie at Gant, finding much friendſhip at the hands of the gouernor of that countrie. Also the more to wreake his wrath, the king ſpoiled manie religious houſes of their goods, and droue out the monks, placing ſecular prieſts in their roomes, as namelie at Malmeſburie, where yet the houſe was not empaired, but rather inriched in lands and ornaments by the kings liberalitie, and the induſtrious meanes of the ſame prieſts, which tooke vp the bones of ſaint Aldelme, and put the ſame into a ſhrine. At length the inhabitants of the middle part of England, euen from Humber to Thames rebelled againſt him, and elected his brother Edgar to haue the gouernement ouer them, wherewith king Edwine tooke ſuch griefe, for that he ſaw no meane at hand how to remedie the matter, that ſhortlie after, when he had reigned ſomewhat more than foure yeeres, he died, and his bodie was buried at Wincheſter in the new abbeie.

Edgar.

EDgar the ſecond ſonne of Edmund late king of England, after the deceaſe of his elder brother the foreſaid Edwine, began his reigne ouer this realme of England in the yeere of our Lord God

959 959, in the 22 yeere of the emperour Otho the firſt, in the fourth yeere of the reigne of Lotharius king of France, 510 almoſt ended after the comming of the Saxons, 124 after the arriuall of the Danes, and in the laſt yeere of Malcolme king of Scotland. He was crowned & conſecrated at Bath, or (as ſome ſay) at Kingſtone vpon Thames by Odo the archbiſhop of Canturburie, being as then not paſt 16 yeeres of age, when he was thus admitted king. He was no leſſe indued with commendable gifts of mind, than with ſtrength and force of bodie. He was a great fauorer of monks, and ſpeciallie had Dunſtane in high eſtimation. Aboue all things in this world he regarded peace, and ſtudied daillie how to preſerue the ſame, to the commoditie & aduancement of his ſubiects.

When he had eſtabliſhed things in good quiet, and ſet an order in matters as ſeemed to him beſt for the peaceable gouernement of his people, he prepared a great nauie of ſhips, and diuiding them in three parts, he appointed euerie part to a quarter of the realme, to watt about the coaſt, that no forren enimie ſhould approch the land, but that they might be incountered and put backe, before they could take land. And euerie yeere after Eaſter, he vſed to giue order, that his ſhips ſhould aſſemble togither in their due places: and then would he with the eaſt nauie ſaile to the weſt parts of his realme, and ſending thoſe ſhips backe, he would with the weſt nauie ſaile into the north parts; and with the north nauie come backe againe into the eaſt. This cuſtome he vſed, that he might ſcowre the ſeas of all pirats & theeues. In the winter ſeaſon and ſpring time, he would ride through the prouinces of his realme, ſearching out how the iudges and great lords demeaned themſelues in the adminiſtration of iuſtice, ſharplie puniſhing thoſe that were found guiltie of extortion, or had done otherwiſe in anie point than dutie required. In all things he vſed ſuch politike diſcretion, that neither was he put in danger by treaſon of his ſubiects, nor moleſted by forren enimies.

He cauſed diuerſe kings to bind themſelues by oth to be true and faithfull vnto him, as Kinadius or rather Indulf king of Scotland, Malcolme king of Cumberland, Maſcutius an archpirat, or (as we may call him) a maiſter rouer, and alſo all the kings of the Welſhmen, as Duffnall, Girkith, Huball, Jacob, and Iudithill, all which came to his court, and by their ſolemne othes receiued, ſware to be at his commandement. And for the more manifeſt teſtimonie thereof, he hauing them with him at Cheſter, cauſed them to enter into a barge vpon the water of Dee, and placing himſelfe in the forepart of the barge, at the helme, he cauſed thoſe eight high princes to row the barge vp and downe the water, ſhewing thereby his princelie prerogatiue and roiall magnificence, in that he might vſe the ſeruice of ſo manie kings that were his ſubiects. And therevpon he ſaid (as hath bin reported) that then might his ſucceſſours account themſelues kings of England, when they inioied ſuch prerogatiue of high and ſupreme honor.

The fame of this noble prince was ſpred ouer all, as well on this ſide the ſea as beyond, inſomuch that great reſort of ſtrangers chanced in his daies, which came euer into this land to ſerue him, and to ſee the ſtate of his court, as Saxons and other, yea and alſo Danes, which became verie familiar with him. He fauored in deed the Danes (as hath beene ſaid) more than ſtood with the commoditie of his ſubiects, for ſcarſe was anie ſtreet in England, but Danes had their dwelling in the ſame among the Engliſhmen, whereby came great harme: for whereas the Danes by nature were great drinkers, the Engliſhmen by continuall conuerſation with them learned the ſame vice. King Edgar to reforme in part ſuch exceſſiue quaffing as then began to grow in vſe, cauſed by the procurement of Dunſtane, nailes to be ſet in cups of a certeine meaſure, marked for the purpoſe, that none ſhould drinke more than was aſſigned by ſuch meaſured cups. Engliſhmen alſo learned of the Saxons, Flemings, and other ſtrangers, their peculiar kind of vices, as of the Saxons a diſordered fierceneſſe of mind, of the Flemings a feeble tenderneſſe of bodie: where before they reioiſed in their owne ſimplicitie, and eſteemed not the lewd and vnpro-fitable manners of ſtrangers.

Wil. Malm.

Edredus departeth this life.

Dunſtane in fauour.

Will. Malmeſ. Polydor.

John Capgraue.

Dunſtane baniſhed the realme.

Dunſtane ſaith not the diuell.

Dunſtane departed into exile.

But was not this a deuiſe thereby to deteine the treaſure? for I do not read that he deliuered it out of his hands. In angell, or as ſome think a woorſe creature.

Wil. Malm. Edwine diſplaceth monks and putteth ſecular prieſts in their roomes.

Rebellion raiſed againſt king Edwine Simon Dun.

Edwin departeth this life.

Edgar a fauorer of monks.

The diligent prouiſion of K. Edgar for defenſe of the realme.

Wil. Malm.

Malcolmus.

Kings of Welſhmen.

King Edgar roweth on the water of Dee.

Ran. Higd. King Edgar fauoureth Danes.

Engliſh learned to quaffe of the Danes.

Wil. Malm.

Engliſhmen learne other vices of ſtrangers.

Dunstane was made bishop of Worcester, and had also the administration of the sée of London committed vnto him. He was in such fauor with the king, that he ruled most things at his pleasure. Ethelwold, which being first a monke of Glastenburie, and after abbat of Abington, was likewise made bishop of Winchester, and might do verie much with the king. Also Oswald, which had béene a monke in the abbeie of Flozie in France, and after was made bishop of Worcester, and from thence remoued to the sée of Yorke, was highlie in fauor with this king, so that by these three prelates he was most counselled. Iustice in his daies was strictlie obserued, for although he were courteous and gentle towards his friends, yet was he sharpe and hard to offendors, so that no person of what estate or degrée soeuer he was escaped worthie punishment, if he did transgresse the lawes and ordinances of the realme. There was no priuie theefe nor common robber that durst lay hands vpon other mens goods, but he might looke to make amends with losse of his life, if he were knowne to be giltie. For how might men that did offend, thinke to escape his hands, which deuised waies how to rid the countrie of all wild rauening beasts, that liued vpon sucking the bloud of others? For as it is said, he appointed Iudweall or Ludweall king of Wales to present him with three hundred wolues yearelie in name of a tribute, but after three yéares space, there was not a woolfe to be found, and so that tribute ceased in the fourth yeare after it began to be paid.

Ethelwold made bishop of Winchester.

Oswald: Floziacum.

Monks must needs write much in praise of Edgar who had men of their cote in such estimatiõ

Tribute instituted of woolfskins.

The death of Alfred king Edgars wife *(or concubine) causeth him to fall into a* fowle offense, an example teaching men to *take heed how they put others in trust to woo for* them; earle Ethelwold cooseneth the king of his *wife, the danger of beholding a womans beautie with lustfull* eies; king Edgar killeth earle Ethelwold to marrie faire Alfred his wife; the bloudie and vnnaturall speach of Ethelwolds base sonne; examples of king Edgars great incontinencie and lewd life; Dunstane putteth the king to penance for his vnchastitie, the Welshmen rebell against him and are corrected, king Edgars vision before his death, of what religious buildings he was founder, his example a spur to others to doo the like, moonks esteemed and secular priests little regarded, king Edgars deformed reformation, his vices, stature, and bodilie qualities, he offereth to fight hand to hand with Kinadius king of Scots vpon occasion of words euill taken, Kinadius submitteth himselfe and is pardoned; his wiues and children, the good state of the realme in king Edgars time, the ampleneſſe of his dominions.

The xxiiij. Chapter.

IN this meane time, Alfred the wife of king Edgar (as some say) or rather (as others write) his concubine died, of whome he had begot a sonne named Edward. The death of this woman caused the king to commit an heinous offense. For albeit at the same time the fame went, that Horgerius duke of Cornewall, or rather Deuonshire, had a daughter named Alfred, a damosell of excellent beautie, whome Edgar minding to haue in mariage, appointed one of his noble men called earle Ethelwold, to go with all speed into Cornewall or Deuonshire, to sée if the yong ladies beautie answered the report that went of hir, and so to breake the matter to hir father in his behalfe: yet Ethelwold being a yong lustie gentleman, tooke his iournie into Cornewall, and comming to the duke, was well receiued, and had a sight of his daughter, with whose beautie he was streight rauished so far in loue, that not regarding the kings pleasure, who had sent him thither, he began to purchase the good will of both father and daughter for himselfe, and did so much that he obteined the same in deed. Herevpon returning to the king, he informed him that the damosell was not of such beautie and comelie personage, as might be thought worthie to match in mariage with his maiestie.

Osborne and Capgraue hold that she was not his wife but a nun. Wil. Malm.

Horger.

Earle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

Shortlie after perceiuing the kings mind by his wrongfull misreport to be turned, and nothing bent that way, he began to sue to him that he might with his fauour marie the same damosell: which the king granted, as one that cared not for hir, because of the credit which he gaue to Ethelwolds words. And so by this meanes Ethelwold obteined Alfred in mariage, which was to his owne destruction, as the case fell out. For when the fame of hir passing beautie did spread ouer all the realme, now that she was maried and came more abroad in sight of the people, the king chanced to heare thereof, and desirous to sée hir, deuised vnder colour of hunting to come vnto the house of Ethelwold, and so did: where he had no sooner set his eie vpon hir, but he was so farre wrapped in the chaine of burning concupiscence, that to obteine his purpose, he shortlie after contrined Ethelwolds death, and maried his wife.

King Edgar seeketh the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

Some say, that the woman kindled the brand of purpose: for when it was knowne, that the king would sée hir, Ethelwold willed hir in no wise to trim vp hir selfe, but rather to disfigure hir in fowle garments, and some euill fauored attire, that hir natiue beautie should not appeare: but she perceiuing how the matter went, of spite set out hir selfe to the vttermost, so that the king vpon the first sight of hir, became so farre inamored of hir beautie, that taking hir husband forth with him on hunting into a forrest or wood then called Warlewood, after Horewood, not shewing that he meant him anie hurt, till at length he had got him within the thicke of the wood, where he suddenlie stroke him through with his dart. Now as his bastard son came to the place, the king asked him how he liked the maner of hunting, whereto he answered; Verie well if it like your grace, for that that liketh you, ought not to displease me. With which answer the king was so pacified, that he indeuored by pretending his fauor towards the sonne, to extenuat the tyrannicall murther of the father. Then did the king marie the countesse Alfred, and of hir begat two sonnes, Edmund which died yong, and Etheldred or Egelred.

King Edgar a murtherer.

Besides this cruell act wrought by king Edgar, for the satisfieng of his fleshlie lust, he also plaied another part greatlie to the staine of his honor, moued also by wanton loue, with a yong damosell named Wilfrid, for after that she had (to auoid the danger of him) either professed hir selfe a nun, or else for colour (as the most part of writers agree) got hirselfe into a nunrie, and clad hir in a nuns weed, he tooke hir forth of hir cloister, and lay by hir sundrie times, and begat on hir a daughter named Edith, who comming to conuenient age, was made a nun. A third example of his incontinencie is written by authors, and that is this. It chanced on a time that he lodged one night at Andeuer, and hauing a mind to a lords daughter there, he commanded that she should bee brought to his bed. But the mother of the gentlewoman would not that hir daughter should be deflowred: and therefore in the darke of the night brought one of hir maidseruants, and laid hir in the kings bed, she being both faire, proper, and pleasant.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

In the morning when the day began to appeare, she made hast to arise: and being asked of the king why she so hasted; That I may go to my daies worke if it please your grace (quoth she.) Herewith she be-

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ting slaied by the king, as it were against hir will, she fell downe on hir knées, & required of him that she might be made frée, in guerdon of hir nights worke. For (saith she) it is not for your honor, that the woman which hath tasted the pleasure of the kings bodie should anie more suffer seruitude vnder the rule and appointment of a sharpe & rough mistresse.

The king then being moued in his spirits, laughed at the matter, though not from the heart, as he that take great indignation at the doings of the dutchesse, and pitied the case of the pore wench. But yet in fine (turning earnest to a iest) he pardoned all the parties, and aduanced the wench to high honor, farre aboue those that had rule of hir afore, so that she ruled them (willed they nilled they:) for he vsed hir as his paramour, till he maried the foresaid Alfred.

For these youthfull parts, & namelie for the rauishing of Wilfride (which though she were no nun, yet the offense seemed verie heinous, for that he should not once touch anie woman shadowed vnder that habit) he greatlie displeased Dunstane, so that by him he was put to his seuen yéres penance, and kept from the crowne till the 12 yeare of his reigne or more. For some write that he was not crowned nor annointed king, till the 30 yéere of his age, which should be about the 13 or 14 yeare of his reigne by that account, sith he entred into the rule of the kingdome about the 16 yéere of his age. In déed one author witnesseth, that he was consecrated at Bath on a Whitsunday, the 13 yéere of his reigne, and that by Dunstane archbishop of Canturburie, and Oswold archbishop of Yorke. But some which suppose that he was consecrated king immediatlie vpon the death of Edzidus, affirme that he was crowned and annointed king by the archbishop Odo, Dunstane as then remaining in exile, from whence he was immediatlie reuoked by Edgar, and first made bishop of Worcester (as hath béene said) and after the decease of Odo was aduanced to be archbishop of Canturburie. But by some writers it appeareth, that Dunstane was reuoked out of exile immediatlie vpon partition of the realme betwixt Edwin and Edgar, which chanced in the yéere 957, by the rebellion of the people of Mercia, & others (as before ye haue heard:) and that in the yéere following the archbishop Odo died, after whome succéeded Alfin bishop of Winchester, who also died the same yeere that king Edward deceassed, as he went to fetch his pall from Rome, and then Brightheline bishop of Dorchester was elected archbishop. But bicause he was not able to discharge so great an office, by K. Edgars commandement he was forced to giue place to Dunstane.

Toward the latter end of king Edgars daies, the Welshmen moued some rebellion against him. Whereupon he assembled an armie, and entering the countrie of Glamorgan, did much hurt in the same, chastising the inhabitants verie sharpelie for their rebellious attempts. Amongst other spoiles taken in those parties at that time by the men of war, the bell of saint Ellutus was taken away, and hanged about a horsles necke, and (as hath béene reported) in the after none, it chanced that king Edgar laid him downe to rest, whereupon in sléepe there appeared one vnto him, and smote him on the breast with a speare. By reason of which vision he caused all things that had béene taken away to be restored againe. But within nine daies after the king died. Whether anie such thing chanced, or that he had anie such vision it forceth not. But truth it is, that in the 37 yéere of his age, after he had reigned 16 yéeres and two moneths he departed this life, the 8 day of Julie, and was buried at Glastenburie.

This Edgar is highlie renowned of writers for such princelie qualities as appeared in him, but chiefelie for that he was so beneficiall to the church, namelie to monks, the aduancement of whome he greatlie sought, both in building abbeies new from the ground, in repairing those that were decaied: also by inriching them with great reuenues, and in conuerting collegiat churches into monasteries, remouing secular priests, and bringing in monks in their places. There passed no one yéere of his reigne, wherein he founded not one abbeie or other. The abbeie of Glastenburie which his father had begun he finished. The abbeie of Abington also he accomplished and set in good order. The abbeies of Peterborough & Thornie he established. The nunrie of Wilton he founded and richlie endowed, where his daughter Editha was professed, and at length became abbesse there. To be briefe, he builded (as the chronicles record) to the number of 40 abbeies and monasteries, in some of which he placed monks, and in some nuns. By his example in those daies, other nobles, as also prelates, & some of the laitie, did begin the foundation of sundrie abbeies and monasteries: as Adelwold bishop of Winchester builded the abbeie of Elie, and (as some say) Peterborough & Thornie, though they were established by the king (as before is mentioned.) Also earle Ailewin, at the exhortation of the same bishop Adelwold, builded the abbeie of Ramsey, though some attribute the doing thereof vnto Oswold the archbishop of Yorke, and some to king Edward the elder.

To conclude, the religious orders of monks and nuns in these daies florished, and the state of secular priests was smallie regarded, insomuch that they were constreined to auoid out of diuerse colleges, and to leaue the same vnto monks, as at Worcester and Winchester, where in the new monasterie, bicause the kings liued not in such sort as was then thought requisite, the prebends were taken from them and giuen to vicars. But when the vicars were thought to vse themselues no better, but rather worse than the other before them, they were likewise put out, and monks placed in their roomes by authoritie of pope John the 13. This reformation, or rather deformation was vsed by king Edgar in many other places of the realme.

He was (as appeareth by diuers writers) namelie in his beginning, cruell against his owne people, and wanton in lusting after yong women (as you haue heard before.) Of stature & proportion of bodie he was but small and low, but yet nature had inclosed within so little a personage such strength, that he durst incounter and combat with him that was thought most strong, onelie doubting this, least he which should haue to do with him should stand in feare of him. And as it chanced at a great feast (where oftentimes men vse their tongs more liberallie than néedeth) Kenneth the king of Scots cast out certeine words in this maner: It may (saith hée) séeme a maruell that so manie countries and prouinces should be subiect to such a little silie bodie as Edgar is. These words being borne awaie by a iester or minstrell, and afterwards vttered to Edgar with great reproch, he wiselie dissembled the matter for a time, although he kept the remembrance thereof inclosed within his breast: and vpon occasion, at length feigned to go on hunting, taking the king of Scots forth with him: and hauing caused one of his seruants to conuey two swords into a place within the forrest by him appointed in secret wise, of purpose he withdrew from the residue of his companie, and there accompanied onelie with the Scotish king, came to the place where the swords were laid; and there taking the one of them, deliuered the other to the Scotish king, willing him now to assaie his strength, that they might shew by

Erle Ethelwold deceiueth the king of his wife.

King Edgar fetcheth the destruction of earle Ethelwold.

King Edgar a murtherer.

His licentious life & incontinencie.

Note the déep hypocrisie of Dunstane.

Ran. Higd. Fabian out of Guido de Columna. Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt. Ranul. Hig.

Polydor.

Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. The welshmen rebel and are chastised.

Will. Malmes. Hen. Hunt. King Edgar departeth this life.

Wherfore Edgar is praised of some writers.

Fabian. Ran. Higd. Hen. Hunt.

Wil. Malm.

Hen. Hunt.

Matt. West. Monks esteemed & secular priests little regarded.

Ran. Higd. lib. 6. cap. 9.

Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Tho. Eliot.

Edgar small of stature but strong and hardie.

Kenneth king of Scots.

The noble courage of king Edgar.

prowse whether of them ought to be subiect to the o-
ther; Start not, but trie it with me (saith he:) for it
is a shame for a king to be full of bragges at bankets,
and not to be readie to fight when triall should be
made abroad. The Scotish king herewith being a-
stonied and marueilouslie abashed, fell downe at his
feet, and with much humilitie confessed his fault,
& desired pardon for the same, which vpon such his
humble submission king Edward easilie granted.

This noble prince had two wiues, Egelfrida or Elfrida, surnamed the white, the daughter of a mighty duke named Ordiner, by whome he had issue a sonne named Edward that succeeded him. His second wife was called Alfreda the daughter of Ogar duke of Deuon or Cornewall (as some saie) by whome he had issue Edmund that died before his father, and Egelred which afterwards was king. Also he had issue a base daughter named Editha, begotten of his concubine Wilfrid (as before ye haue heard.) The state of the realme in king Edgars daies was in good point, for both the earth gaue hir increase verie plentiouslie, the elements shewed themselues verie fauorable, according to the course of times: peace was maintained, and no inuasion by forraine enimies attempted. For Edgar had not onelie all the whole Ile of Britaine in subiection, but also was ruler & souereigne lord ouer all the kings of the out Iles that lie within the seas about all the coasts of the same Britaine euen vnto the realme of Norwaie. He brought also a great part of Ireland vnder his subiection, with the citie of Dublin, as by authentike recordes it doth and may appeare.

Wil. Malm.

Ireland subiect to king Edgar.

Contention amongest the peeres and *states about succession to the crowne, the* monkes remoued and the canons and secular *priests restored by Alfer duke of Mercia and his* adherents, a blasing starre with the euents insuing *the same, the rood of Winchester speaketh, a prettie shift of* moonks to defeat the priests of their possessions, the controuersie betweene the moonks and the priests ended by a miracle of archbishop Dunstane, great hope that Edward would tread his fathers steps, the reuerent loue he bare his stepmother queene Alfred and hir sonne Egelred, hir diuelish purpose to murther Edward hir stepsonne accomplished, his obscure funerall in respect of pompe, but famous by meanes of miracles wrought by and about his sepulture; queene Alfred repenting hir of the said prepensed murther, doth penance, and imploieth hir substance in good woorkes as satisfactorie for hir sinnes, king Edwards bodie remoued, and solemnlie buried by Alfer duke of Mercia, who was eaten vp with lice for being against the said Edwards aduancement to the crowne, queene Alfreds offense by no meanes excusable.

The xxv. Chapter.

Edward.

After the decease of king Edgar, there was some strife and contention amongst the lords & peeres of the realme about the succession of the crowne: for Alfred the mother of Egelredus or Ethelredus, and diuers other of hir opinion, would gladlie haue aduanced the same Egelredus to the rule: but the archbishop Dunstan taking in his hands the baner of the crucifix, presented his elder brother Edward vnto the lords as they were assembled togither, and there pronounced him king, notwithstanding that both queene Alfred and hir friends, namelie Alfer the duke of Mercia were sore against him, especiallie for that he was begot in vnlawfull bed of Elfleda the nun, for which offense he did seuen yeares penance, and not for liuing with Wilfrid (as maister Fox thinketh.) But Dunstane iudging (as is to be thought) that Edward was more fit for their behoofe to continue the world in the former course as Edgar had left it, than his brother Egelred (whose mother and such as tooke part with hir vnder hir sonnes authoritie were likelie inough to turne all vpside downe) vsed the matter so, that with helpe of Oswald the archbishop of Yorke, and other bishops, abbats, and certeine of the nobilitie, as the earle of Essex and such like, he preuailed in his purpose, so that (as before is said) the said Edward, being the second of that name which gouerned this land before the conquest, was admitted king, and began his reigne ouer England in the yeare of our Lord 975, in the third yeare of the emperour Otho the second, in the 20 yeare of the reigne of Lothar king of France, and about the fourth yeare of Cumelerne king of Scotland. He was consecrated by archb. Dunstane at Kingston vpon Thames, to the great griefe of his mother in law Alfred and hir friends. ¶ About the beginning of his reigne a blasing starre was seene, signifieng (as was thought) the miserable haps that followed. And first there insued barrennesse of ground, and thereby faunine amongest the people, and mortaine of cattell.

Alfer duke of Mercia and other immediatlie vpon Edgars death before the crowne was stablished, remoued the monks and restored the canons. Simon Dun.

975

Wil. Malm.

Also duke Alfer or Elfer of Mercia, and other noble men destroied the abbies which king Edgar and bishop Adelwold had builded within the limits of Mercia. The priests or canons, which had bene expelled in Edgars time out of the prebends and benefices, began to complaine of the wrongs that were done to them, in that they had bene put out of possession from their liuings, alleging it to be a great offense and miserable case, that a stranger should come and remoue an old inhabitant, for such maner of doing could not please God, not yet be allowed of anie good man, which ought of reason to doubt least the same should hap to him which he might see to haue bene an other mans vndoing. About this matter was hard hold, for manie of the temporall lords, and namelie the same Alfer, iudged that the priests had wrong. In so much that they remoued the monks out of their places, and brought into the monasteries secular priests with their wiues. But Edelwin duke of the Eastangles, & Alfred his brother, with Brightnoth or Brighnode earle of Essex, withstood this doing, & gathering an armie, with great valiancie maintained the monks in their houses, within the countrie of Eastangles. Herevpon were councels holden, as at Winchester, at Kirthling in Eastangle, and at Calne.

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia.

John Capg. Wil. Malm. Ran. Higd. Matt. West. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun.

At Winchester, when the matter was brought to that passe that the priests were like to haue had their purpose, an image of the rood that stood there in the refectorie where they sat in councell, vttered certeine words in this wise; God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so: ye iudged well once, but ye may not change well againe. As though (saith Polydor Virgil) the monks had more right, which had bereft other men of their possessions, than the priests which required restitution of their owne. But (saith he) because the image of Christ hanging on the crosse was thought to speake these words, such credit was giuen thereto, as it had bene an oracle, that the priests had their sute dashed, and all the trouble was ceassed. So the monks held those possessions, howsoeuer they came to them, by the helpe of God, or rather (as saith the same Polydor) by the helpe of man. For there were euen then diuers that thought this to be rather an oracle of Phebus than of God, that is to say, not published by Gods power, but by the fraud and craftie deceit of men.

Polydor.

A prettie shift of the monks to disappoint the priests. Polydor.

Some write that the father king Edgar appointed Edward to succeed him. Simon Dun. John Capg.

The

The matter therefore was not ſo quieted, but that vpon new trouble an other councell was had at a manour houſe belonging to the king, called Calne, where they that were appointed to haue the hearing of the matter, ſat in an vpper loft. The king by reaſon of his yong yéeres was ſpared, ſo that he came not there. Heere as they were buſied in arguing the matter, either part laieng for himſelfe what could be ſaid, Dunſtane was ſore reuiled, and had ſundrie reproches laid againſt him: but ſuddenlie euen in the verie heat of their communication, the ioiſts of the loft failed, and downe came all the companie, ſo that manie were ſlaine and hurt, but Dunſtane alone ſtanding vpon one of the ioiſts that fell not, eſcaped ſafe and ſound. And ſo this miracle with the other made an end of the controuerſie betweene the prieſts and monks, all the Engliſh people following the mind of the archbiſhop Dunſtane, who by meanes thereof had his will.

Wil. Malm.

Dunſtane by working miracles had his will, when arguments failed.

In this meane while, king Edward ruling himſelfe by good counſell of ſuch as were thought diſcréet and ſage perſons, gaue great hope to the world that he would walke in his fathers vertuous ſteps, as alreadie he well began, and bearing alwaie a reuerence to his mother in law, and a brotherlie loue to hir ſonne Egelred, vſed himſelfe as became him towards them both. Afterward by chance as he was hunting in a foreſt néere the caſtell of Corfe, where his mother in law and his brother the ſaid Egelred then ſoiourned, when all his companie were ſpred abroad in following the game, ſo that he was left alone, he tooke the waie ſtreight vnto his mother in lawes houſe, to viſit hir and his brother. The quéene hearing that he was come, was verie glad thereof, for that ſhe had occaſion offered to worke that which ſhe had of long time before imagined, that was, to ſlea the king hir ſonne in law, that hir owne ſonne might inioy the garland. Wherefore ſhe required him to alight, which he in no wiſe would yéeld vnto, but ſaid that he had ſtolne from his companie, and was onelie come to ſee hir and his brother, and to drinke with them, and therefore would returne to the foreſt againe to ſée ſome more ſport.

Polydor. Wil. Malmſ.

The wicked purpoſe of quéene Alfred.

The quéene perceiuing that he would not alight, cauſed drinke to be fetched, and as he had the cup at his mouth, by hir appointment, one of hir ſeruants ſtroke him into the bodie with a knife, whereupon féeling himſelfe wounded, he ſet ſpurres to the horſſe thinking to gallop awaie, and ſo to get to his companie. But being hurt to the death, he fell from his horſſe, ſo as one of his féet was faſtened in the ſtirrup, by reaſon whereof his horſſe drew him forth through woods and launds, & the bloud which guſhed out of the wound ſhewed token of his death to ſuch as followed him, and the waie to the place where the horſſe had left him. That place was called Corfes gate or Corfes gate. His bodie being found was buried without anie ſolemne funerals at Warham.

The ſhameful murther of K. Edward.

Matth. Weſt. Fabian. Sim. Dun. Wil. Malm.

For they which enuied that he ſhould inioy the crowne, enuied alſo the buriall of his bodie within the church: but the memorie of his fame could not ſo ſecretlie be buried with the bodie, as they imagined. For ſundrie miracles ſhewed at the place where his bodie was interred, made the ſame famous (as diuerſe haue reported) for there was ſight reſtored to the blind, health to the ſicke, and hearing to the deafe, which are eaſilier to be told than beléeued.

Miracles.

Quéene Alfred alſo would haue ridden to the place where he laie, moued with repentance (as hath béene ſaid) but the horſſe whereupon ſhe rode would not come nére the graue, for anie thing that could be done to him. Neither by changing the ſaid horſſe could the matter be holpen: for euen the ſame thing happened to the other horſſes. Heere vpon the woman perceiued hir great offenſe towards God for murthering the innocent, and did ſo repent hir afterward for the ſame, that beſides the chaſtiſing of hir bodie in faſting, and other kind of penance, ſhe imploied all hir ſubſtance and patrimonie on the poore, and in building and reparing of churches and monaſteries. She founded two houſes of nuns (as is ſaid) the one at Warwell, the other at Ambreſburie, and finallie profeſſed hirſelfe a nun in one of them, that is to ſay, at Warwell, which houſe ſhe builded (as ſome affirme) in remembrance of hir firſt huſband that was ſlaine there by king Edgar for hir ſake (as before is mentioned.)

Building of abbeies in thoſe daies was thought to be a full ſatiſfaction for all maner of ſinnes.

The bodie of this Edward the ſecond, and ſurnamed the martyr, after that it had remained three yeeres at Warham where it was firſt buried, was remoued vnto Shaftesburie, and with great reuerence buried there by the forenamed Alſer or Elſer, duke of Mercia, who alſo did ſore repent himſelfe, in that he had béene againſt the aduancement of the ſaid king Edward (as ye haue heard.) But yet did not he eſcape worthie puniſhment: for within one yéere after, he was eaten to death with lice (if the hiſtorie be true.) King Edward came to his death after he had reigned three yéeres, or (as other write) three yéeres and eight moneths. ¶ Whatſoeuer hath béene reported by writers of the murther committed on the perſon of this king Edward, ſure it is that if he were baſe begotten (as by writers of no meane credit it ſhould appéere he was in déed) great occaſion vndoubtedlie was giuen vnto quéene Alfred to ſéeke reuenge for the wrongfull kéeping backe of hir ſon Egelred from his rightfull ſucceſſion to the crowne: but whether that Edward was legitimate or not, ſhe might yet haue deuiſed ſome other lawfull meane to haue come by hir purpoſe, and not ſo to haue procured the murther of the yong prince in ſuch vnlawfull maner. For hir doing therein can neither be worthilie allowed, nor throughlie excuſed, although thoſe that occaſioned the miſchiefe by aduancing hir ſtepſonne to an other mans right, deſerued moſt blame in this matter.

Elfericus.

Polydor. Will. Malmeſ.

Thus farre the ſixt booke, compriſing the firſt arriuall of the Danes in this land, which was in king Britricus his reigne, pag. 135, at which time the moſt miſerable ſtate of England tooke beginning.

THE

THE SEVENTH BOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Egelred ſucceedeth Edward *the martyr in the kingdome of Eng-* land, the decaie of the realme in his *reigne*, *Dunſtane refuſing to conſecrate* him is therevnto inforced, Dunſtans prophe- *ſies of the Engliſh people and Egelred their king*, his ſlouth and idlenes accompanied with other vi- *ces, the Danes arriue on the coaſts of Kent and make ſpoile of* manie places; warre betwixt the king and the biſhop of Ro- cheſter, archbiſhop Dunſtans bitter denunciation againſt the king becauſe he would not be pacified with the biſhop of Ro- cheſter without moneie; Dunſtans parentage, his ſtrange trance, and what a woonderfull thing he did during the time it laſted, his education and bringing vp, with what good quali- ties he was indued, an incredible tale of his harpe, how he was reuoked from louing and luſting after women whereto he was addicted, his terrible dreame of a rough beare, what preferments he obteined by his skill in the expounding of dreames.

The firſt Chapter.

Egelred.

IN the former boke was diſcourſed the troubled ſtate of this land by the manifold and mutinous inuaſions of the Danes; who though they ſought to ingroſſe the rule of euerie part and parcell therof in to their hands; yet being reſiſted by the valiantneſſe of the gouernors ſupported with the aid of their people, they were diſappointed of their expectation, and receiued manie a diſhonorable or rather reprochfull repulſe at their aduerſaries hands. Much miſchiefe doubtleſſe they did, and more had done, if they had not beene met withall in like meaſure of extremitie as they offred, to the offenſe and ouerthrow of great multitudes. Their firſt entrance into this land is controuerſed among writers, ſome ſaieng that it was in the daies of king Britricus, other ſome affirming that it was in the time of king Egbert, &c: about which point (ſith it is a matter of no great moment) we count it labour loſt to vſe manie words: onelie this by the waie is notewoorthie, that the Danes had an vnperfect or rather a lame and limping rule in this land, ſo long as the gouernors were watchfull, diligent, politike at home, and warlike abroad. But when theſe kind of kings diſcontinued, and that the raines of the regiment fell into the hands of a pezzant not a puiſſant prince, a man euill qualified, diſſolute, ſlacke and licentious, not regarding the dignitie of his owne perſon, nor fauoring the good eſtate of the people; the Danes who before were courſed from coaſt to coaſt, and purſued from place to place, as more willing to leaue the land, than deſirous to tarrie in the ſame; tooke occaſion of ſtomach and courage to reenter this Ile, & waxing more bold and confident, more deſperate and venturous, ſpared no force, omitted no opportunitie, let ſlip no aduantage that they might poſſiblie take, to put in practiſe and fulfill to accompliſh their long conceiued purpoſe.

Now becauſe the Danes in the former kings daies were reencountred (and that renowmedlie) ſo often as they did encounter, and lacking the totall regiment, were diſpoſſeſſed of their partile principalitie, which by warlike violence they obteined; and for that the Saxons were intereſſed in the land, and theſe but violent incrochers, vnable to keepe that which they came to by conſtreint; we haue thought it conuenient to compriſe the troubled eſtate of that time in the firſt boke; the rather for the neceſſarie conſequence of matters then in motion: and heere deeme it not amiſſe, at ſo great and ſhamefull looſeneſſe (ſpeciallie in a prince) miniſtring hart and courage to the enimie, to begin the ſeuenth boke. Wherin is erpreſſed the chiefeſt time of their flouriſhing eſtate in this land; if in tumults, broiles, battels, and bloudſhed, ſuch a kind of eſtate may poſſiblie be found. For heere the Danes lord it, heere they take vpon them like ſouereignes, & heere (if at anie time they had abſolute authoritie) they did what they might in the higheſt degree: as ſhall be declared in the vnfortunate affaires of vngratious Egelred or Etheldred, the ſonne of king Edgar, and of his laſt wife quæne Alfred, who was ordeined king in place of his brother Edward, after the ſame Edward was diſpatched out of the waie, and began his reigne ouer this realme of England, in the yeere of our Lord 979, which was in the ſeuenth yeere of the emperor Otho the ſecond, in the 24 of Lothaire K. of France, and about the ſecond or third yeere of Kenneth the third of that name king of Scotland. 979 Simeon Dun.

This Egelred or Etheldred was the 30 in number from Cerdicus the firſt king of the Weſtſaxons: through his negligent gouernment, the ſtate of the commonwealth fell into ſuch decaie (as writers do report) that vnder him it may be ſaid, how the kingdome was come to the vttermoſt point or period of old and feeble age, which is the next degree to the graue. For whereas, whileſt the realme was diuided at the firſt by the Saxons into ſundrie dominions, it grew at length (as it were increaſing from youthfull yeeres) to one abſolute monarchie, which paſſed vn-

der

der the late remembred princes, Egbert, Adelſtane, Edgar, and others, ſo that in their daies it might be ſaid, how it was growne to mans ſtate, but now vnder this Egelred, through famine, peſtilence, and warres, the ſtate thereof was ſo ſhaken, turned vpſide downe, and weakened on each part, that rightlie might the ſeaſon be likened vnto the old broken yéeres of mans life, which through feeblenesſe is not able to helpe it ſelfe. Dunſtane archbiſhop of Canturburie was thought to haue foreſéene this thing, and therfore refuſed to annoint Egelred king, which by the murther of his brother ſhould atteine to the gouernment: but at length he was compelled vnto it, and ſo he conſecrated him at Kingſton vpon Thames, as the maner then was, on the 24 day of Aprill, aſſiſted by Oſwald archbiſhop of Yorke, and ten other biſhops.

Will. Malmeſ. But (as hath béene reported) Dunſtane then ſaid that the Engliſh people ſhould ſuffer condigne puniſhment generallie, with loſſe of ancient liberties, which before that time they had inioied. Dunſtane alſo long before prophecied of the ſlouthfulneſſe that ſhould remaine in this Egelred. For at what time he miniſtred the ſacrament of baptiſme to him, ſhortlie after he came into this world, he defiled the font with the ordure of his wombe (as hath béene ſaid:) wherupon Dunſtane being troubled in mind; By the Lord (ſaith he) and his bleſſed mother, this child ſhall proue to be a ſlouthfull perſon. It hath béene written alſo, that when he was but ten yeeres of age, and heard that his brother Edward was ſlaine, he ſo offended his mother with weéping, becauſe ſhe could not ſtill him, that hauing no rod at hand, ſhe toke tapers or ſizes that ſtood before hir, and beat him ſo ſore with them, that ſhe had almoſt killed him, whereby he could neuer after abide to haue anie ſuch candels lighted before him.

Polydor. This Egelred (as writers ſay) was nothing giuen to warlike enterpriſes, but was ſlouthfull, a louer of idleneſſe, and delighting in riotous luſts, which being knowne to all men, cauſed him to be euill ſpoken of amongſt his owne people, and nothing feared amongſt ſtrangers. Herevpon the Danes that exerciſed rouing on the ſeas, began to conceiue a boldneſſe of courage to diſquiet and moleſt the ſea coaſts of the realme, in ſo much that in the ſecond

Ran. Higd. 980 yéere of this Egelreds reigne, they came with ſeuen ſhips on the Engliſh coaſts of Kent, and ſpoiled the Ile of Tenet, the towne of Southampton, and in the yeere following they deſtroied S. Petroks abbeie in Cornwall, Northland in Deuonſhire, and diuerſe other places by the ſea ſide, ſpeciallie in Deuonſhire & Cornwall. Alſo a great part of Cheſhire was deſtroied by pirats of Norway.

Sim. Dun. Ran. Higd.

982 The ſame yéere by caſualtie of fire, a great part of the citie of London was burnt. In the yeere of our

983 Lord 983, Alfer duke of Mercia departed this life, who was coſen to king Edgar, & his ſonne Alfrike toke vpon him the rule of that dukedome, and within thrée yéeres after was baniſhed the land. About the eight yéere of his reigne, Egelred maried one Elgina or Ethelgina, daughter of earle Egbert. In the ninth yéere of his reigne, vpon occaſion of ſtrife betweéne him and the biſhop of Rocheſter, he made warre againſt the ſame biſhop, waſted his lordſhips, and beſieged the citie of Rocheſter, till Dunſtan procured the biſhops peace with paiment of an hundred pounds in gold. And becauſe the K. would not agrée with the biſhop without moneie at the onelie requeſt of Dunſtane, the ſaid Dunſtane did ſend him word, that ſithens he made more account of gold than of God, more of monie than of S. Andrew, patrone of the church of Rocheſter, and more of couetouſneſſe than of him being the archbiſhop, the miſchiefs which

Alfer or Elfer duke of Mercia departed this life.

Alfrike or Elfrike duke of Mercia. Fabian.

Wil. Malm. Matt. Weſt.

the Lord had threatned would ſhortlie fall and come to paſſe, but the ſame ſhould not chance whileſt he was aliue, who died in the yéere following, on the 25 of Maie, being ſaturdaie.

Of this Dunſtane manie things are recorded by writers, that he ſhould be of ſuch holineſſe and vertue, that God wrought manie miracles by him, both whileſt he liued heere on earth, and alſo after his deceaſſe. He was borne in Weſtſaron, his father was named Heorſtan, and his mother Cinifride, who in his youth ſet him to ſchole, where he ſo profited, that he excelled all his equals in age. Afterward he fell ſicke of an ague, which vered him ſo ſore that it draue him into a frenſie: and therefore his parents appointed him to the cure and charge of a certeine woman, where his diſeaſe grew ſo on him, that he fell in a trance, as though he had béene dead, and after that he ſuddenlie aroſe, & by chance caught a ſtaffe in his hand, and ran vp and downe through hils and dales, and laid about him as though he had béene afraid of mad dogs. The nert night (as it is ſaid) he gat him to the top of the church (by the helpe of certeine ladders that ſtood there for workemen to mend the roofe) and there ran vp and downe verie dangerouſlie, but in the end came ſafelie downe, and laid him to ſléepe betweéne two men that watched the church that night, & when he awaked, he marueiled how he came there. Finallie, recouering his diſeaſe, his parents made him a prieſt, and placed him in the abbeie of Glaſtenburie, where he gaue himſelfe to the reading of ſcriptures and knowledge of vertue. But as well his kinſmen as certeine other did raiſe a report of him, that he gaue not himſelfe ſo much to the reading of ſcriptures, as to charming, coniuring and ſorcerie, which he vtterlie denied: howbeit learned he was in déed, & could do manie prétie things both in handie worke and other deuiſes: he had good ſkill in muſicke and delighted much therein. At length he grew in ſuch fauour, that he was aduanced into the ſeruice of king Adelſtane.

Vita Dunſtani. John Capgr. Oſborne. Ran. Higd.

Vpon a time, as he came to a gentlewomans houſe with his harpe, and hong the ſame on the wall, while he ſhaped a prieſts ſtole, the harpe ſuddenlie began to plaie a pſalme, which draue the whole houſhold in ſuch feare, that they ran out and ſaid, he was too cunning, and knew more than was expedient: wherevpon he was accuſed of necromancie, and ſo baniſhed out of the court. After this he began to haue a liking to women, and when Elfeagus then biſhop of Wincheſter and his coſen, perſuaded him to become a monke, he refuſed it, for he rather wiſhed to haue maried a yong damoſell, whoſe pleaſant companie he dailie inioied. But being ſone after ſtriken with ſuch a ſwelling diſeaſe in his bellie, that all his bodie was brought into ſuch ſtate, as though he had béene infected with a foule leproſie, he bethought him ſelfe, and vpon his recouerie ſent to the biſhop, who immediatlie ſhore him a monke, in which life he liued in ſo great opinion of holineſſe, as he in time became abbat of Glaſtenburie: where on a time as he was in his praiers before the altar of S. George, he fell aſléepe: and imagining in his dreame, that an vglie rough beare came towards him with open mouth, and ſet his forefoot vpon his ſhoulders readie to deuoure him, he ſuddenlie wakening for feare, caught his walking ſtaffe which he commonlie went with, and laid about him, that all the church rang thereof, to the great wonder of ſuch as ſtood by. The common tale of his plucking the diuell by the noſe with a paire of pinſors, for tempting him with women, while he was making a chalice: the great loue that the ladie Elfleda nére kinſwoman to king Adelſtane bare him to hir dieng day, with a great manie of other ſuch like matters, I leaue as friuo-

Polychron.

lous,

lous, and wholie impertinent to our purpoſe: onelie this I read, that through declaring of his dreames and viſions, he obteined in the time of king Edgar, firſt the biſhoprike of Worceſter, after of London, & laſt of all the archbiſhoprike of Canturburie. But leauing Dunſtane and the fond deuiſes depending vpon the commemoration of his life, we will now returne to the doings of Egelred, and ſpeake of ſuch things in the next chapter as chanced in his time.

The Danes inuade England on each ſide, *they are vanquiſhed by the Engliſh*, Goda earle of Deuonſhire ſlaine; the Danes in *a battell fought at Maldon kill Brightnod earle of* Eſſex and the moſt of his armie, ten thouſand pounds *paid to them by compoſition that they ſhould not trouble the* Engliſh ſubiects, they ceaſe their crueltie for a time, but within a while after fall to their bloudie bias, the Engliſh people deſpaire to reſiſt them; Egelred addreſſeth a nauie againſt the Danes vnder the erles Alfrike and Turold, Alfrike traitorouſlie taketh part with the Danes, his ſhip and ſouldiers are taken, his ſonne Algar is puniſhed for his fathers offenſe, the Danes make great waſt in many parts of this Iland, they beſiege London and are repelled with diſhonor, they driue king Egelred to buy peace of them for 16000 pounds; Aulafe king of Norwey is honorablie interteined of Egelred, to whome he promiſeth at his baptiſme neuer to make warre againſt England, the great zeale of people in ſetting forward the building of Durham towne and the minſter.

The ſecond Chapter.

Wil. Malm. Matt. Weſtm. The Danes inuade this land.

SHortlie after the deceaſe of Dunſtane, the Danes inuaded this realme on each ſide, waſting and ſpoiling the countrie in moſt miſerable wiſe. They arriued in ſo manie places at once, that the Engliſhmen could not well deuiſe whither to go to encounter firſt with them. Some of them ſpoiled a place or towne called Wichport, and from thence paſſing further into the countrie, were met with by the Engliſhmen, who giuing them battell, loſt their capteine Goda: but yet they got the victorie, and beat the Danes out of the field, and ſo that part of the Daniſh armie was brought to confuſion. Simon Dunel. ſaith, that the Engliſhmen in deed wan the field here, but not without great loſſe. For beſides Goda (who by report of the ſame author was Earle of Deuonſhire) there died an other valiant man of warre named Strenwold. In the yeare 991, Brightnod earle of Eſſex, at Maldon gaue battell to an armie of Danes (which vnder their leaders Juſtine and Guthmond had ſpoiled Gipſwich) and was there ouercome and ſlaine with the moſt part of his people, and ſo the Danes obteined in that place the victorie.

Alias Weceberport. H. Hunt. Simon Dun. Danes banquiſhed.

Simon Dun.

Goda earle of Deuonſhire ſlaine.

Matt. VVeſt.

991

In the ſame yeare, and in the 13 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, when the land was on each ſide ſore afflicted, waſted and haried by the Danes, which couered the ſame as they had beene graſſhoppers: by the aduiſe of the archbiſhop of Canturburie Siricius (which was the ſecond of that ſee after Dunſtane) a compoſition was taken with the Danes, ſo that for the ſum of ten thouſand pounds to be paied to them by the king, they ſhould couenant not to trouble his ſubiects anie further. This monie was called Danegilt or Dane monie, and was leuied of the people. Although other take that to be Danegilt, which was giuen vnto ſuch Danes as king Egelred afterwards reteined in his ſeruice, to defend the land frõ other Danes and enimies that ſought to inuade his dominions. But by what name ſo euer this monie (which the Danes now receiued) was called, true it is that hereupon they ceaſſed from their moſt cruell inuaſions for a time. But ſhortlie after they had refreſhed themſelues, and recouered new ſtrength, they began to play their old parts againe, doing the like miſchefe by their reſemblable inuaſions, as they had vſed before. By reaſon hereof ſuch feare came vpon the Engliſh people, that they deſpaired to be able to reſiſt the enimies.

Wil. Malm. 992

The king yet cauſed a nauie to be ſet forth at London, whereof he appointed earle Alfrike (whome before he had baniſhed) to be high admerall, ioining with him earle Turold. This nauie did ſet forward from London toward the enimies, who hauing warning giuen them from Alfrike, eſcaped away without hurt. Shortly after a greater nauie of the Danes came, and incountered with the kings fleet, ſo that a great number of the Londoners were ſlaine, and all the kings ſhips taken: for Alfrike like a traitor turned to the Danes ſide. ¶ Matt. Weſt. maketh other report of this matter, declaring that Alfrike in deed being one of the chiefe capteins of the fleet, aduertiſed them by forewarning of the danger that was toward them, and that when they ſhould come to ioining, the ſame Alfrike like a traitor fled to the Danes, and after vpon neceſſitie being put to flight eſcaped away with them: but the other capteins of the kings fleet, as Theodred, Elfan, and Eſewen, purſued the Danes, toke one of their ſhips, and ſlue all thoſe that were found therein. The Londoners alſo (as the ſame Matt. Weſt. ſaith) met with the nauie of the Daniſh rouers as they fled away, and ſlue a great number, and alſo toke the ſhip of the traitor Alfrike with his ſouldiers & armor, but he himſelfe eſcaped, though with much paine, hauing plaied the like traitorous part once before, and yet was reconciled to the kings fauor againe. Vpon this miſchiefe wrought by the father, the king now toke his ſonne Algar, and cauſed his eies to be put out.

Hen. Hunt. A nauie ſet forth.

Alfrike a traitour to his countrie. Matth. Weſt.

Henr. Hunt. The ſon puniſhed for his fathers offenſe

993

About the ſame time was Bamborough deſtroied by the Danes, which arriued after in Humber, and waſted the countrie of Lindſey and Yorkeſhire, on either ſide that riuer. And when the Engliſhmen were aſſembled to giue them battell, before they ioined, the capteines of the Engliſh armie, Frena, Godwin, and Fredegiſt, that were Danes by their fathers ſide, began to flie away, and eſcaped, ſo giuing the occaſion of the ouerthrow that lighted on their people. But by ſome writers it ſhould appeare, that after the Danes had deſtroied all the north parts, as they ſpred abroad without order and good arraie, the people of the countrie fell vpon them, and ſlue ſome of them, and chaſed the reſidue. Other of the Danes with a nauie of 94 ſhips entered the Thames, and beſieged London about our ladie daie in September. They gaue a verie ſore aſſault to the citie, and aſſaied to ſet it on fire: but the citizens ſo valiantlie defended themſelues, that the Danes were beaten backe and repelled, greatlie to their loſſe, ſo that they were conſtreined to depart thence with diſhonor. Then they fell to and waſted the countries of Eſſex, Kent, Suſſex, and Hamſhire, and ceaſſed not till they had inforced the king to compound with them for 16 thouſand pounds, which he was glad to pay to haue peace with them.

Simon Dun. Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Aulafe king of Norway, & Sweyn king of Denmarke were capteins of this fleet, as ſaith Simon Dun.

994

Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The king compoundeth with the Danes for monie.

Moreouer, whereas they wintered that yeare at Southampton, the king procured Aulafe king of the Norwegians to come vnto Andeuer (where at that time he lay) vpon pledges receiued of the king for his ſafe returne. Elphegus biſhop of Wincheſter, and duke Ethelwold were appointed by king Egelred to bring Aulafe vnto him in moſt honorable maner. The ſame time was Aulafe baptiſed, king Egelred

Ten thouſand pounds paid to the Danes. Danegilt.

Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun. Aulafe king of Norwey baptiſed.

his promiſe. red receiuing him at the fontſtone, and ſo he promiſed neuer after to make anie warre within this land. And receiuing great gifts of the king, he returned into his countrie, and kept his promiſe faithfullie: but the euils toke not ſo an end, for other of the Danes ſprang vp, as they had beene the heads of the ſerpent Hydra, ſome of them euer being readie to trouble the quiet ſtate of the Engliſh nation.

John Leland. Simon Dun. 995 About this ſeaſon, that is to ſay, in the yeere of our Lord 995, biſhop Aldaine which was fled from Cheſter in the ſtreet (otherwiſe called Cuneceſter) with the bodie of ſaint Cuthbert for feare of the inuaſion of Danes, vnto Rippon, brought the ſame bodie now vnto Durham, and there began the foundation of a church; ſo that the ſee of that biſhoprike was from thenceforth there eſtabliſhed, and the woods were there cut downe, which before that time couered and ouergrew that place, whereupon it began firſt to be inhabited. Earle Athred, who gouerned that countrie, greatlie furthered the biſhop in this worke, ſo that all the people inhabiting betweene the riuers of Coquid and Theis, came togither to rid the woods, and to helpe forwards the building of the church and towne there.

The church of Durham builded.

Earle Athred

Durham towne and minſter builded.

The Danes inuading the weſt parts of *this land make great hauocke by fire and* ſword, they arriue at Rocheſter, and conquer *the Kentiſhmen in field, king Egelred ouercom-* meth the Danes that inhabited Cumberland and *waſteth the countrie, the Summerſetſhire men are foiled;* the miſerable ſtate of the realme in thoſe daies; the Engliſh bloud mixed with the Danes and Britaines, and what inconueniences grew thervpon, the diſordered gouernement of king Egelred, ſickneſſes vexing the people, treaſon in the nobles, the tribute paid to the Danes vnmercifullie inhanſed, the realme brought to beggerie; king Egelred by politike perſuaſion and counſell marrieth Emma the duke of Normandies daughter, vpon what occaſion the Normans pretended a title to the crowne of England, they conquer the whole land, what order king Egelred tooke to kill all the Danes within his kingdome, and what rule they bare in this realme yet they were murdered, the thraldome of the Engliſh people vnder them, whereof the word Lordane ſprang.

The third Chapter.

997 The Danes inuade the weſt parts of this land.

IN the nintéenth yere of king Egelreds reigne, the Danes ſailed about Cornewall, and comming into the Seuerne ſea, they robbed & toke preies in the coaſts of Deuonſhire & Southwales, and landing at Wichepoꝛt, they burned vp the countrie, and came about vnto Penwithſtréet on the ſouth coaſt, and ſo arriuing in the mouth of Tamer water, came vnto Lidford, and there waſted all afore them with force of fire. They burned, amongſt other places, the monaſterie of ſaint Odulfe at Eſſingſtocke. After this they came into Dorcetſhire, and paſſed through the countrie with flame and fire, not finding anie that offered to reſiſt them. The ſame yéere alſo they ſoiourned in the Ile of Wight, and liued vpon ſpoiles & preies which they toke in Hampſhire and Suſſex. At length they came into the Thames, and ſo by the riuer of Medwey arriued at Rocheſter. The Kentiſhmen aſſembled togither and fought with the Danes, but they were ouercome, and ſo left the field to the Danes. After this, the ſame Danes ſailed into Normandie, and king Egelred went into Cumberland, where the Danes inhabited in great numbers, whome he ouercame with ſore warre, and waſted almoſt all Cumberland, taking great ſpoiles in the ſame. About the ſame time, or ſhortlie after, the Danes with their nauie, returning out of Normandie, came vnto Exmouth, and there aſſaulted the caſtell, but they were repelled by them that kept it. After this they ſpread abroad ouer all the countrie, exerciſing their accuſtomed trade of deſtroieng all before them with fire and ſword. The men of Summerſetſhire fought with them at Pentho, but the Danes got the vpper hand.

Tauiſtocke

998

999 The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1000

1001 Exmouth.

Pentho.

Thus the ſtate of the realme in thoſe daies was verie miſerable, for there wanted worthie chieftains to rule the people, and to chaſtiſe them when they did amiſſe. There was no truſt in the noble men, for euerie one impugned others doing, and yet would not deuiſe which way to deale with better likelihood. When they aſſembled in councell, and ſhould haue occupied their heads in deuiſing remedies for the miſchiefs of the common wealth, they turned their purpoſe vnto altercation, about ſuch ſtrifes, contentions and quarels as each one had againſt other, and ſuffered the generall cauſe to lie ſtill in the duſt. And if at anie time there was anie good concluſion agreed vpon, for the withſtanding of the enimie, & releſe of the common wealth, anon ſhould the enimie be aduertiſed thereof by ſuch as were of aliance or conſanguinitie to them. For (as Caxton, Polychr. and others ſay) the Engliſh bloud was ſo mixed with that of the Danes and Britains, who were like enimies to the Engliſhmen, that there was almoſt few of the nobilitie and commons, which had not on the one ſide a parent of ſome of them.

Diſagrement with councellors what fruit it bringeth.

Whereby it came to paſſe, that neither the ſecret purpoſes of the king could be concealed till they might take due effect; neither their aſſemblies proue quiet without quarelling and taking of parts. Manie alſo being ſent forth with their powers one way (whileſt the king went to make reſiſtance another) did reuolt to his enimies, and turned their ſwords againſt him (as you haue heard of Elfrike and his complices, and ſhall read of manie others) ſo that it was no maruell that Egelred ſped no better, and yet was he as valiant as anie of his predeceſſors, although the monks fauour him not in their writings, becauſe he demanded aid of them toward his warres, and was nothing fauorable to their lewd hypocriſie. But what is a king if his ſubiects be not loiall? What is a realme, if the common wealth be diuided? By peace & concord, of ſmall beginnings great and famous kingdomes haue oft times proceeded; whereas by diſcord the greateſt kingdoms haue oftner bene brought to ruine. And ſo it proued here, for whileſt priuat quarels are purſued, the generall affaires are vtterlie neglected: and whileſt ech nation ſéeketh to preferre his owne aliance, the Iland it ſelfe is like to become a deſert.

But to proceed with our monaſticall writers: certes they lay all the fault in the king, ſaieng that he was a man giuen to no good exerciſe, he delighted in ſlothfull luſtes and riotous bankettings, and ſtill ſought waies how to gather of his ſubiects what might be got, as well by vnlawfull meanes as otherwiſe. For he would for feined or for verie ſmall & light cauſes diſherit his natiue ſubiects, and cauſe them to redéeme their owne poſſeſſions for great ſummes of monie. Beſides theſe oppreſſions, diuers kinds of ſickneſſes vexed the people alſo, as the blodie flix, and hot burning agues which then raged through the land, ſo that manie died thereof. By ſuch manner of meanes therefore, what through the miſgouernance of the king, the treaſon and diſloialtie of the nobilitie, the lacke of good order and due correction amongſt the people, and by ſuch other ſcourges and miſhaps as afflicted the Engliſh nation

The miſgouernement of the king.

Sickneſſe vexing the people.

Treaſon in the nobilitie.

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Simon Dun. Polydor. Matth. Weſt.
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Anlafe king of Norway, & Sweyn king of Denmarke were captains of this fleet, as ſaith Simon Dun.
994
Hen. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The king compoundeth with the Danes for monie.
Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun. Anlafe king of Norwey baptiſed.

tion in that season, the land was brought into great ruine, so that, where by strength the enimie could not be kept off, there was now no helpe but to appease them with monie. By reason hereof from time of the first agreement with the Danes for 10 thousand pounds tribute, it was inhanced to 16000 pounds, (as you haue heard) & after that to 20000 pounds, then to 24000 pounds, & so to 30000 pounds, & lastlie to 40000 pounds, till at length the reime was emptied in maner of all that monie and coine that could be found in it. In this meane time died Elgina or Ethelgina the quéene. Shortlie after it was deuised that the king should be a suter vnto Richard duke of Normandie, for his sister Emma, a ladie of such excellent beautie, that she was named the floure of Normandie. This suit was begun and tooke such good successe, that the king obteined his purpose. And so in the yeare of our Lord 1002, which was about the 24 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, he maried the said Emma with great solemnitie.

The inhancing of the tribute paid to the Danes.

The death of quéene Elgina. Emma.

Hen. Hunt.

1002

Emma daughter of R. duke of Normandie maried to K. Edgar.

This mariage was thought to be right necessarie, honorable, and profitable for the realme of England, because of the great puissance of the Norman princes in those daies: but as things afterward came to passe, it turned to the subuersion of the whole English state: for by such affinitie and dealing as happened hereby betwixt the Normans and Englishmen, occasion in the end was ministred to the same Normans to pretend a title to the crowne of England, in prosecuting of which title, they obteined and made the whole conquest of the land, as after shall appeare. Egelred being greatlie aduanced (as he thought) by reason of his mariage, deuised vpon presumption thereof, to cause all the Danes within the land to be murthered in one day. Herevpon he sent priuie commissioners to all cities, burrowes and townes within his dominions, commanding the rulers and officers in the same, to kill all such Danes as remained within their liberties, at a certeine day prefired, being saint Brices day, in the yeare 1012, and in the 34 yeare of king Egelreds reigne. Herevpon (as sundrie writers agree) in one day & houre this murther began, and was according to the commission and iniunction executed. But where it first began, the same is vncerteine: some say at Wellowin in Herefordshire, some at a place in Staffordshire called Bownhill, & others in other places, but wheresoeuer it began, the doers repented it after.

1012

The 13 of Nouember. The murder of the Danes.

Bownhill, or Houndhill, a place within Werchington parish beside the forest of Médwood, somewhat more than two miles from Worcester.

But now per we proceed anie further, we will shew what rule the Danes kept here in this realme before they were thus murthered, as in some bookes we find recorded. Whereas it is shewed that the Danes compelled the husbandmen to til the ground & do all maner of labour and toile to be done about husbandrie: the Danes liued vpon the fruit and gaines that came thereof, and kept the husbandmens wiues, their daughters, maids and seruants, vsing and abusing them at their pleasures. And when the husbandmen came home, then could they scarse haue such sustenance of meats and drinkes as fell for seruants to haue: so that the Danes had all at their commandements, eating and drinking of the best, where the sillie man that was the owner, could hardlie come to his fill of the worst. Besids this, the common people were so oppressed by the Danes, that for feare and dread they called them in euerie such house where anie of them soiourned, Lord Dane. And if an Englishman and a Dane chanced to méet at anie bridge or streight passage, the Englishman must staie till the Lord Dane were passed. But in processe of time, after the Danes were voided the land, this word Lord Dane was in derision and despight of the Danes turned by Englishmen into a name of reproch, as Lordane, which till these our daies is not forgotten. For when the people in manie parts of this realme will note and signifie anie great idle lubber that will not labour nor take paine for his liuing, they will call him Lordane. Thus did the Danes vse the Englishmen in most vile maner, and kept them in such seruile thraldome as cannot be sufficientlie vttered.

The thraldome of the Danes.

Hector Boet.

Lordane whereof the word came.

A fresh power of Danes inuade England to reuenge the slaughter of their countrimen that inhabited this Ile, the west parts betraied into their hands by the conspiracie of a Norman that was in gouernement, earle Edrike feigned himselfe sicke when king Egelred sent vnto him to leuie a power against the Danes, and betraieth his people to the enimies; Sweine king of Denmarke arriueth on the coast of Northfolke, and maketh pitifull spoile by fire and sword; the truce taken betweene him and Vikillus is violated, and what reuengement followeth; king Sweine forced by famine returneth into his owne countrie, he arriueth againe at Sandwich, why king Egelred was vnable to preuaile against him, the Danes ouerrun all places where they come and make cruell waste, king Egelred paieth him great summes of monie for peace; the mischiefes that light vpon a land by placing a traitorous stranger in gouernement, how manie acres a hide of land conteineth, Egelreds order taken for ships and armour, why his great fleet did him little pleasure; a fresh host of Danes vnder three capteines arriue at Sandwich, the citizens of Canturburie for monie purchase safetie, the faithlesse dealing of Edrike against king Egelred for the enimies aduantage, what places the Danes ouerran and wasted.

The fourth Chapter.

VPon knowledge giuen into Denmarke of the cruell murder of the Danes here in England, truth it is, that the people of the countrie were greatlie kindled in malice, and set in such a furious rage against the Englishmen, that with all spéed they made forth a nauie full fraught with men of warre, the which in the yeare following came swarming about the coasts of England, and landing in the west countrie, tooke the citie of Excester, and gat there a rich spoile. One Hugh a Norman borne, whome quéene Emma had placed in those parties as gouernour or shirife there, conspired with the Danes, so that all the countrie was ouerrun and wasted.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. The Danes returne to inuade England. Excester taken.

1003

Hugh a Norman conspireth with the Danes.

The king hearing that the Danes were thus landed, and spoiled the west parts of the realme, he sent vnto Edricus to assemble a power to withstand the enimies. Herevpon the people of Hamptshire and Wiltshire rose and got togither: but when the armies should ioine, earle Edzicus surnamed de Strecona feigned himselfe sicke, and so betraied his people, of whome he had the conduct: for they perceiuing the want in their leader, were discouraged, and so fled. The Danes followed them vnto Wilton, which towne they rifled and ouercame. From thence they went to Salisburie, and so taking their pleasure there, returned to their ships, because (as some write) they were aduertised that the king was comming towards them with an huge armie. In the yeare next insuing, that is to saie 1004, which was about the 24 yeare of K. Egelreds reigne, Sweine or Swanus, king of Denmarke, with a mightie nauie of ships came on the coast of Northfolke, and there landing with his people, made toward Norwich, and comming thither tooke that citie, and spoiled it. Then went he vnto Thetford, and when he had taken and rifled that towne, he burnt it, notwithstanding a truce taken by Wikillus or Wilketell

The counterfeit sickenesse of duke Edrike.

Wilton spoiled.

Simon Dun.

1004

Swein king of Denmarke.

Norwich taken by the Danes. Thetford burnt.

ketell gouernor of those parties with the same king Swaine after the taking of Norwich. In reuenge therefore of such breach of truce, the same Vikillus, or Wilseketell, with such power as he could raise, assaulted the host of Danes as they returned to their ships, and slue a great number of them, but was not able to mainteine the fight, for his enimies ouermatched him in number of men. And so he was constrained in the end to giue backe: and the enimies kept on their waies to their ships.

Vikillus or Wilseketell gouernour of Norffolke.

Hen. Hunt.

1005 Swaine returned into Denmarke. Simon Dun.

In the yeare following king Swaine returned into Denmarke with all his fleet, partlie constrained so to do (as some write) by reason of the great famin & want of necessarie sustenance, which in that yeare sore oppressed this land. In the yeare of our Lord 1006, king Swaine returned againe into England with a mightie & huge nauie, arriuing at Sandwich, and spoiled all the countrie neere vnto the sea side. King Egelred raised all his power against him, and all the haruest time laie abroad in the field to resist the Danes, which according to their wonted maner spared not to exercise their vnmercifull cruelties, in wasting and spoiling the land with fire and sword, pilfering and taking of preies in euerie part where they came. Neither could king Egelred remedie the matter, because the enimies still conueied themselues with their ships into some contrarie quarter, from the place where they knew him to be, so that his trauell was in vaine.

1006 Hen. Hunt. Swaine returned into England.

The Danes winter in the Ile of wight. They inuade Hampshire, Barkeshire, &c.

About the beginning of winter they remained in the Ile of Wight, & in the time of Christmasse they landed in Hampshire, and passing through that countrie into Barkeshire, they came to Reading, and from thence to Wallingford, and so to Colesete, and then approching to Essington, came to Achikelmeslawe, and in euerie place whersoeuer they came, they made cleane worke. For that which they could not carie with them, they consumed with fire, burning vp their innes and sleaing their hoasts. In returning backe, the people of the west countrie gaue them battell, but preuailed not, so that they did but inrich their enimies with the spoile of their bodies. They came by the gates of Winchester as it were in maner of triumph, with vittels and spoiles which they had fetched fiftie miles from the sea side. In the meane time king Egelred lay about Shrewsburie sore troubled with the newes hereof, and in the yeare next insuing, by the aduise of his councell he gaue to king Swaine for the redeeming of peace 30000 pounds.

Winchester.

1007 36000 pound saith Si. Dun.

In the same yeare K. Egelred created the traitor Edzike earle of Mercia, who although he had married Edgiua the kings daughter, was yet noted to be one of those which disclosed the secrets of the realme, and the determinations of the councell vnto the enimies. But he was such a craftie dissembler, so greatlie prouided of sleight to dissemble and cloake his falshod, that the king being too much abused by him, had him in singular fauour, whereas he vpon a malicious purpose studied dailie how to bring the realme into vtter destruction, aduertising the enimies from time to time how the state of things stood, whereby they came to knowlege when they should giue place, and when they might safelie come forward. Moreouer, being sent vnto them oftentimes as a commissioner to treat of peace, he persuaded them to warre. But such was the pleasure of God, to haue him and such other of like sort aduanced to honor in this season, when by his diuine prouidence he meant to punish the people of this realme for their wickednesse and sinnes, whereby they had iustlie prouoked his wrath and high displeasure.

Edzike de Streons made duke or earle of Mercia.

Wil. Malm.

Henr. Hunt. Simon Dun.

In the 30 yeare of king Egelreds reigne, which fell in the yeare of our Lord 1008, he tooke order that of euerie three hundred and ten hides of land within this realme, there should one ship be builded, and of euerie eight hides a complet armor furnished. In the yeare following, the kings whole fleet was brought togither at Sandwich, and such souldiers came thither as were appointed to go to sea in the same fleet. There had not beene seene the like number of ships so trimlie rigged and furnished in all points, in anie kings daies before. But no great profitable peece of seruice was wrought by them: for the king had about that time banished a noble yong man of Sussex called Wilnot, who getting togither twentie sailes, laie vpon the coasts taking prices where he could get them. Withlike the brother of earle Edzike, being desirous to win honor, toke forth foure score of the said ships, and promised to bring in the enimie dead or aliue. But as he was sailing forward on the seas, a sore tempest with an outragious wind rose with such violence, that his ships were cast vpon the shore: and Wilnot comming vpon them, set them on fire, and so burned them euerie one. The residue of the ships, when newes came to them of this mishap, returned backe to London; and then was the armie dispersed, and so all the cost and trauell of the Englishmen proued in vaine.

In hundred acres is an hide of land.

1008 Prouision for ships and armour.

Matt. West.

After this, in the haruest time a new armie of Danes, vnder the conduct of three capteines, Turkill, Henning, and Aulafe landed at Sandwich, and from thence passed forth to Canturburie, and had taken the citie but that the citizens gaue them a 1000 pounds to depart from thence, and to leaue the countrie in peace. Then went the Danes to the Ile of Wight, and afterwards landed and spoiled the countrie of Sussex and Hampshire. King Egelred assembled the whole power of all his subiects, and comming to giue them battell, had made an end of their cruell harieng the countrie with the slaughter of them all, if earle Edzike with forged tales (deuised onelie to put him in feare) had not disswaded him from giuing battell. The Danes by that meanes returning in safetie, immediatlie after the feast of saint Martine, returned into Kent, and lodged with their nauie in the winter following in the Thames, and oftentimes assaulting the citie of London, were still beaten backe to their losse.

Danes land at Sandwich.

1009 3000 pound saith Si. Dun.

Sussex and Hampshire spoiled.

The Danes returne into Kent.

After the feast of Christmasse they passed through the countrie and woods of Chilterne vnto Oxford, which towne they burned, and then returning backe they fell to wasting of the countrie on both sides the Thames. But hearing that an armie was assembled at London to giue them battell; that part of their host which kept on the northside of the riuer, passed the same riuer at Stanes, and so ioining with their fellowes marched forth through Southerie, and comming backe to their ships in Kent, fell in hand to repare & amend their ships that were in anie wise decaied. Then after Easter, the Danes sailing about the coast, arriued at Gipswich in Suffolke, on the Ascension day of our Lord: and inuading the countrie, gaue battell at a place called Wigmere or Rigmere, vnto Vikill or Wilseketell leader of the English host in those parties, on the first of Maie. The men of Northfolke and Suffolke fled at the first onset giuen: but the Cambridgshire men sticked to it valiantlie, winning thereby perpetuall fame and commendation. There was no mindfulnesse amongest them of running awaie, so that a great number of the nobilitie and other were beaten downe and slaine, till at length one Turketell Mironsheued, that had a Dane to his father, first began to take his flight, and deserued thereby an euerlasting reproch.

1010 Oxford burnt.

Stanes.

Gipswich in Suffolke. Simon Dun.

Caput formicæ.

The Danes obteining the vpper hand, for the

space of three moneths togither went vp and downe the countries, & wasted those parties of the realme, that is to say, Northfolke, and Suffolke, with the borders of Lincolnshire, Huntingtonshire, and Cambridgeshire where the fens are, gaining exceeding riches by the spoile of the great and wealthie abbies and churches which had their situation within the compasse of the same fens. They also destroied Thetford, and burnt Cambridge, and from thence passed through the pleasant mountaine-countrie of Bellham, cruellie murdering the people without respect of age, degree or sex. After this also they entred into Essex, and so came backe to their ships, which were then arrived in the Thames. But they rested not anie long time in quiet, as people that minded nothing but the destruction of this realme. So as soone after, when they had somwhat refreshed them, they set forward againe into the countrie, passing through Buckinghamshire, & so into Bedfordshire. And about saint Andrewes tide they turned towards Northampton, & comming thither set fire on that towne. Then turning through the west countrie, with fire & sword they wasted and destroied a great part thereof, & namelie Wiltshire, with other parties. And finallie about the feast of Christmas they came againe to their ships. Thus had the Danes wasted the most part of 16 or 17 shires within this realme, as Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Middlesex, Hartfordshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Bedfordshire, with a part of Huntingtonshire, and also a great portion of Northamptonshire. This was done in the countries that lie on the northside of the riuer of Thames. On the southside of the same riuer, they spoiled and wasted Kent, Southerie, Sussex, Barkeshire, Hampshire, and (as is before said) a great part of Wiltshire.

Thetford. Cambridge. Hen. Hunt.

The Danes arriue in the Thames.

1011

Northampton burnt by Danes.

How manie shires the Danes wasted.

King Egelred offereth the Danes great *summes of moneie to desist from destroieng* his countrie, their vnspeakable crueltie, bloud*thirstinesse, and insatiable spoiling of Canturbu*rie betraied by a churchman; their merciles murthe*ring of Elphegus archbishop of Canturburie, Turkillus the* Dane chiefe lord of Norfolke and Suffolke, a peace concluded betweene the Danes and the English vpon hard conditions; Gunthildis a beautifull Danish ladie and hir husband slaine, hir courage to the death.

The fift Chapter.

THe king and the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding of the Danes dealing in such merciles maner (as is aboue mentioned) but not knowing how to redresse the matter, sent ambassadors vnto the Danes, offering them great summes of moneie to leaue off such cruell wasting and spoiling of the land. The Danes were contented to reteine the moneie, but yet could not abstaine from their cruell doings, neither was their greedie thirst of bloud and spoile satisfied with the wasting and destroieng of so manie countries and places as they had passed through. Whereupon, in the yeere of our Lord 1011, about the feast of S. Matthew in September, they laid siege to the citie of Canturburie, which of the citizens was valiantlie defended by the space of twentie daies. In the end of which terme it was taken by the enimies, through the treason of a deacon named Almaricus, whome the archbishop Elphegus had before that time preserued from death.

The king sendeth to the Danes. Simon Dun.

1011

Canturburie woone by Danes.

The Danes exercised passing great crueltie in the winning of that citie (as by sundrie authors it doth and maie appeare.) For they slue of men, women, and children, aboue the number of eight thousand. They tooke the archbishop Elphegus with an other bishop named Godwine; also abbat Lefwin and Alfeword the kings bailife there. They spared no degree, in so much that they slue and tooke 900 priests, and other men of religion. And when they had taken their pleasure of the citie, they set it on fire, and so returned to their ships. There be some which write that they tithed the people after an inuerted order, slaieng all by nines through the whole multitude, and reserued the tenth: so that of all the monks there were but foure saued, and of the laie people 4800, whereby it followeth that there died 43200 persons. Whereby is gathered that the citie of Canturburie, and the countrie thereabouts (the people whereof belike fled thither for succor) was at that time verie well inhabited, so as there haue not wanted (saith maister Lambert) which affirme that it had then more people than London it selfe.

Fabian ex Ammino.

The archbishop Elphegus taken. Hen. Hunt.

Antoninus. Vincentius.

Wil. Lamb. *ex Asserio Menenensi, & alijs.*

But now to our purpose. In the yeere next insuing, vpon the saturday in Easter weeke, after that the bishop Elphegus had beene kept prisoner with them the space of six or seuen moneths, they cruellie in a rage led him forth into the fields, and dashed out his braines with stones, bicause he would not redeeme his libertie with three thousand pounds, which they demanded to haue beene leuied of his farmers and tenants. This cruell murther was committed at Greenewich foure miles distant from London, the 19 of Aprill, where he lay a certeine time vnburied, but at length through miracles shewed (as they say, for miracles are all wrought now by dead men, and not by the liuing) the Danes permitted that his bodie might be caried to London, and there was it buried in the church of S. Paule, where it rested for the space of ten yeeres, till king Cnute or Knought had the gouernment of this land, by whose appointment it was remoued to Canturburie.

1012 Henr. Hunt.

The archbishop Elphegus murthered.

Miracles.

Elphegus buried in London.

Translated to Canturburie. Wil. Malms.

Turkillus the leader of those Danes by whome the archbishop Elphegus was thus murthered, held Northfolke and Suffolke vnder his subiection, & so continued in those parties as chiefe lord and gouernor. But the residue of the Danes at length, compounding with the Englishmen for a tribute to be paid to them of eight thousand pounds, spred abroad in the countrie, soiorning in cities, townes and villages, where they might find most conuenient harbour. Moreouer, fortie of their ships, or rather (as some write) 45 were reteined to serue the king, promising to defend the realme; with condition, that the souldiers and mariners should haue prouision of meate and drinke, with apparell found them at the kings charges. As one author hath gathered, Swaine king of Denmarke was in England at the concluding of this peace, which being confirmed with solemne othes and sufficient hostages, he departed into Denmarke.

Turkillus held Norfolk and Suffolke.

48 thousand pound as saith Sim. Dun. and M. West. Henr. Hunt.

The same author bringeth the generall slaughter of Danes vpon S. Brices day, to haue chanced in the yeere after the conclusion of this agreement, that is to say, in the yeere 1012, at what time Gunthildis the sister of king Swaine was slaine, with hir husband & hir sonne, by the commandement of the false traitor Edrike. But bicause all other authors agree that the same murther of Danes was executed about ten yeeres before this supposed time: we haue made rehearsall thereof in that place. Howbeit, for the death of Gunthildis, it maie be, that she became hostage either in the yeere 1007, at what time king Egelred paid thirtie thousand pounds vnto king Swaine to haue peace (as before you haue heard) or

Matth. West.

Gunthildis the sister of K. Swaine murthered.

else

elſe might ſhe be deliuered in hoſtage, in the yeere 1011, when the laſt agreement was made with the Danes (as aboue is mentioned.) But when or at what time ſoeuer ſhe became hoſtage, this we find of hir, that ſhe came hither into England with hir huſband Palingus, a mightie earle, and receiued baptiſme heere. Wherevpon ſhe earneſtlie trauelled in treatie of a peace betwixt hir brother and king Egelred: which being brought to paſſe chieflie by hir ſute, ſhe was contented to become an hoſtage for performance thereof (as before is recited.) And after by the commandement of earle Edrike ſhe was put to death, pronouncing that the ſhedding of hir bloud would cauſe all England one day ſore to rue. She was a verie beautifull ladie, and toke hir death without all feare, not once changing countenance, though ſhe ſaw hir huſband and hir onelie ſonne (a yong gentleman of much towardneſſe) firſt murthered before hir face.

Wil. Malm.

Turkillus the Daniſh capteine telleth *king Swaine the faults of the king, nobles,* & commons of this realme, he inuadeth *England, the Northumbers and others ſubmit themſelues* to him, Danes receiued into ſeruice vnder *Egelred, London aſſalted by Swaine, the citizens behaue themſelues* ſtoutlie, and giue the Daniſh hoſt a ſhamefull repulſe, Ethelmere earle of Deuonſhire and his people ſubmit themſelues to Swaine, he returneth into Denmarke, commeth back againe into England with a freſh power, is incountred withall of the Engliſhmen, whoſe king Egelred is diſcomfited, his oration to his ſouldiers touching the preſent reliefe of their diſtreſſed land, their reſolution and full purpoſe in this their perplexitie, king Egelred is minded to giue place to Swaine, he ſendeth his wife and children ouer into Normandie, the Londoners yeeld vp their ſtate to Swaine, Egelred ſaileth ouer into Normandie, leauing his land to the enimie.

The ſixt Chapter.

Turkillus diſcloſeth the ſecrets of the realme to K. Swaine.

NOw had Turkillus in the meane time aduertiſed king Swaine in what ſtate things ſtood here within the realme: how king Egelred was negligent, onlie attending to the luſts & pleaſures of the fleſh: how the noble men were vnfaithfull, and the commons weake and feeble through want of good and truſtie leaders. Howbeit, ſome write, that Turkillus as well as other of the Danes which remained heere in England, was in league with king Egelred, in ſomuch that he was with him in London, to helpe and defend the citie againſt Swaine when he came to aſſalt it (as after ſhall appeare.) Which if it be true, a doubt may riſe whether Swaine receiued anie aduertiſement from Turkillus to moue him the rather to inuade the realme: but ſuch aduertiſements might come from him before that he was accorded with Egelred.

Simon Dun.

Swaine prepareth an armie to inuade England.

Swaine therefore, as a valiant prince, deſirous both to reuenge his fathers death, and win honor, prepared an huge armie, and a great number of ſhips, with the which he made towards England, and firſt comming to Sandwich, taried there a ſmall while, and taking ſtrength, the ſea, compaſſed about the coaſts of the Eaſtangles, and arriuing in the mouth of Humber, ſailed vp the water, and entering into the riuer of Trent, he landed at Gainſbourgh, purpoſing to inuade the Northumbers. But as men brought into great feare, for that they had beene ſubiect to the Danes in times paſt, and thinking therefore not to reuolt to the enimie, but rather to their old acquaintance, if they ſhould ſubmit themſelues to

He landeth at Sandwich. 1013

Gainſbourgh

the Danes, ſtreightwaies offered to become ſubiect vnto Swaine, togither with their duke named Wighthred. Alſo the people of Lindſey and all thoſe of the northſide of Watlingſtreet yeelded themſelues vnto him, and deliuered pledges. Then he appointed his ſonne Cnutus to haue the keeping of thoſe pledges, and to remaine vpon the ſafegard of his ſhips, whiles he himſelfe paſſed forward into the countrie. Then marched he forward to ſubdue them of ſouth Perceia: and ſo came to Oxford & to Winchcſter, making the countries ſubiect to him through out whereſoeuer he came.

The Northumbers yeeld to Swaine.

The people of Lindſey yeeld themſelues to him.

Simon Dun.

South Mercia.

With this proſperous ſucceſſe Swaine being greatlie incouraged, prepared to go vnto London, where king Egelred as then remained, hauing with him Turkillus the Dane, which was reteined in wages with other of the Danes (as by report of ſome authors it maie appeare) and were now readie to defend the citie againſt their countriemen in ſupport of king Egelred, togither with the citizens. Swaine, becauſe he would not ſtep ſo farre out of the way as to go to the next bridge, loſt a great number of his men as he paſſed through the Thames. At his comming to London, he began to aſſault the citie verie fiercelie, in hope either to put his enimie in ſuch feare that he ſhould deſpaire of all reliefe and comfort, or at the leaſt trie what he was able to do. The Londoners on the other part, although they were brought in ſome feare by this ſudden attempt of the enimies, yet conſidering with themſelues, that the hazard of all the whole ſtate of the realme was annexed to theirs, ſith their citie was the chiefe and metropolitane of all the kingdome, they valiantlie ſtood in defenſe of themſelues, and of their king that was preſent there with them, beating backe the enimies, chaſing them from the walles, and otherwiſe doing their beſt to keepe them off. At length, although the Danes did moſt valiantlie aſſault the citie, yet the Engliſhmen to defend their prince from all iniurie of enimies, did not ſhrinke, but boldlie ſallied forth at the gates in heapes togither, and incountered with their aduerſaries, and began to fight with them verie fiercelie.

Sim. Dunel.

Swaine aſſaulteth London.

Polydor.

Swaine whileſt he went about to keepe his men in order, as one moſt deſirous to reteine the victorie now almoſt gotten, was compaſſed ſo about with the Londoners on each ſide, that after he had loſt a great number of his men, he was conſtreined for his ſafegard to breake out through the midſt of his enimies weapons, and was glad that he might ſo eſcape: and ſo with the reſidue of his armie ceaſſed not to iournie day and night till he came to Bath, where Ethelmere an earle of great power in thoſe weſt parts of the realme ſubmitted himſelfe with all his people vnto him, who ſhortlie after neuertheleſſe (as ſome write) was compelled through want of victels to releaſe the tribute latelie couenanted to be paied vnto him for a certeine ſumme of monie, which when hee had receiued, he returned into Denmarke, meaning ſhortlie to returne againe with a greater power.

Wil. Malm. Erle of Deuonſhire ag ſaith Matt. Weſt. Polydor.

Swaine returneth into Denmarke.

King Egelred ſuppoſed that by the paiment of that monie he ſhould haue beene rid out of all troubles, of warre with the Danes. But the nobles of the realme thought otherwiſe, and therefore willed him to prepare an armie with all ſpeed that might be made. Swaine taried not long (to proue the doubt of the noble men to be grounded of foreknowledge) but that with ſwift ſpeed he returned againe into England, and immediatlie vpon his arriuall was an armie of Engliſhmen aſſembled and led againſt him into the field. Herevpon they ioined in battell, which was ſore foughten for a time, till at length by reaſon of diuerſe Engliſhmen that turned to the

Swaine returneth into England to make warre.

King Egelred diſcomfited in battell.

enimies side, the discomfiture fell with such slaughter vpon the English host, that king Egelred well perceiued the state of his regall gouernement to bee brought into vtter danger. Wherevpon after the losse of this field, he assembled the rest of his people that were escaped, and spake vnto them after this maner.

The oration of king Egelred to the *remanent of his souldiers.*

IShould for euer be put to silence, if there wanted in vs the vertue of a fatherlie mind, in giuing good aduise & counsel for the well ordering and due administration of things in the common wealth, or if their lacked courage or might in our souldiers and men of warre to defend our countrie. Truelie to die in defense of the countrie where we are borne, I confesse it a worthie thing, and I for my part am readie to take vpon me to enter into the midst of the enimies in defense of my kingdome. But here I see our countrie and the whole English nation to be at a point to fall into vtter ruine. We are ouercome of the Danes, not with weapon or force of armes; but with treason wrought by our owne people: we did at the first prepare a nauie against the enimies, the which that false traitour Elfrike betraid into their hands. Againe, oftentimes haue we giuen battell with euill successe, and onelie through the fault of our owne people that haue beene false and disloiall: whereby we haue bin constreined to agree with the enimies vpon dishonorable conditions, euen as necessitie required, which to ouercome, resteth onelie in God. Such kind of agreement hath beene made in deed to our destruction, sith the enimies haue not sticked to breake it (they being such a wicked kind of people as neither regard God nor man) contrarie to right and reason, and beside all our hope & expectation. So that the matter is come now to this passe, that we haue not cause onlie to feare the losse of our gouernement, but least the name of the whole English nation be destroied for euer. Therefore sithens the enimies are at hand, and as it were ouer our heads, you to whom my commandement hath euer bene had in good regard, prouide, take counsell, and see to succor the state of your countrie now readie to decay and to fall into irrecouerable ruine.

Herevpon they fell in consultation, euerie one alledging and bringing forth his opinion as seemed to him best: but it appeared they had the woolfe by the eare, for they wist not which way to turne them. If they should giue battell, it was to be doubted least through treason among themselues, the armie should be betraied into the enimies hands, the which would not faile to execute all kind of crueltie in the slaughter of the whole nation. And if they stood not valiantlie to shew themselues readie to defend their countrie, there was no shift but yeeld themselues. Which though it were a thing reprochfull and dishonorable, yet should it be lesse euill, as they tooke the matter, for thereby might manie be preserued from death, and in time to come, be able to recouer the libertie of their countrie, when occasion should be offered. This point was allowed of them all, and so in the end they rested vpon that resolution.

King Egelred therefore determined to commit himselfe into the hands of his brother in law Richard duke of Normandie, whose sister (as ye haue heard) he had maried. But because he would not do this vnaduisedlie, first he sent ouer his wife queene Emma, with his sonnes which he had begotten of hir, Alfred and Edward, that by their interteinment he might vnderstand how he should be welcome. Duke Richard receiued his sister and his nephues verie louinglie, and promised to aid his brother king Egelred in defense of his kingdome. But in this meane while had Swaine conquered the more part of all England, and brought (by little and little) that which remained vnder his subiection. The people through feare submitting themselues on each hand, king Egelred in this meane time (for the Londoners had submitted themselues to Swaine) was first withdrawne vnto Grenewich, and there remained for a time with the nauie of the Danes, which was vnder the gouernement of earle Turkill, and from thence sailed into the Ile of Wight, and there remained a great part of the winter, and finallie after Christmas himselfe sailed into Normandie, and was of his brother in law louinglie receiued & greatlie comforted in that his time of necessitie.

King Egelred determineth to giue place vnto Swaine.

He sendeth his wife and sonnes ouer into Normandie.

Richard duke of Normandie.

Simon Dun. Hen. Hunt. Turkill.

1014

King Egelred passeth into Normandie.

Swaine king of Denmarke is reputed *king of this land, he oppresseth the English* people cruellie, and spoileth religious houses, *the strange and miraculous slaughter of Swaine* vaunting of his victories; the Danish chronicles *write partiallie of him and his end, Cnute succeedeth his father* Swaine in regiment, the Englishmen send king Egelred woord of Swaines death, Edward king Egelreds eldest sonne commeth ouer into England to know the state of the countrie and people of certeintie; Egelred with his power returneth into England; what meanes Cnute made to establish himselfe king of this land, and to be well thought of among the English people, Egelred burneth vp Gainesbrough, and killeth the inhabitants therof for their disloialtie; Cnutes flight to Sandwich, his cruel decree against the English pledges, he returneth into Denmarke, why Turkillus the Danish capteine with his power compounded with the Englishmen to tarrie in this land, his faithlesse seruice to Egelred, his drift to make the whole realme subiect to the Danish thraldome.

The seuenth Chapter.

SWaine hauing now got the whole rule of the land, was reputed full king, and so commanded that his armie should be prouided of wages and vittels to be taken vp & leuied through the realme. In like maner Turkill commanded that to his armie lodged at Grenewich, wages and vittels sufficient should be deliuered, for the finding, releeuing, succouring, and sustaining thereof. Swaine vsed the victorie verie cruellie against the Englishmen, oppressing them on each hand; to the intent that them being brought low he might gouerne in more suertie. The yeere in which he obteined the rule thus of this realme, and that king Egelred was constreined to flie into Normandie, was in the 35 yeere of the same Egelreds reigne, and after the birth of our Lord 1014. Swaine being once established in the gouernment, did not onelie vse much cruelties in oppressing the laitie, but also stretched forth his hand to the church, and to the ministers

Swaine handleth the Englishmen hardlie.

niſters in the ſame, fleecing them and ſpoiling both churches and miniſters, without anie remorſe of conſcience, inſomuch that hauing a quarell againſt the inhabitants within the precinct of S. Edmunds land in Suffolke, he did not onelie harrie the countrie, but alſo rifled and ſpoiled the abbeie of Burie, where the bodie of ſaint Edmund reſted.

Fabian. S. Edmund fighteth for the wealth, but not for the ſlaughter of his people. Simon Dun. 1115

Whereupon ſhortlie after, as he was at Gainesborough or Thetford (as ſome ſay) and there in his iollitie talked with his Nobles of his good ſucceſſe in conquering of this land, he was ſuddenlie ſtricken with a knife, as it is reported, miraculouſlie, for no man wiſt how or by whome: and within three daies after, to wit, on the third of Februarie, he ended his life with grieuous paine and torment in yelling and roring, by reaſon of his extreame anguiſh beyond all meaſure. There hath ſprong a pleaſant tale among the poſteritie of that age, how he ſhould be wounded with the ſame knife which king Edmund in his life time vſed to weare. Thus haue ſome of our writers reported, but the Daniſh chronicles report a farre more happie end which ſhould chance to this Swaine, than is before mentioned out of our writers: for the ſaid chronicles report, that after he had ſubdued England, he toke order with king Egelred, whome they name amiſſe Adelſtane, that he ſhould not ordeine anie other ſucceſſor, but onlie the ſaid Swaine. When after this, he returned into Denmarke, where vſing himſelfe like a right godlie prince, at length he there ended his life, being a verie old man.

Albertus Crantz. Saxo Grammaticus.

Notwithſtanding all this, when or howſoeuer he died, immediatlie after his deceaſſe the Danes elected his ſonne Cnute or Knought to ſucceed in his dominions. But the Engliſhmen of nothing more deſirous than to ſhake off the yoke of Daniſh thraldome beſides their necks & ſhoulders, ſtreightwaies vpon knowledge had of Swaines death, with all ſpeed aduertiſed king Egelred thereof, and that they were readie to receiue and aſſiſt him if he would make haſt to come ouer to deliuer his countrie out of the hands of ſtrangers. Theſe newes were right ioifull vnto Egelred, who burning in deſire to be reuenged on them that had expelled him out of his kingdome, made no longer tariance to ſet that enterpriſe forward. But yet doubting the inconſtancie of the people, he ſent his elder ſon (named Edmund) to trie the minds of them, and to vnderſtand whether they were conſtant or wauering in that which they had promiſed.

Wil. Malm. H. Hunt. Cnute or Cnute.

Egelred ſent for home.

Edmund K. Egelreds eldeſt ſonne.

The yong gentleman haſting ouer into England, and with diligent inquirie perceiuing how they were bent, returned with like ſpeed as he came into Normandie againe, declaring to his father, that all things were in ſafetie if he would make haſt. King Egelred then conceiued an aſſured hope to recouer his kingdom, aided with his brother in laws power, and truſting vpon the aſſiſtance of the Engliſhmen, returned into England in the time of Lent. His returne was ioifull and moſt acceptable to the Engliſh people, as to thoſe that abhorred the rule of the Danes, which was moſt ſharpe and bitter to them, although Cnute did what he could by bountifulneſſe and courteous dealings to haue reteined them vnder his obeiſance.

King Egelred returneth into England

Cnutes endeuor to eſtabliſh himſelfe in the kingdome.

And of an intent to procure Gods fauour in the well ordering of things for the adminiſtration in the common wealth, he ſought firſt to appeaſe his wrath, and alſo to make amends to ſaint Edmund for his fathers offenſe committed (as was thought) againſt him: inſomuch that after he had obteined the kingdome, he cauſed a great ditch to be caſt round about the land of ſaint Edmund, and granted manie freedoms to the inhabitants, acquiting them of certeine taſkes and paiments, vnto the which other of their neighbours were contributarie. He alſo builded a church on the place where ſaint Edmund was buried, and ordeined an houſe of monks there, or rather remoued the canons or ſecular prieſts that were there afore, and put monks in their romes. He offered vp alſo his crowne vnto the ſame S. Edmund, and redeemed it againe with a great ſumme of monie, which maner of doing grew into an vſe vnto other kings that followed him. He adorned the church there with manie rich iewels, and indowed the monaſterie with great poſſeſſions.

S. Edmunds ditch.

Polydor. Fabian.

But theſe things were not done now at the firſt, but after that he was eſtabliſhed in the kingdome. For in the meane time, after that king Egelred was returned out of Normandie, Cnute as then ſoiourning at Gainesborough, remained there till the feaſt of Eaſter, and made agréement with them of Lindſey, ſo that finding him horſſes, they ſhould altogither go forth to ſpoile their neighbors. King Egelred aduertiſed thereof, ſped him thither with a mightie hoſt, and with great crueltie burned vp the countrie, and ſlue the more part of the inhabitants, becauſe they had taken part with his enimies. Cnute as then was not of power able to reſiſt Egelred, and therefore taking his ſhips which lay in Humber, fled from thence, & ſailed about the coaſt, till he came to Sandwich, and there ſore gréeued in his mind to remember what miſchéefe was fallen and chanced to his friends and ſubiects of Lindſey, onelie for his cauſe; he commanded that ſuch pledges as had béene deliuered to his father by certeine noble men of this realme, for aſſurance of their fidelities, ſhould haue their noſes ſlit, and their eares ſtuffed, or (as ſome write) their hands and noſes cut off.

Cnute driuen to forſake the land.

He was driuen thither by force of contrarie winds as ſhould appeare by Matth. Weſt.

The cruell decree of Cnute againſt the Engliſh pledges.

When this cruell act according to his commandement was done, taking the ſea, he ſailed into Denmarke: but yet toke not all the Danes with him which his father brought thither. For earle Turkill perceiuing the wealthineſſe of the land, compounded with the Engliſhmen, and choſe rather to remaine in a region repleniſhed with all riches, than to returne home into his owne countrie that wanted ſuch commodities as were here to be had. And yet (as ſome thought) he did not forſake his ſouereigne lord Cnute for anie euill meaning towards him, but rather to aid him (when time ſerued) to recouer the poſſeſſion of England againe, as it afterwards well appeared. For notwithſtanding that he was now reteined by K. Egelred with fortie ſhips, and the flower of all the Danes that were men of warre, ſo that Cnute returned but with 60 ſhips into his countrie: yet ſhortlie after, erle Turkill with 9 of thoſe ſhips ſailed into Denmarke, ſubmitted himſelfe vnto Cnute, counſelled him to returne into England, and promiſed him the aſſiſtance of the reſidue of thoſe Daniſh ſhips which yet remained in Engl nd, being to the number of thirtie, with all the ſouldiers and mariners that to them belonged. To conclude, he did ſo much by his earneſt perſuaſions, that Cnute (through aid of his brother Harrold king of Denmarke) got together a naute of two hundred ſhips, ſo roiallie decked, furniſhed, and appointed, both for braue ſhew and neceſſarie furniture of all maner of weapons, armor & munition, as it is ſtrange to conſider that which is written by them that liued in thoſe daies, and toke in hand to regiſter the doings of that time. Howbeit to let this pompe of Cnutes fléete paſſe, which (no doubt) was right roiall, conſider a little and loke backe to Turkill, though a ſworne ſeruant to king Egelred, how he did direct all his drift to the aduancement of Cnute, and his owne commoditie, cloking his purpoſed treacherie with pretended amitie, as ſhall appeare hereafter by his deadlie hoſtilitie.

This Turkill was reteined in ſeruice with Egelred, as I thinke.

Encomium Emmæ.

A great waste by an inundation or in-*breaking of the sea, a tribute of* 30000 pounds to the Danes, king Egelred holdeth a *councell at Oxford, where he causeth two noble* men of the Danes to be murdered by treason, Ed*mund the kings eldest sonne marrieth one of their wiues, and* seaseth vpon his predecessors lands; Cnute the Danish king returneth into England, the Danish and English armies encounter, both fortune fauorable; Cnute maketh waste of certeine shires, Edmund preuenteth Edrikes purposed treason, Edrike de Streona flieth to the Danes, the Westermen yeeld to Cnute; Mercia refuseth to be subiect vnto him, Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes; Egelred assembleth an armie against them in vaine; Edmund & Vtred with ioined forces lay waste such countries and people as became subiect to Cnute; his policie to preuent their purpose, through what countries he passed, Vtred submitteth himselfe to Cnute, and deliuereth pledges, he is put to death and his lands alienated, Cnute pursueth Edmund to London, and prepareth to besiege the citie, the death and buriall of Egelred, his wiues, what issue he had by them, his infortunatenesse, and to what affections and vices he was inclined, his too late and bootlesse seeking to releeue his decaied kingdome.

The eight Chapter.

BVt now to returne to our purpose, and to shew what chanced in England after the departure of Cnute. In the same yeare to the forsaid accustomed mischiefes an vnwonted misaduenture happened: for the sea rose with such high spring-tides, that ouerflowing the countries next adioining, diuers villages with the inhabitants were drowned and destroied. Also to increase the peoples miserie, king Egelred commanded, that 30000 pounds should be leuied to paie the tribute due to the Danes which lay at Grenewich. This yeare also king Egelred held a councell at Oxford, at the which a great number of noble men were present, both Danes and Englishmen, and there did the king cause Sigeferd and Morcad two noble personages of the Danes to be murdered within his owne chamber, by the traitorous practise of Edrike de Streona, which accused them of some conspiracie. But the quarell was onelie as men supposed, for that the king had a desire to their goods and possessions.

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Matt. VVest.

Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm. Matth. West. A councell at Oxford.

Sigeferd and Morcad murdered.

Their seruants toke in hand to haue reuenged the death of their maisters, but were beaten backe, whereupon they fled into the steeple of saint Frideswids church, and kept the same, till fire was set vpon the place, and so they were burned to death. The wife of Sigeferd was taken, & sent to Malmsburie, being a woman of high fame and great worthinesse, whereupon the kings eldest sonne named Edmund, toke occasion vpon pretense of other businesse to go thither, and there to see hir, with whome he fell so far in loue, that he toke and maried hir. That done, he required to haue hir husbands lands and possessions, which were an earles liuing, and lay in Northumberland. And when the king refused to graunt his request, he went thither, and seized the same possessions and lands into his hands, without hauing anie commission so to do, finding the farmers and tenants there readie to receiue him for their lord.

Edmund the kings eldest sonne marrieth the widow of Sigeferd.

Whilest these things were a doing, Cnute hauing made his prouision of ships and men, with all necessarie furniture (as before ye haue heard) for his returne into England, set forward with full purpose, either to recouer the realme out of Egelreds hands, or to die in the quarrell. Herevpon he landed at Sandwich, and first earle Turkill obteined licence to go against the Englishmen that were assembled to resist the Danes, and finding them at a place called Scorastan, he gaue them the ouerthrow, got a great bootie, and returned therewith to the ships. After this, Edrike gouernor of Northwale made a rode likewise into an other part of the countrie, & with a rich spoile, and manie prisoners, returned vnto the naue. After this iournie atchiued thus by Edrike, Cnute commanded that they should not waste the countrie anie more, but gaue order to prepare all things readie to besiege London: but before he attempted that enterprise, as others write, he marched forth into Kent, or rather sailing round about that countrie, toke his iournie westward, & came to Fromundham, and after departing from thence, wasted Dorsetshire, Summersetshire, & Wiltshire.

Cnute returneth into England.

Edrike de Streona fleeth to the Danes.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Sim. Dun.

King Egelred sicke.

Matth. West.

King Egelred in this meane time lay sicke at Coslam; and his sonne Edmund had got togither a mightie hoast, howbeit yer he came to ioine battell with his enimies, he was aduertised, that earle Edrike went about to betraie him, and therefore he withdrew with the armie into a place of suertie. But Edrike to make his traitorous purpose manifest to the whole world, fled to the enimies with fortie of the kings ships, fraught with Danish souldiers. Herevpon, all the west countrie submitted it selfe vnto Cnute, who receiued pledges of the chiefe lords and nobles, and then set forward to subdue them of Mercia. The people of that countrie would not yeeld, but determined to defend the quarrell and title of king Egelred, so long as they might haue anie capteine that would stand with them, and helpe to order them. In the yeare 1016, in Christmas, Cnute and earle Edrike passed the Thames at Kirkelade, & entring into Mercia, cruellie began with fire and sword to waste and destroie the countrie, and namelie Warwikeshire.

The west countrie.

The people of Mercia would not yeeld.

Matth. West. Hen. Hunt.

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Warwikeshire wasted by the Danes.

In the meane time was king Egelred recouered of his sicknesse, and sent summons forth to raise all his power, appointing euerie man to resort vnto him, that he might incounter the enimies and giue them battell. But yet when his people were assembled, he was warned to take heed vnto himselfe, and in anie wise to beware how he gaue battell, for his owne subiects were purposed to betraie him. Herevpon the armie brake vp, & king Egelred withdrew to London, there to abide his enimies within the walles, with whom in the field he doubted to trie the battell. His sonne Edmund got him to Vtred, an earle of great power, inhabiting beyond Humber, and persuading him to ioine his forces with his, forth they went to waste those countries that were become subiect to Cnute, as Staffordshire, Leicestershire, and Shropshire, not sparing to exercise great crueltie vpon the inhabitants, as a punishment for their reuolting, that others might take example thereby.

King Egelred recouered of his sicknesse.

He assembleth an armie in vaine.

Wil. Malm. Edmund king Egelreds sonne.

But Cnute perceiuing whereabout they went, politikelie deuised to frustrate their purpose, and with doing of like hurt in all places where he came, passed through Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Huntingtonshire, and so through the fens came to Stamford, and then entred into Lincolnshire, and from thence into Notinghamshire, & so into Yorkeshire, not sparing to do what mischiefe might be deuised in all places where he came: Vtred aduertised hereof, was constreined to depart home to saue his owne countrie from present destruction, and therefore comming backe into Northumberland, & perceiuing himselfe not able to resist the puissant force of his enimies, was constreined to deliuer pledges, and submit himselfe vnto Cnute. But yet was he not hereby warranted from danger, for shortlie after he was taken, and put to death, and then were his

Cnute, what countries he passed through.

Earle Vtred deliuereth pledges to Cnute.

Alds Egricus.

his lands giuen vnto one Iricke or Iricius, whome afterward Cnute did banish out of the realme, because that he did attempt to chalenge like authoritie to him in all points as Cnute himselfe had. After that Cnute had subdued the Northumbers, he pursued Edmund, till he heard that he had taken London for his refuge, and staied there with his father.

Cnute prepareth to besiege London.

Then did Cnute take his ships, and came about to the coasts of Kent, preparing to besiege the citie of London.

King Egelred departed this life. Simon Dun. Matth. West.

In the meane time, king Egelred sore wrong with long sickenesse, departed this life on the 23 of Aprill, being saint Georges day, or (as others say) on saint Gregories day, being the 12 of March, but I take this to be an error growen, by mistaking the feast day of saint Gregorie for saint George. He reigned the tearme of 37 yeares, or little lesse. His bodie was buried in the church of saint Pauls, in the north Ile beside the quére, as by a memoriall there on the wall it maie appeare. He had two wiues (as before is mentioned.) By Elgina his first wife he had issue three sonnes, Edmund, Edwine, and Adelstane; besides one daughter named Eglua. By his second wife Emma, daughter to Richard the first of that name, duke of Normandie, and sister to Richard the second, he had two sonnes, Alfrid and Edward.

He is buried in the church of S. Paul at London.

This Egelred (as you haue heard) had euill successe in his warres against the Danes, and besides the calamitie that fell thereby to his people, manie other miseries oppressed this land in his daies, not so much through his lacke of courage and slouthfull negligence, as by reason of his presumptuous pride, whereby he alienated the hearts of his people from him. His affections he could not rule, but was led by them without order of reason, for he did not onlie disherit diuerse of his owne English subiects without apparant cause of offense by plaine forged cauillations; and also caused all the Danes to be murdered through his realme in one day, by some light suspicion of their euill meanings: but also gaue himselfe to lecherous lusts, in abusing his bodie with naughtie strumpets, forsaking the bed of his owne lawfull wife, to the great infamie & shame of that high degrée of maiestie, which by his kinglie office he bare and sustained. To conclude, he was from his tender youth more apt to idle rest, than to the exercise of warres; more giuen to pleasures of the bodie, than to anie vertues of the mind: although that toward his latter end, being growen into age, and taught by long experience of worldlie affaires, and prooфe of passed miseries, he sought (though in vaine) to haue recouered the decaied state of his common wealth and countrie.

The pride of king Egelred alienated the harts of his people.

¶ In this Egelreds time, and (as it is recorded by a British chronographer) in the yéere of our Lord 984, one Cadwalhon, the second sonne of Ieuaf tooke in hand the gouernance of Northwales, and first made warre with Jonauall his cosen, the sonne of Meyric, and right heire to the land, and slue him, but Edwall the youngest brother escaped awaie priuilie. The yéere following, Meredith the sonne of Owen king or prince of Southwales, with all his power entered into Northwales, and in fight slue Cadwalhon the sonne of Ieuaf, and Meyric his brother, and conquered the land to himselfe. Wherein a man maie sée how God punished the wrong, which Iago and Ieuaf the sonnes of Edwall Voell did to their eldest brother Meyric, who was first disherited, and afterward his eies put out, and one of his sonnes slaine. For first Ieuaf was imprisoned by Iago; then Iago with his sonne Constantine, by Howell the son of Ieuaf: and afterward the said Howell, with his brethren Cadwalhon and Meyric, were slaine and spoiled of all their lands.

See the historie of Cambria pag. 62, 63

Edmund Ironside succedeth his father *in the kingdome, the spiritualtie fauouring* Cnute would haue him to be king, the Londoners *are his backe friends, they receiue Edmund* their king honorable and ioifullie, Cnute is proclaimed *king at Southampton, manie of the states cleaue vnto him,* he besiegeth London by water and land, the citizens giue him the foile, he incountreth with king Edmund and is discomfited, two battels fought betweene the Danes and English with equall fortune and like successe, the traitorous stratagem of Edrike the Dane, king Edmund aduisedlie defeateth Edriks trecherie, 20000 of both armies slaine, Cnute marching towards London is pursued of Edmund, the Danes are repelled, incountred, and vanquished; queene Emma prouideth for the safetie of hir sonnes; the Danes seeke a pacification with Edmund, thereby more easilie to betraie him; Cnute with his armie lieth neere Rochester, king Edmund pursueth them, both armies haue a long and a sore conflict, the Danes discomfited, and manie of them slaine; Cnute with his power assemble at Essex and there make waste, king Edmund pursueth them, Edrike traitorouslie reuolteth from the English to succour the Danes, king Edmund is forced to get him out of the field, the Englishmen put to their hard shifts and slaine by heapes; what noble personages were killed in this battell, of two dead bodies latelie found in the place where this hot and heauie skirmish was fought.

The ninth Chapter.

Edmund Ironside.

After that king Egelred was dead, his eldest sonne Edmund surnamed Ironside was proclaimed king by the Londoners and others, hauing the assistance of some lords of the realme, although the more part, and specially those of the spiritualtie fauoured Cnute, because they had aforetime sworne fealtie to his father. Some write, that Cnute had planted his siege both by water and land verie stronglie about the citie of London, before Egelred departed this life, and immediatlie vpon his decease was receiued into the citie; but the armie that was within the citie, not consenting vnto the surrender made by the citizens, departed the night before the day on the which Cnute by appointment should enter, and in companie of Edmund Ironside (whome they had chosen to be their king and gouernour) they prepared to increase their numbers with new supplies, meaning effsoones to trie the fortune of battell against the Danish power. Cnute perceiuing the most part of all the realme to be thus against him, and hauing no great confidence in the loialtie of the Londoners, tooke order to leaue monie for the paiment of his men of warre and mariners that belonged to his naule, left the citie, and imbarking himselfe, sailed to the Ile of Shepie, and there remained all the winter. In which meane while, Edmund Ironside came to London, where he was ioifullie receiued of the citizens, and continuing there till the spring of the yéere, made himselfe strong against the enimies.

The kingdom goeth where the spiritualtie fauoureth.

The author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* saith that it was reported that Edmund offered the combate vnto Cnute at this his going from the citie, but Cnute refused it.

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This Edmund for his noble courage, strength of bodie, and notable patience to indure and suffer all such hardnesse and paines as is requisite in a man of warre, was surnamed Ironside, & began his reigne in the yéere of our Lord 1016, in the fifteenth yéere of the emperor Henrie the second surnamed Claudius, in the twentieth yéere of the reigne of Robert king of France, & about the first yéere of Malcolme the second king of the Scots. After that king Edmund had receiued the crowne in the citie of London by the hands of the archbishop of Yorke, he assembled together such a power as he could make, and with the same marched forth towards the west parts, and made the countrie subiect to him. In the meane time was Cnute proclaimed and ordeined king

Ran. Higd. king at Southampton by the bishops and abbats, and diuerse lords also of the temporaltie there togither assembled, vnto whome he sware to be their good and faithfull souereigne, and that he would see iustice trulie and vprightlie ministred.

Hen. Hunt. Simon Dun. After he had ended his businesse at Southampton, he drew with his people towards London, and comming thither, besieged the citie both by water and land, causing a great trench to be cast about it, so that no man might either get in or come forth. Many great assalts he caused to be giuen vnto the citie, but the Londoners and others within so valiantlie defended the wals and gates, that the enimies got small aduantage, and at length were constreined to depart with losse. Cnute then perceiuing that he might not haue his purpose there, withdrew westward, and besides Gillingham in Dorsetshire, incountred with K. Edmund in the Rogation weeke, and after sore & sharpe battell was put to the worse, and constreined to forsake the field by the high prowesse & manhood of the said Edmund. King Cnute the same night, after the armies were seuered, departed towards Winchester, so to get himselfe out of danger. Shortlie after, king Edmund hearing that an other armie of the Danes had besieged Salisburie, marched thither to succour them within, and immediatlie Cnute followed him, so that at a place in Worcestershire called Scorastan, on the foure and twentith of June, they incountred togither, and fought a verie cruell battell, which at length the night parted with equall fortune. And likewise on the next day they buckled togither againe, and fought with like successe as they had done the day before, for towards euening they gaue ouer well wearied, and not knowing to whome the victorie ought to be ascribed.

London besieged.

Cnute at Gillingham in Dorsetshire put to flight.

Polydor.

Salisburie besieged.

Simon Dun. Matt. West. Wil. Malm. A battell with equall fortune.

In other battell with like successe.

Writers haue reported, that this second day, when duke Edrike perceiued the Englishmen to be at point to haue got the vpper hand, he withdrew aside, and hauing by chance slaine a common souldier called Osmear, which in visage much resembled king Edmund, whose head he cut off, held it vp, & shaking his sword bloudie with the slaughter, cried to the Englishmen; Flee ye wretches, flee and get awaie, for your king is dead, behold heere his head which I hold in my hands. Herewith had the Englishmen fled immediatlie, if king Edmund aduised of this stratagem, had not quicklie got him to an high ground where his men might see him aliue and lustie. Herewith also the traitor Edrike escaped hardlie the danger of death, the Englishmen shot so egerlie at him. At length, as is said, the night parting them in sunder, they withdrew the one armie from the other, as it had béene by consent. The third day they remained in armor, but yet abstreining from battell, sate still, in taking meate and drinke to relieue their wearied bodies, and after gathered in heapes the dead carcases that had béene slaine in the former fight, the number of which on either partie reckoned, rose to the point of twentie thousand and aboue.

Edrike de Streona his treason. Simon Dun.

Twentie thousand dead bodies.

In the night following, Cnute remoued his campe in secret wise, and marched towards London, which citie in a maner remained besieged by the nauie of the Danes. King Edmund in the morning when the light had discouered the departure of his enimies, followed them by the tract, and comming to London with small adoo remoued the siege, and entered the citie like a conqueror. Shortlie after he fought with the Danes at Brentford, and gaue them a great ouerthrow. In this meane while queene Emma the widow of king Egelred, doubting the fortune of the warre, sent hir two sonnes Alfred and Edward ouer into Normandie vnto hir brother duke Richard, or rather fled thither hirselfe with them (as some write.)

The armies dislodged.

The Danes ouercome at Brentford. Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Fabian. Caxton. Polydor.

Moreouer, earle Edrike, perceiuing the great manhood of king Edmund, began to feare, least in the end he should subdue and vanquish the Danes, wherefore he sought meanes to conclude a peace, and take such order with him as might stand with both their contentations, which yer long he brought about. This was done (as you shall heare) by the consent of Cnute (as some write) to the intent that Edrike being put in trust with king Edmund, might the more easilie deuise waies how to betraie him. But Cnute disappointed of his purpose at London, and fetching a great bootie and prete out of the countries next adioining, repared to his ships, to see what order was amongst them, which a little before were withdrawen into the riuer that passeth by Rochester called Medwaie. Heere Cnute remained certeine daies, both to assemble a greater power, and also to hearken and learne what his enimies ment to do, the which he easilie vnderstood.

Hen. Hunt.

The riuer at Medwaie.

King Edmunds diligence.

King Edmund, who hated nothing worse than to linger his businesse, assembled his people, and marching forward toward his enimies, approched neere vnto them, & pitcht downe his tents not farre from his enimies campe, exhorting his people to remember their passed victories, and to do their good willes, at length by one battell so to ouerthrow them, that they might make an end of the warre, and dispatch them cleerelie out of the realme. With these and the like words he did so incourage his souldiers, that they disdaining thus to haue the enimies dailie prouoke them, and to put them to trouble, with eger minds and fierce courages offered battell to the Danes, which Cnute had prepared to receiue whensoeuer the Englishmen approched: and heerewith bringing his men into araie, he came forth to met his enimies. Then was the battell begun with great earnestnesse on both sides, & continued foure houres, till at length the Danes began somewhat to shrinke, which when Cnute perceiued, he commanded his horsemen to come forward into the forepart of his dawnted host.

The battell is begun.

The Danes put to flight.

But whilest one part of the Danes gaue backe with feare, and the other came slowlie forward, the arraie of the whole armie was broken, & then without respect of shame they fled amaine, so that there died that day of Cnutes side foure thousand and fiue hundred men; and of king Edmunds side, not past six hundred, and those were footmen. This battell was fought as should appeare by diuerse writers, at Okeford or Otesord. It was thought, that if king Edmund had pursued the victorie and followed in chase of his enimies in such wise as he safelie might haue done, he had made that day an end of the warres: but he was counselled by Edrike (as some write) in no condition to follow them, but to staie and giue time to his people to refresh their wearie bodies. Then Cnute with his armie passed ouer the Thames into Esser, and there assembled all his power togither, and began to spoile and waste the countrie on each hand. King Edmund aduertised thereof, hasted forth to succour his people, and at Alhdone in Esser three miles from Saffron Walden, gaue battell to Cnute, where after sore and cruell fight continued with great slaughter on both sides a long time, duke Edrike fled to the comfort of the Danes, and to the discomfort of the Englishmen.

The number of Danes slaine. Polydor. Fabian. Ran. Higd. Matt. West.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmes. Edrikes counsell.

Heerevpon king Edmund was constreined in the end to depart out of the field, hauing first done all that could be wished in a worthie chiefteine, both by words to incourage his men, & by deeds to shew them good example; so that at one time the Danes were at point to haue giuen backe, but that Cnute aduised

aduiſed thereof, ruſhed into the left wing where moſt danger was, and ſo relieued his people there, that finallie the Engliſhmen, both wearied with long fight, and alſo diſcouraged with the running awaie of ſome of their companie, were conſtreined to giue ouer, and by flight to ſeeke their ſafegard, ſo that king Edmund might not by anie meanes bring them againe into order. Heere vpon all the waies and paſſages being forelaid and ſtoped by the enimies, the Engliſhmen wanting both carriage to make longer reſiſtance, and perceiuing no hope to reſt in fleeing, were beaten downe and ſlaine in heapes, ſo that few eſcaped from that dreadfull and bloudie battell.

Noble men ſlaine at the battell of Aſhdone. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm.

There died on king Edmunds ſide, duke Edmund, duke Alfrike, and duke Godwine, with earle Alfketell or Archell of Eaſtangle, and duke Aileward, that was ſonne to Ardelwine late duke of Eaſtangle; and to be briefe, all the floure of the Engliſh nobilitie. There were alſo ſlaine at this battell manie renowmed perſons of the ſpiritualtie, as the biſhop of Lincolne, and the abbat of Ramſey, with others: king Edmund eſcaping awaie, got him into Glocеſterſhire, and there began to raiſe a new armie. In the place where this field was fought, are yet ſeuen or eight hils, wherein the carcaſes of them that were ſlaine at the ſame field were buried: and one being digged downe of late, there were found two bodies in a coffin of ſtone, of which the one laie with his head towards the others feet, and manie chaines of iron, (like to the water-chains of the bits of horſſes) were found in the ſame hill. But now to the matter.

King Edmund withdraweth into Glocеſterſhire

London & other great cities & townes *ſubmit themſelues to Cnute, he haſteth after* Edmund with his power, both their armies *being readie to incounter by occaſion are ſtaied,* the oration of a capteine in the hearing of both hoſts; *the title and right of the realme of England is put to the triall* of combat betweene Cnute and Edmund, Cnute is ouermatched, his words to king Edmund, both kings are pacified and their armies accorded, the realme diuided betwixt Cnute and Edmund, king Edmund traitorouſlie ſlaine, the diſſonant report of writers touching the maners of his death and both the kings dealing about the partition of the realme, Cnute cauſeth Edrike to be ſlaine for procuring king Edmunds death, wherein the reward of treaſon is noted; how long king Edmund reigned, and where he was buried, the eclipſed ſtate of England after his death, and in whoſe time it recouered ſome part of it brightneſſe.

The tenth Chapter.

IN the meane while that Edmund was buſie to leauie a new armie in Glocеſter, and other parties of Mercia, Cnute hauing got ſo great a victorie (as before is mentioned) receiued into his obeiſance, not onelie the citie of London, but alſo manie other cities and townes of great name, and ſhortlie after haſted forward to purſue his enimie king Edmund, who was readie with a mightie hoſt to trie the vttermoſt chance of battell if they ſhould eftſoones ioine. Heere vpon, both the armies being readie to giue the onſet, the one in ſight of the other at a place called Dearehirſt, neere to the riuer of Seuerne, by the drift of duke Edrike, who then at length began to ſhew ſome token of good meaning, the two kings came to a communication, and in the end concluded an agreement, as ſome haue written, without anie more adoo. Others write, that when both the armies were at point to haue ioined, one of the capteins (but whether he were a Dane or an Engliſhman, it is not certeinlie told) ſtood vp in ſuch a place, as he might be heard of both the princes, & boldlie vttered his mind in forme following.

Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Simon Dun.

Matth. Weſt. ſaith this was Edrike.

The oration of a capteine in the audience of the Engliſh and Daniſh armie.

WE haue, moſt worthie capteins, fought long inough one againſt another, there hath bæne but too much bloud ſhed betwæne both the nations, and the baliancie of the ſouldiers on both ſides is ſufficientlie ſæne by triall, neither of your manhoods likewiſe, and yet can you beare neither good nor euill fortune. If one of you win the battell, he purſueth him that is ouercome; and if he chance to be banquiſhed, he reſteth not till he haue recouered new ſtrength to fight eftſoones with him that is victor. What ſhould you meane by this your inuincible courage? At what marke ſhooteth your græedie deſire to beare rule, and your exceſſiue thirſt to atteine honour? If you fight for a kingdome, diuide it betwæne you two, which ſometime was ſufficient for ſeuen kings: but if you couet to winne fame and glorious renowme, and for the ſame are driuen to try the hazard whether ye ſhall command or obeie, deuiſe the waie whereby ye may without ſo great ſlaughter, and without ſuch pitifull bloudſhed of both your guiltleſſe peoples, trie whether of you is moſt worthie to be preferred.

Thus made he an end, and the two princes allowed well of his laſt motion, and ſo order was taken, that they ſhould fight togither in a ſingular combat within a litle Iland incloſed with the riuer of Seuerne called Olney, with condition, that whether of them chanced to be victor, ſhould be king, and the other to reſigne his title for euer into his hands. The two princes entering into the place, appointed in faire armour, began the battell in ſight of both their armies ranged in goodlie order on either ſide the riuer, with doubtfull minds, and nothing ioifull, as they that wauered betwixt hope and feare. The two champions manfullie aſſailed either other, without ſparing. Firſt, they went to it on horſſeback, and after on foot. Cnute was a man of a meane ſtature, but yet ſtrong and hardie, ſo that receiuing a great blow by the hand of his aduerſarie, which cauſed him ſomewhat to ſtagger; yet recouered himſelfe, and boldly ſtept forward to be reuenged. But perceiuing he could not find aduantage, and that he was rather to weake, and ſhrewdlie ouermatched; he ſpake to Edmund with a lowd voice on this wiſe: What neceſſitie (ſaith he) ought thus to moue vs, moſt valiant prince, that for the obteining of a kingdome, we ſhould thus put our liues in danger. Better were it that laieng armour and malice aſide, we ſhould condeſcend to ſome reaſonable agreement. Let vs become ſworne brethren, and part the kingdome betwixt vs: and let vs deale ſo friendlie, that thou maiſt vſe my things as thine owne, and I thine as though they were mine. King Edmund with theſe words of his aduerſarie was ſo pacified, that immediatlie he caſt awaie his ſword, and comming to Cnute, ioined hands with him. Both the armies by their example did the like, which looked for the ſame fortune to fall on their countries, which ſhould happen to

Matt. Weſtm. Cnute of what ſtature he was.

The two kings appoint to try the matter by a combat.

Olney.

Cnute ouermatched.

Cnutes words to Edmund.

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H. Hunt.

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They take vp the matter betwixt themſelues.

to their princes by the ſucceſſe of that one battell. After this, there was an agreement deuiſed betwixt them, ſo that a partition of the realme was made, and that part that lieth fore againſt France, was aſſigned to Edmund, and the other fell to Cnute. There be that write, how the offer was made by king Edmund for the auoiding of more bloudſhed, that the two princes ſhould trie the matter thus togither in a ſingular combat. But Cnute refuſed the combat, bicauſe (as he alledged) the match was not equall. For although he was able to match Edmund in boldneſſe of ſtomach, yet was he farre too weake to deale with a man of ſuch ſtrength as Edmund was knowne to be. But ſith they did pretend title to the realme by due and good direct meanes, he thought it moſt conuenient that the kingdome ſhould be diuided betwixt them. This motion was allowed of both the armies, ſo that king Edmund was of force conſtreined to be contented therewith.

Wil. Malm.

¶ Thus our common writers haue recorded of this agreement, but if I ſhould not be thought preſumptuous, in taking vpon me to reprooue, or rather but to miſtruſt that which hath beene receiued for a true narration in this matter, I would rather giue credit vnto that which the author of the booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, doth report in this behalfe. Which is that through perſuaſion of Edrike de Streona, king Edmund immediatelie after the battell fought at Aſhdone, ſent ambaſſadors vnto Cnute to offer vnto him peace, with halfe the realme of England, that is to ſay, the north parts, with condition that king Edmund might quietlie inioy the ſouth parts, and therevpon haue pledges deliuered interchangeablie on either ſide.

Encomium Emmæ.

Cnute hauing heard the effect of this meſſage, ſtaied to make anſwer till he heard what his counſell would aduiſe him to doo in this behalfe: and vpon good deliberation taken in the matter, conſidering that he had loſt no ſmall number of people in the former battell, and that being farre out of his countrie, he could not well haue anie new ſupplie, where the Engliſhmen although they had likewiſe loſt verie manie of their men of warre, yet being in their owne countrie, it ſhould be an eaſie matter for them to reſtore their decaid number, it was thought expedient by the whole conſent of all the Daniſh captens, that the offer of king Edmund ſhould be accepted.

Herevpon Cnute calling the ambaſſadors before him againe, declared vnto them, that he was contented to conclude a peace vpon ſuch conditions as they had offered: but yet with this addition, that their king whatſoeuer he ſhould be, ſhould paie Cnutes ſouldiers their wages, with monie to be leuied of that part of the kingdome which the Engliſh king ſhould poſſeſſe. For (this ſaith he) I haue vndertaken to ſee them paid, and otherwiſe I will not grant to anie peace. The league and agreement therefore being concluded in this ſort, pledges were deliuered and receiued on both parties, and the armies diſcharged. But God (ſaith mine author) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it ſelfe cannot long ſtand, ſhortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by ſuch meanes ſeemed to take pitie of the Engliſh kingdome, leſt if both the kings ſhould haue continued in life togither, they ſhould haue liued in danger. And incontinentlie herevpon was Cnute choſen and receiued for abſolute king of all the whole realme of England. Thus hath he written that liued in thoſe daies, whoſe credit thereby is much aduanced.

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This is alleged touching the partitiõ of the kingdome.

Howbeit the common report of writers touching the death of Edmund varieth from this, who doo affirme, that after Cnute and Edmund were made friends, the ſerpent of enuie and falſe conſpiracie burnt ſo in the hearts of ſome traitorous perſons, that within a while after king Edmund was ſlaine at Orford, as he ſat on a priuie to doo the neceſſaries of nature. The common report hath gone, that earle Edrike was the procurer of this villanous act, and that (as ſome write) his ſonne did it. But the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, writing of the death of Edmund, hath theſe words (immediatlie after he had firſt declared in what ſort the two princes were agreed, and had made partition of the realme betwixt them:) But God (ſaith he) being mindfull of his old doctrine, that Euerie kingdome diuided in it ſelfe can not long ſtand, ſhortlie after tooke Edmund out of this life: and by ſuch meanes ſeemed to take pitie vpon the Engliſh kingdome, leaſt if both the kings ſhould haue continued in life togither, they ſhould both haue liued in great danger, and the realme in trouble. With this agreeth alſo Simon Dunel. who ſaith, that king Edmund died of naturall ſickneſſe, by courſe of kind at London, about the feaſt of ſaint Andrew next inſuing the late mentioned agreement.

K. Edmund traitorouſlie ſlaine at Orford.

Fabian. Simon Dun.

This is alledged againſt the proofe of Edmunds naturall death.

Fabian.

And this ſhould ſeeme true: for whereas theſe authors which report, that earle Edrike was the procurer of his death, doo alſo write, that when he knew the act to be done, he haſted vnto Cnute, and declared vnto him what he had brought to paſſe for his aduancement to the gouernment of the whole realme. Wherevpon Cnute, abhorring ſuch a deteſtable fact, ſaid vnto him: Bicauſe thou haſt for my ſake, made away the worthieſt bodie of the world, I ſhall raiſe thy head aboue all the lords of England, and ſo cauſed him to be put to death. Thus haue ſome bookes. Howbeit this report agreeth not with other writers, which declare how Cnute aduanced Edrike in the beginning of his reigne vnto high honor, and made him gouernor of Mercia, and vſed his counſell in manie things after the death of king Edmund, as in baniſhing Edwin, the brother of king Edmund, with his ſonnes alſo, Edmund and Edward.

Ranul. Hig. Hen. Hunt.

Some thinke that he was duke of Mercia before, and now had Eſſex adioined thereto.

But for that there is ſuch diſcordance and variable report amongſt writers touching the death of king Edmund, and ſome fables inuented thereof (as the manner is) we will let the reſidue of their reports paſſe; ſith certeine it is, that to his end he came, after he had reigned about the ſpace of one yeere, and ſo much more as is betweene the moneth of June and the latter end of Nouember. His bodie was buried at Glaſtenburie, neere his vncle Edgar. With this Edmund, ſurnamed Ironſide, fell the glorious maieſtie of the Engliſh kingdome, the which afterward as it had beene an aged bodie being ſore decaied and weakened by the Danes, that now got poſſeſſion of the whole, yet ſomewhat recouered after the ſpace of 26 yeers vnder king Edward, ſurnamed the Confeſſor: and ſhortlie therevpon as it had beene falne into a reſiluation, came to extreame ruine by the inuaſion and conqueſt of the Normans: as after by Gods good helpe and fauorable aſſiſtance it ſhall appeare. So that it would make a diligent and marking reader both muſe and mourne, to ſee how variable the ſtate of this kingdome hath beene, & thereby to fall into a conſideration of the frailtie and vncerteintie of this mortall life, which is no more free from ſecuritie, than a ſhip on the ſea in tempeſtuous weather. For as the caſualties wherewith our life is incloſed and beſet with round about, are manifold; ſo alſo are they miſerable, ſo alſo are they ſudden, ſo alſo are they vnauoidable. And true it is, that the life of man is in the hands of God, and the ſtate of kingdoms doth alſo belong vnto him, either to continue or diſcontinue. But to the proceſſe of the matter.

Diuerſe and diſcordant reports of Edmunds death. Ran. Higd. Will. Malm.

Cnute

Cnute vndertaketh the totall regiment *of this land, he aſſembleth a councell at* London, the nobles doo him homage, he diui-*deth the realme into foure parts to be gouerned* by his aſſignes; Edwin and Edward the ſonnes of *Edmund are baniſhed, their good fortune by honorable mari-*ages, King Cnute marieth queene Emma the widow of Egel-red, the wiſe and politike conditions wherevpon this mariage was concluded, the Engliſh bloud reſtored to the crowne and the Danes excluded, queene Emma praiſed for hir high wiſe-dome in chooſing an enimie to hir husband; Cnute diſmiſſeth the Daniſh armie into Denmarke; Edrike de Streona bewrai-eth his former trecherie, and procureth his owne death through raſhneſſe and follie, the diſcordant report of writers touching the maner & cauſe of his death, what noble men were executed with him, and baniſhed out of England, Cnute a monarch.

The xj. Chapter.

Canute, Knought or Cnute.

CAnute, or Cnute, whome the Engliſh chronicles do name Knought, after the death of king Edmund, toke vpon him the whole rule ouer all the realme of England, in the yeare of our Lord 1017, in the ſeuententh yeare of the emperour Henrie the ſecond, ſurnamed Clau-dus, in the twentith yeare of the reigne of Robert king of France, and about the 7 yeare of Malcolme king of Scotland. Cnute ſhortlie after the death of king Edmund, aſſembled a councell at London, in the which he cauſed all the nobles of the realme to do him homage, in receiuing an oth of loiall obei-ſance. He diuided the realme into foure parts, aſſig-ning Northumberland vnto the rule of Irke or Iri-cius, Mercia vnto Edrike, and Eaſtangle vnto Tur-kill, and reſeruing the weſt part to his owne gouer-nance. He baniſhed (as before is ſaid) Edwin, the brother of king Edmund; but ſuch as were ſuſpected to be culpable of Edmunds death, he cauſed to be put to execution: whereby it ſhould appeare, that Edrike was not then in anie wiſe detected or once thought to be giltie.

1017

Wil. Malm.

The ſaid Edwin afterwards returned, and was then reconciled to the kings fauor (as ſome write) but ſhortlie after traitorouſlie ſlaine by his owne ſer-uants. He was called the king of churles. Others write, that he came ſecretlie into the realme after he had beene baniſhed, and keeping himſelfe cloſelie out of ſight, at length ended his life, and was buried at Taueſtocke. Moreouer, Edwin and Edward the ſonnes of king Edmund were baniſhed the land, and ſent firſt vnto Sweno king of Norweie to haue bin made away: but Sweno vpon remorſe of conſci-ence ſent them into Hungarie, where they found great fauor at the hands of king Salomon, inſo-much that Edwin maried the daughter of the ſame Salomon, but had no iſſue by hir. Edward was ad-uanced to marie with Agatha, daughter of the em-perour Henrie, and by hir had iſſue two ſonnes, Ed-mund and Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, and as many daughters, Margaret and Chriſtine, of the which in place conuenient more ſhall be ſaid.

Ran. Higd.

King of churles. Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

When king Cnute had eſtabliſhed things, as he thought ſtood moſt for his ſuertie, he called to his re-membrance, that he had no iſſue but two baſtard ſonnes Harold and Sweno, begotten of his con-cubine Alwine. Wherefore he ſent ouer to Richard duke of Normandie, requiring to haue queene Em-ma, the widow of king Egelred in mariage, and ſo obteined hir, not a little to the wonder of manie, which thought a great ouerſight both in the woman and in hir brother, that would ſatisfie the requeſt of Cnute herein, conſidering he had beene ſuch a mor-tall enimie to hir former husband. But duke Richard did not onelie conſent, that his ſaid ſiſter ſhould be maried vnto Cnute, but alſo he himſelfe toke to wife the ladie Geſtritha, ſiſter to the ſaid Cnute.

Polydor.

Polydor. King Cnute maried to queene Emma the widow of Egelred, in Iulie, anno. 1017.

¶ Here ye haue to vnderſtand, that this mariage was not made without great conſideration & large couenants granted on the part of king Cnute: for before he could obteine queene Emma to his wife, it was fullie condeſcended & agreed, that after Cnuts deceaſe, the crowne of England ſhould remaine to the iſſue borne of this mariage betwixt hir & Cnute, which couenant although it was not performed im-mediatlie after the deceaſſe of king Cnute, yet in the end it toke place, ſo as the right ſeemed to be de-ferred, and not to be taken away nor aboliſhed: for immediatlie vpon Harolds death that had vſurped, Hardicnute ſucceeded as right heire to the crowne, by force of the agreement made at the time of the mariage ſolemnized betwixt his father and mother, and being once eſtabliſhed in the kingdome, he or-deined his brother Edward to ſucceed him, where-by the Danes were vtterlie excluded from all right that they had to pretend vnto the crowne of this land, and the Engliſh bloud reſtored thereto, chiefle by that gratious concluſion of this mariage betwixt king Cnute and queene Emma. For the which no ſmall praiſe was thought to be due vnto the ſaid queene, ſith by hir politike gouernement, in ma-king hir match ſo beneficiall to hir ſelfe and hir line, the crowne was thus recouered out of the hands of the Danes, and reſtored againe in time to the right heire, as by an auncient treatiſe which ſome haue intituled *Encomium Emmæ*, and was written in thoſe daies, it doth and may appeare. Which booke al-though there be but few copies thereof abroad, gi-ueth vndoubtedlie great light to the hiſtorie of that time.

The couenants made at the mariage betwixt Cnute and Emma.

The engliſh bloud reſto-red.

The praiſe of queene Em-ma for hir wiſ-dome.

Encomium Emmæ.

But now to our purpoſe. Cnute the ſame yeare in which he was thus maried, through perſuaſion of his wife queene Emma, ſent awaie the Daniſh na-tie and armie home into Denmarke, giuing to them foureſcore and two thouſand pounds of ſiluer, which was leuied throughout this land for their wa-ges. In the yeare 1018, Edrike de Streona earle of Mercia was ouerthrowen in his owne turne: for being called before the king into his priuie cham-ber, and there in reaſoning the matter about ſome quarrell that was picked to him, he began verie pre-ſumptuouſlie to vpbraid the king of ſuch pleaſures as he had before time done vnto him; I did (ſaid he) for the loue which I bare towards you, forſake my ſouereigne lord king Edmund, and at length for your ſake ſlue him. At which words Cnute began to change countenance, as one marueilouſlie aba-ſhed, and ſtraightwaies gaue ſentence againſt Ed-rike in this wiſe; Thou art worthie (ſaith he) of death, and die thou ſhalt; which art guiltie of treaſon both towards God and me, ſith that thou haſt ſlaine thine owne ſouereigne lord, and my deere allied brother. Thy bloud therefore be vpon thine owne head, ſith thy tong hath vttered thy treaſon. And immediatlie he cauſed his throat to be cut, and his bodie to be throwen out at the chamber window into the riuer of Thames. ¶ But others ſay, that hands were laid vpon him in the verie ſame chamber or cloſet where he murdered the king, & ſtraightwaies to preuent all cauſes of tumults & hurlieburlies, he was put to death with terrible torments of fierbrands & links; which execution hauing paſſed vpon him, a ſecond ſucceeded; for both his feet were bound together, and his bodie drawne through the ſtreets of the citie, & in fine caſt into a common ditch called Hounds-

Wil. Malm. 1018

Matth. Weſt.

Edrike put to death.

pitch,

dish; for that the citizens threw their dead dogs and stinking carrion with other filth into it, accounting him worthie of a worse rather than of a better buriall. In such hatred was treason had, being a vice which the verie infidels and grosse pagans abhorred, else would they not have said, *Proditionem oris, proditorem odi*: Treason I love, but a traitor I hate. This was the end of Edrike, surnamed de Stratton or Streona, a man of great infamie for his craftie dissimulation, falshood and treason, vsed by him to the ouerthrow of the English estate, as partlie before is touched.

Simon Dun. But there be that concerning the cause of this Edrikes death, seeme partlie to disagree from that which before is recited, declaring that Cnute standing in some doubt to be betraied through the treason of Edrike, sought occasion how to rid him and others whome he mistrusted out of the way. And therefore on a day when Edrike craued some preferment at Cnuts hands, & said that he had deserued to be well thought of, sith by his flight from the battell at Assendon, the victorie therby inclined to Cnutes part: Cnute hearing him speake these words, made this answere: And canst thou (quoth he) be true to me, that through fraudulent meanes diddest deceiue thy souereigne lord and maister? But I will reward thee according to thy deserts, so as from henceforth thou shalt not deceiue anie other, and so forthwith commanded Erike one of his chiefe capteines to dispatch him, who incontinentlie cut off his head with his axe or halbert. Verelie Simon Dunelmensis saith, that K. Cnute vnderstanding in what sort both king Egelred, and his sonne king Edmund Ironside had beene betraied by the said Edrike, stood in great doubt to be likewise deceiued by him, and therefore was glad to haue some pretended quarell, to dispatch both him and others, whome he likewise mistrusted, as it well appeared. For at the same time there were put to death with Edrike earle Norman the sonne of earle Leofwin, and brother to earle Leofrike: also Adelward the sonne of earle Agelmare and Brightrike the sonne of Alfegus gouernor of Deuonshire, without all guilt or cause (as some write.) And in place of Norman, his brother Leofrike was made earle of Mercia by the king, and had in great fauour. This Leofrike is commonlie also by writers named earle of Chester. After this, Cnute likewise banished Iric and Turkill, two Danes, the one (as before is recited) gouernor of Northumberland, and the other of Northfolke and Suffolke or Eastangle.

Then rested the whole rule of the realme in the kings hands, whereupon he studied to preserue the people in peace, and ordeined lawes, according to the which both Danes and Englishmen should be gouerned in equall state and degree. Diuers great lords whome he found vnfaithfull or rather suspected, he put to death (as before ye haue heard) beside such as he banished out of the realme. He raised a tax or tribute of the people, amounting to the summe of fourescore & two thousand pounds, besides 11000 pounds, which the Londoners paid towards the maintenance of the Danish armie. But whereas these things chanced not all at one time, but in sundrie seasons, we will returne somewhat backe to declare what other exploits were atchiued in the meane time by Cnute, not onelie in England, but also in Denmarke, and elsewhere: admonishing the reader in the processe of the discourse following, that much excellent matter is comprehended, whereof (if the same be studiouslie read and diligentlie considered) no small profit is to be reaped, both for the augmentation of his owne knowledge and others that be studious.

Encomium Emmæ.

Hen. Hunt. Lords put to death.

A taxe raised.

Cnute saileth into Denmarke to subdue the Vandals, earle Goodwins good seruice with the English against the said Vandals, *and what benefit accrewed vnto the English*men by the said good seruice, he returneth into England after the discomfiture of the enimie, he saileth ouer againe into Denmarke and incounteth with the Swedeners, the occasion of this warre or incounter taken by Olaus, his hard hap, vnluckie fortune, and wofull death wrought by the hands of his owne vnnaturall subiects; Cnuts confidence in the Englishmen, his deuout voiage to Rome, his returne into England, his subduing of the Scots, his death and interrement.

The twelfth Chapter.

IN the third yeare of his reigne Cnute sailed with an armie of Englishmen and Danes into Denmarke, to subdue the Vandals there, which then sore annoied and warred against his subiects of Denmarke. Earle Godwine, which had the souereigne conduct of the Englishmen, the night before the day appointed for the battell got him forth of the campe with his people, and suddenlie assailing the Vandals in their lodgings, easilie discomfited them, sleating a great number of them, and chasing the residue. In the morning earlie, when as Cnute heard that the Englishmen were gone forth of their lodgings, he supposed that they were either fled awaie, or else turned to take part with the enimies. But as he approched to the enimies campe, he vnderstood how the mater went; for he found nothing there but blood, dead bodies, and the spoile. For which good seruice, Cnute had the Englishmen in more estimation euer after, and highlie rewarded their leader the same earle Godwine. When Cnute had ordered all things in Denmarke, as was thought behouefull, he returned againe into England: and within a few daies after, he was aduertised that the Swedeners made warre against his subiects of Denmarke, vnder the leding of two great princes, Ulfe and Ulafe. Wherfore to defend his dominions in those parts, he passed againe with an armie into Denmarke, incountred with his enimies, and receiued a sore ouerthrow, losing a great number both of Danes and Englishmen. But gathering togither a new force of men, he set againe vpon his enimies, and ouercame them, constreining the two foresaid princes to agree vpon reasonable conditions of peace. Matth. West. recounteth, that at this time earle Godwine and the Englishmen wrought the enterprise aboue mentioned, of assaulting the enimies campe in the night season, after Cnute had first lost in the day before no small number of his people: and that then the foresaid princes or kings, as he nameth them Ulfus and Aulafus, which latter he calleth Eiglafe, were constrained to agree vpon a peace. The Danish chronicles alledge, that the occasion of this warre rose hereof. This Olaus aided Cnute (as the same writers report) against king Edmund and the Englishmen. But when the peace should be made betweene Cnute and Edmund, there was no consideration had of Olaus: whereas through him the Danes chiefle obtained the victorie. Herevpon Olaus was sore offended in his mind against Cnute, and now vpon occasion sought to be reuenged. But what soeuer the cause was of this warre betwixt these two princes, the end was thus: that Olaus was expelled out of his kingdome, and constreined to flee

1019 King Cnut passeth into Denmarke.

Earle Godwin his seruice in Denmarke.

Cnute beareth Englishmen in estimation for their good seruice.

1028 Cnute passeth againe into Denmarke.

Will. Malm.

Matt. West.

Albertus Crantz.

flæ to Gerthallaus a duke in the parties of Gaſkland. and afterward returning into Norwaie, was ſlaine by ſuch of his ſubiects as tooke part with Cnute, in manner as in the hiſtorie of Norwaie, appeareth more at large, with the contrarietie found in the writings of them which haue recorded the hiſtories of thoſe north regions.

Magnus Olaus.

But here is to be remembred, that the fame and glorie of the Engliſh nation was greatlie aduanced in theſe warres, as well againſt the Swedeners as the Norwegians, ſo that Cnute began to loue and truſt the Engliſhmen much better than it was to be thought he would euer haue done. Shortlie after that Cnute was returned into England, that is to ſay (as ſome haue) in the 15 yeare of his reigne, he went to Rome to performe his vow which he had made to viſit the places where the apoſtles Peter and Paule had their buriall, where he was honorablie receiued of pope Iohn the 20 that then held the ſee. When he had done his deuotion there, he returned into England. In the yeare following, he made a iournie againſt the Scots, which as then had rebelled; but by the princelie power of Cnute they were ſubdued and brought againe to obedience: ſo that not onelie king Malcolme, but alſo two other kings Melbeath and Iechmare became his ſubiects. Finallie after that this noble prince king Cnute had reigned the tearme of 20 yeares currant, after the death of Ethelred, he died at Shaftſburie, as the Engliſh writers affirme, on the 12 of Nouember, and was buried at Wincheſter. But the Daniſh chronicles record that he died in Normandie, and was buried at Rone (as in the ſame chronicles ye may reade more at large.)

Fabian. Polydor. Hen.Hunt.

Other ſay, that he went forth a Denmarke to Rome. Simon Dun. Anno 1031.

1032 Wil.Malm. Matth.Weſt.

1033 Scots ſubdued. Hen.Hunt.

Anno 1035. Wil.Malm. The death of king Cnute.

Hen.Hunt. Alb.Crantz.

The treſpuiſſance of Cnute, the amplenesſe of his dominions, the good and charitable fruits of his voiage to Rome redounding to the common benefit of all trauellers from England thither, with what great perſonages he had conference, and the honour that was doone him there, his intollerable pride in commanding the waters of the flouds not to riſe, he humbleth himſelfe and confeſſeth Chriſt Ieſus to be king of kings, he refuſeth to weare the crowne during his life, he reproueth a gentleman flatterer, his iſſue legitimate and illegitimate, his inclination in his latter yeares, what religious places he erected, repaired, and inriched; what notable men he fauoured and reuerenced, his lawes; and that in cauſes as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall he had cheefe and ſole gouernement in this land, whereby the popes vſurped title of vniuerſall ſupremaſie is impeached.

The xiij. Chapter.

The large dominion of K. Cnute. Hen.Hunt. Alb.Crantz.

His Cnute was the mightieſt prince that euer reigned ouer the Engliſh people: for he had the ſouereigne rule ouer all Denmark, England, Norwaie, Scotland, and part of Sweiden. Amongeſt other of his roiall acts, he cauſed ſuch tolles and tallages as were demanded of way-goers at bridges and ſtreets in the high way betwixt England and Rome to be diminiſhed to the halfes, and againe got alſo a moderation to be had in the paiment of the archbiſhops fées of his realme, which was leuied of them in the court of Rome when they ſhould receiue their palles, as may appeare by a letter which he himſelfe being at Rome, directed to the biſhops and other of the nobles of England. In the which it alſo appeareth, that beſides the roiall interteinment, which he had at Rome of pope Iohn, he had conference there with the emperour Conrad, with Raſe the king of Burgoingne, and manie other great princes and noble men, which were preſent there at that time: all which at his requeſt, in fauour of thoſe Engliſhmen that ſhould trauell vnto Rome, granted (as we haue ſaid) to diminiſh ſuch duties as were gathered of paſſingers.

Grants made to the benefit of Engliſhmen. at the inſtance of king Cnute.

He receiued there manie great gifts of the emperour, and was highlie honored of him, and likewiſe of the pope, and of all other the high princes at that time preſent at Rome: ſo that when he came home (as ſome write) he did grow greatlie into pride, inſomuch that being neere to the Thames, or rather (as other write) vpon the ſea ſtrand, neere to Southhampton, and perceiuing the water to riſe by reaſon of the tide, he caſt off his gowne, and wrapping it round togither, threw it on the ſands verie neere the increaſing water, and ſat him downe vpon it, ſpeaking theſe or the like words to the ſea: Thou art (ſaith he) within the compaſſe of my dominion, and the ground whereon I ſit is mine, and thou knoweſt that no wight dare diſobeie my commandements; I therefore do now command thée not to riſe vpon my ground, nor to preſume to wet anie part of thy ſouereigne lord and gouernour. But the ſea keeping hir courſe, roſe ſtill higher and higher, and ouerflowed not onelie the kings fét, but alſo flaſhed vp vnto his legs and knees. Wherewith the king ſtarted ſuddenlie vp, and withdrew from it, ſaieng withall to his nobles that were about him: Behold you noble men, you call me king, which can not ſo much as ſtaie by my commandement this ſmall portion of water. But know ye for certeine, that there is no king but the father onelie of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt, with whome he reigneth, & at whoſe becke all things are gouerned. Let vs therefore honor him, let vs confeſſe and profeſſe him to be the ruler of heauen, earth, and ſea, and beſides him none other.

Polydor. Matt.Weſt.

He cauſed his chaire to be ſet there, as Matth.Weſt. ſaith. Hen.Hunt.

" " " " " " " " " "

The faieng of king Cnute.

Zealouſlie inough, if it had bin according to true knowledge.

From thence he went to Wincheſter, and there with his owne hands ſet his crowne vpon the head of the image of the crucifix, which ſtood there in the church of the apoſtles Peter and Paule, and from thenceforth he would neuer weare that crowne nor anie other. Some write that he ſpake not the former words to the ſea vpon anie preſumptuouſneſſe of mind, but onelie vpon occaſion of the vaine title, which in his commendation one of his gentlemen gaue him by way of flatterie (as he rightlie tooke it) for he called him the moſt mightieſt king of all kings, which ruled moſt at large both men, ſea, and land. Therefore to reproue the fond flatterie of ſuch vaine perſons, he deuiſed and practiſed the déed before mentioned, thereby both to reproue ſuch flatterers, and alſo that men might be admoniſhed to conſider the omnipotencie of almightie God. He had iſſue by his wife quéene Emma, a ſonne named by the Engliſh chronicles Hardiknought, but by the Daniſh writers Canute or Knute: alſo a daughter named Gonilda, that was after maried to Henrie the ſonne of Conrad, which alſo was afterwards emperour, and named Henrie the third. By his concubine Alwine that was daughter to Alfelme, whome ſome name earle of Hampton, he had two baſtard ſonnes, Harold and Sweno. He was much giuen in his latter daies to vertue, as he that conſidered how perfect felicitie reſted onelie in godlines and true deuotion to ſerue the heauenlie king and gouernour of all things.

Ran. Higd. Polydor. Matth. Weſt.

Polydor.

Flatterie reproued.

Polydor.

Alb.Crantz.

Polydor. Fabian.

He repared in his time manie churches, abbeies, and houſes of religion, which by occaſion of warres had béene ſore defaced by him and his father, but ſpecially he did great coſt vpon the abbeie of ſaint Edmund, in the towne of Burie, as partlie before is mentioned. He alſo built two abbeies from the foundation, as ſaint Benets in Norffolke, ſeuen

which is ſuppoſed to be Barclow: for Ashdone it ſelfe is halfe a mile from thence.

miles diſtant from Norwich, and an other in Norwaie. He did alſo build a church at Aſhdone in Eſſex, where he obteined the victorie of king Edmund, and was preſent at the hallowing or conſecration therof with a great multitude of the lords and nobles of the realme, both Engliſh and Danes. He alſo holpe with his owne hands to remoue the bodie of the holie archbiſhop Elphegus, when the ſame was tranſlated from London to Canturburie. The roiall and moſt rich iewels which he & his wife quéene Emma gaue vnto the church of Wincheſter, might make the beholders to wonder at ſuch their exceeding and bountifull munificence.

1020 Simon Dun.

Thus did Cnute ſtriue to reforme all ſuch things as he and his anceſtors had done amiſſe, and to wipe awaie the ſpot of euill doing, as ſuerlie to the outward ſight of the world he did in deed; he had the archbiſhop of Canturburie Aſchelnotus in ſingular reputation, and vſed his counſell in matters of importance. He alſo highlie fauoured Leofrike earle of Cheſter, ſo that the ſame Leofrike bare great rule in ordering of things touching the ſtate of the common wealth vnder him as one of his chiefe councellors. Diuerſe lawes and ſtatutes he made for the gouernment of the common wealth, partlie agréeable with the lawes of king Edgar, and other the kings that were his predeceſſors, and partlie tempered according to his owne liking, and as was thought to him moſt expedient: among the which there be diuerſe that concerne cauſes as well eccleſiaſticall as temporall. Whereby (as maiſter Fox hath noted) it maie be gathered, that the gouernment of ſpirituall matters did depend then not vpon the biſhop of Rome, but rather apperteined vnto the lawfull authoritie of the temporall prince, no leſſe than matters and cauſes temporall. But of theſe lawes & ſtatutes enacted by king Cnute, ye may read more as ye find them ſet forth in the before remembred booke of maiſter William Lambert, which for briefeneſſe we héere omit.

Leofrike earle of Cheſter,

King Cnutes lawes.

Variance amongeſt the peeres of the realme about the roiall ſucceſſion, the kingdome is diuided betwixt Harold the baſtard ſonne and Hardicnute the lawfullie begotten ſon of king Cnute late deceaſſed, Harold hath the totall regiment, the authoritie of earle Goodwine gardian to the queenes ſonnes, Harold is proclaimed king, why Elnothus did ſtoutlie refuſe to conſecrate him, why Harold was ſurnamed Harefoot, he is ſuppoſed to be a ſhoomakers ſonne, and how it came to paſſe that he was counted king Cnutes baſtard; Alfred challengeth the crowne from Harold, Goodwine (vnder colour of friendlie intertreinment) procureth his retinues vtterly vndooing, a tithing of the Normans by the poll, whether Alfred was intereſſed in the crowne, the trecherous letter of Harold written in the name of queene Emma to hir two ſons in Normandie, whereupon Alfred commeth ouer into England, the vnfaithfull dealing of Goodwine with Alfred and his people, teaching that in truſt is treaſon, a reſeruation of euerie tenth Norman, the remanent ſlaine, the lamentable end of Alfred, and with what torments he was put to death; Harold baniſheth queene Emma out of England, he degenerateth from his father, the ſhort time of his reigne, his death and buriall.

The xiiij. Chapter.

Harold. Matth. Weſt. Wil. Malm.

After that Cnute was departed this life, there aroſe much variance amongſt the peeres and great lords of the realme about the ſucceſſion. The Danes and Londoners (which through continuall familiaritie with the Danes, were become like vnto them) elected Harold the baſe ſonne of king Cnute, to ſucceed in his fathers roome, hauing earle Leofrike, and diuerſe other of the noble men of the north parts on their ſide. But other of the Engliſhmen, and namelie earle Godwine earle of Kent, with the chiefeſt lords of the weſt parts, coueted rather to haue one of king Egelreds ſonnes, which were in Normandie, or elſe Hardicnute the ſonne of king Cnute by his wife quéene Emma, which remained in Denmarke, aduanced to the place. This controuerſie held in ſuch wiſe, that the realme was diuided (as ſome write) by lot betwixt the two brethren Harold and Hardicnute. The north part, as Mercia and Northumberland fell to Harold, and the ſouth part vnto Hardicnute: but at length the whole remained vnto Harold, becauſe his brother Hardicnute refuſed to come out of Denmarke to take the gouernment vpon him.

Controuerſie for the crowne.

Simon Dun.

The realme diuided betwixt Harold and Hardicnute.

But yet the authoritie of earle Godwine, who had the quéene and the treaſure of the realme in his keeping, ſtaied the matter a certeine time, (profeſſing himſelfe as it were gardian to the yong men, the ſonnes of the quéene, till at length he was conſtreined to giue ouer his hold, and conforme himſelfe to the ſtronger part and greater number.) And ſo at Oxford, where the aſſemblie was holden about the election, Harold was proclaimed king, and conſecrated according to the maner (as ſome write.) But it ſhould appeare by other, that Elnothus the archbiſhop of Canturburie, a man indued with all vertue and wiſedome refuſed to crowne him: for when king Harold being elected of the nobles and péeres, required the ſaid archbiſhop that he might be of him conſecrated, and receiue at his hands the regall ſcepter with the crowne, which the archbiſhop had in his cuſtodie, and to whome it onelie did apperteine to inueſt him therewith, the archbiſhop flatlie refuſed, and with an oth proteſted, that he would not conſecrate anie other for king, ſo long as the quéenes children liued: for (ſaith he) Cnute committed them to my truſt and aſſurance, and to them will I kéepe my faith and loiall obedience. The ſcepter and crowne I héere lay downe vpon the altar, and neither do I denie nor deliuer them vnto you: but I forbid by the apoſtolike authoritie all the biſhops, that none of them preſume to take the ſame awaie, and deliuer them to you, or conſecrate you for king. As for your ſelfe, if you dare, you maie vſurpe that which I haue committed vnto God and his table.

The author-tie of earle Godwine. H. Hunt.

The refuſall of the archbiſhop Elnothus to conſecrate king Harold.

But whether afterwards the king by one meane or other, cauſed the archbiſhop to crowne him king, or that he was conſecrated of ſome other, he was admitted king of all the Engliſh people, begining his reigne in the yéere of our Lord a thouſand thirtie and ſix, in the fouretenth yéere of the emperor Conrad the ſecond, in the firſt yéere of Henrie the firſt, king of France, and about the ſeuen and twentith yéere of Malcolme the ſecond, king of Scots. This Harold for his great ſwiftneſſe, was ſurnamed Harefoot, of whome little is written touching his doings, ſauing that he is noted to haue béene an oppreſſor of his people, and ſpotted with manie notable vices. It was ſpoken of diuerſe in thoſe daies, that this Harold was not the ſonne of Cnute, but of a ſhoomaker, and that his ſuppoſed mother Elgina, king Cnutes concubine, to bring the king further in loue with hir, feined that ſhe was with child: and about the time that ſhe ſhould be brought to bed (as ſhe made hir account) cauſed the ſaid ſhoomakers ſon to be ſecretlie brought into hir chamber, and then vntrulie cauſed it to be reported that ſhe was deliuered, and the child ſo reputed to be the kings ſonne.

1036

Harold why he is ſurnamed Harefoot.

Harold euill ſpoken of.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano.

Immediatlie vpon aduertiſement had of Cnutes death, Alfred the ſonne of king Egelred, with fiftie ſaile landed at Sandwich, meaning to challenge the crowne,

Matth. Weſt.

crowne, and to obteine it by lawfull claime with quietneſſe, if he might; if not, then to vſe force by aid of his friends, and to aſſaie that waie forth to win it, if he might not otherwiſe obteine it. From Sandwich he came to Canturburie: and ſhortlie after, earle Godwine feining to receiue him as a friend, came to meet him, and at Gilford in the night ſeaſon appointed a number of armed men to fall vpon the Normans as they were aſléepe, and ſo tooke them togither with Alfred, & ſlue the Normans by the poll, in ſuch wiſe that nine were ſlaine, & the tenth reſerued. But yet when thoſe that were reſerued, ſeemed to him a greater number than he wiſhed to eſcape, he fell to and againe tithed them as before. Alfred had his eies put out, and was conueied to the Ile of Elie, where ſhortlie after he died.

Ran. Higd.

¶ How Alfred ſhould claime the crowne to himſelfe I ſée not: for verelie I can not be perſuaded that he was the elder brother, though diuers authors haue ſo written, ſith Gemeticenſis, & the author of the booke called *Encomium Emmæ*, plainlie affirme, that Edward was the elder: but it might be, that Alfred being a man of a ſtouter ſtomach than his brother Edward, made this attempt, either for himſelfe, or in the behalfe of his brother Edward, being as then abſent, and gone into Hungarie, as ſome write: but other ſay, that as well Edward as Alfred came ouer at this time with a number of Norman knights, and men of warre imbarked in a few ſhips, onelie to ſpeake with their mother, who as then lay at Wincheſter, whether to take aduiſe with hir how to recouer their right hæreditarie in this land, or to aduance their brother Hardicnute, or for ſome other purpoſe, our authors do not declare.

See matter Fox acts and monuments, pag. 112. Simon Dun.

But the lords of the realme that bare their good wils vnto Harold, and (though contrarie to right) ment to mainteine him in the eſtate, ſeemed to be much offended with the comming of theſe two brethren in ſuch order: for earle Godwine perſuaded them, that it was great danger to ſuffer ſo manie ſtrangers to enter the realme, as they had brought with them. Whereupon earle Godwine with the aſſent of the other lords, or rather by commandement of Harold, went forth, and at Gilford met with Alfred that was comming towards king Harold to ſpeake with him, accordinglie as he was of Harold required to do. But now being taken, and his companie miſerablie murthered (as before ye haue heard) to the number of ſix hundred Normans, Alfred himſelfe was ſent into the Ile of Elie, there to remaine in the abbeie in cuſtodie of the monks, hauing his eies put out as ſone as he entered firſt into the ſame Ile. William Malmeſburie ſaith, that Alfred came ouer, and was thus handled betwixt the time of Harolds death, & the comming in of Hardicnute. Others write, that this chanced in his brother Hardicnuts daies, which ſeemeth not to be true: for Hardicnute was knowne to loue his brethren by his mothers ſide ſo dearelie to haue ſuffered anie ſuch iniurie to be wrought againſt either of them in his time.

¶ Thus ye ſée how writers diſſent in this matter, but for the better clearing of the truth touching the time, I haue thought good to ſhew alſo what the author of the ſaid booke intituled *Encomium Emmæ* writeth hereof, which is as followeth. When Harold was once eſtabliſhed king, he ſought meanes how to rid queene Emma out of the way, and that ſecretlie, ſo that openlie as yet he durſt not attempt anie thing againſt hir. She in ſilence kept hir ſelfe quiet, looking for the end of theſe things. But Harold remembring himſelfe, of a malicious purpoſe, by wicked aduiſe tooke counſell how he might get into his hands and make away the ſons of queene Emma, ſith he was out of danger of all annoiance that by them might be procured againſt him. Wherefore he cauſed a letter to be written in the name of their mother Emma, which he ſent by certeine meſſengers ſuborned for the ſame purpoſe into Normandie, where Edward and Alfred as then remained. The tenour of which letter here inſueth.

A counterfet letter.

The tenour of a letter forged and ſent *in queene Emmas name to hir* two ſonnes.

EMma tantùm nomine regina filijs Edwardo & Alfredo materna impertit ſalutamina. Dũ domini noſtri regis obitum ſeparatim plangimus (filij chariſſimi) dũmq; dietim magis magiſque regno hæreditatis veſtræ priuamini, miror quid captetis conſilij, dum ſciatis intermiſſionis veſtræ dilatione inuaſoris veſtri imperij fieri quotidiè ſolliditatẽ. Is enim inceſſanter vicos & vrbes circuit, & ſibi amicos principes muneribus, minis, & precibus facit: ſed vnum è vobis ſuper ſe mallent regnare quàm iſtius (qui nunc ijs imperat) teneri ditione. Vnde rogo vnus veſtrum ad me velociter & priuatè veniat, vt ſalubre à me conſilium accipiat, & ſciat quo pacto hoc negotium quod volo fieri debeat, per præſentem quoque internuncium quid ſuper his facturi eſtis remandate. Valete cordis mei viſcera.

The ſame in Engliſh

EMma in name onelie queene to hir ſons Edward and Alfred ſendeth motherlie greeting. Whileſt we ſeparatelie bewaile the death of our ſouereigne lord the king (moſt deare ſonnes) and whileſt you are euerie day more and more depriued from the kingdome of your inheritance, I maruell what you doo determine, ſith you know by the delay of your ceaſſing to make ſome enterpriſe, the grounded force of the vſurper of your kingdom is dailie made the ſtronger. For inceſſantlie he goeth from towne to towne, from citie to citie, and maketh the lords his friends by rewards, threats, and praiers, but they had rather haue one of you to reigne ouer them, than to be kept vnder the rule of this man that now gouerneth them. Wherefore my requeſt is, that one of you doo come with ſpeed, and that priuilie ouer to me, that he may vnderſtand my wholeſome aduiſe, and know in what ſort this matter ought to be handled, which I would haue to go forward, and ſee that ye ſend mee word by this preſent meſſenger what you meane to doo herein. Fare ye well euen the bowels of my heart.

These letters were deliuered vnto ſuch as were made priuie to the purpoſed treaſon, who being fullie inſtructed how to vſe it, went ouer into Normandie, and preſenting the letters vnto the yong gentlemen, vſed the matter ſo, that they thought verelie that this meſſage had beene ſent from their mother, and wrote againe by them that brought the letters, that one of them would not faile but come ouer vnto hir according to that ſhe had requeſted, and withall appointed the day and time. The meſſengers returning to king Harold, informed him how they had

had ſped. The yonger brother Alfred, with his brothers conſent, toke with him a certeine number of gentlemen and men of warre, and firſt came into Flanders, where after he had remained a while with earle Baldwine, he increaſed his retinue with a few Bullogners, and paſſed ouer into England, but approching to the ſhore, he was ſtreightwaies deſcried by his enimies, who haſted forth to ſet vpon him; but perceiuing their draft, he bad the ſhips caſt about, and make againe to the ſea; then landing at an other place, he ment to go the nert way to his mother.

Godwin was ſuſpected to do this vnder a colour to betrap him as by writers it ſeemeth.

But earle Godwine hearing of his arriuall, met him, receiued him into his aſſurance, and binding his credit with a corporall oth, became his man, and therwith leading him out of the high way that leadeth to London, he brought him to Gilford, where he lodged all the ſtrangers, by a ſcore, a dozen, and halfe a ſcore togither in innes, ſo as but a few remained about the yong gentleman Alfred to attend vpon him. There was plentie of meat and drinke prepared in euerie lodging, for the refreſhing of all the companie. And Godwine taking his leaue for that night, departed to his lodging, promiſing the nert morning to come againe to giue his dutifull attendance on Alfred.

Not onelie Godwine but other ſuch as king Harold appointed, took Alfred with his Normans

But behold, after they had filled themſelues with meats and drinks, and were gone to bed, in the dead of the night came ſuch as king Harold had appointed, and entring into euerie inne, firſt ſeized vpon the armor and weapons that belonged to the ſtrangers: which done, they toke them, and chained them faſt with fetters and manacles, ſo keeping them ſure till the nert morning. Which being come, they were brought forth with their hands bound behind their backs, and deliuered to moſt cruell tormentors, who were commanded to ſpare none but euerie tenth man, as he came to hand by lot, and ſo they ſlue nine and left the tenth aliue. Of thoſe that were left aliue, ſome they kept to ſerue as bondmen, other for couetouſneſſe of gaine they ſold, and ſome they put in priſon, of whome yet diuerſe afterwards eſcaped. This with more hath the foreſaid author written of this matter, declaring further, that Alfred being conueied into the Ile of Ely, had not onelie his eies put out in moſt cruell wiſe, but was alſo preſentlie there murthered. But he ſpeaketh not further of the maner how he was made away, ſauing that he ſaith he forbeareth to make long recitall of this matter, becauſe he will not renew the mothers greefe in hearing it, ſith there can be no greater ſorrow to the mother than to heare of hir ſonnes death.

¶ I remember in Caxton we read, that his cruell tormentors ſhould cauſe his bellie to be opened, & taking out one end of his bowels or guts, tied the ſame to a ſtake which they had ſet faſt in the ground; then with needels of iron pricking his bodie, they cauſed him to run about the ſtake, till he had wound out all his intrailes, & ſo ended he his innocent life, to the great ſhame & obloquie of his cruel aduerſaries. But whether he was thus tormented or not, or rather died (as I thinke) of the anguiſh by putting out his eies, no doubt but his death was reuenged by Gods hand in thoſe that procured it. But whether erle Godwine was cheefe cauſer thereof, in betraieng him vnder a cloked colour of pretended freendſhip, I cannot ſay: but that he toke him and ſlue his companie, as ſome haue written, I cannot thinke it to be true, both as well for that which ye haue heard recited out of the author that wrote *Encomium Emmæ*, as alſo for that it ſhould ſeeme he might neuer be fullie charged with it, but that he had matter to alledge in his owne excuſe. But now to other affaires of Harold.

Simon Dun. Queene Emma baniſhed.

After he had made away his halfe brother Alfred, he ſpoiled his mother in law queene Emma of the moſt part of hir riches, and therewith baniſhed hir quite out of the realme: ſo that ſhe ſailed ouer to Flanders, where ſhe was honourablie receiued of earle Baldwine, and hauing of him honourable proviſion aſſigned hir, ſhe continued there for the ſpace of three yeeres, till that after the death of Harold, ſhe was ſent for by hir ſonne Hardiknought, that ſucceeded Harold in the kingdome. Moreouer, Harold made ſmall account of his ſubiects, degenerating from the noble vertues of his father, following him in few things (except in exacting of tributes and paiments.) He cauſed indeed eight markes of ſiluer to be leuied of euerie port or hauen in England, to the retening of 16 ſhips furniſhed with men of warre, which continued euer in a readineſſe to defend the coaſts from pirats. To conclude with this Harold, his ſpeedie death prouided well for his fame, becauſe (as it was thought) if his life had beene of long continuance, his infamie had been the greater. But after he had reigned foure yeeres, or (as other gathered) three yeeres and three moneths, he departed out of this world at Orford, & was buried at Wincheſter (as ſome ſay.) Other ſay he died at Glouceſter in the moneth of Aprill, and was buried at Weſtminſter, which ſhould appeare to be true by that which after is reported of his brother Hardiknoughts cruell dealing, and great ſpite ſhewed toward his dead bodie, as after ſhall be ſpecified.

Polydor. Harold degenereth from his father. Hen. Hunt.

A name of a readineſſe.

Euill men, the longer they liue, the more they grow into miſchefe.

Will. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Will. Malm.

Hardicnute is ſent for into England to *be made king; alteration in the ſtate of* Norwaie and Denmarke by the death of king *Cnute, Hardicnute is crowned, he ſendeth for his* mother queene Emma, Normandie ruled by the *French king, Hardicnute reuengeth his mothers exile vpon* the dead bodie of his ſtepbrother Harold, queene Emma and erle Goodwine haue the gouernment of things in their hands, Hardicnute leuieth a ſore tribute vpon his ſubiects; contempt of officers & deniall of a prince his tribute ſharpelie puniſhed; prince Edward commeth into England; the biſhop of Worceſter accuſed and put from his ſee for being acceſſarie to the murthering of Alfred, his reſtitution procured by contribution; Earle Goodwine being accuſed for the ſame treſpaſſe excuſeth himſelfe, and iuſtifieth his cauſe by ſwearing, but ſpeciallie by preſenting the king with an ineſtimable gift; the cauſe why Goodwine purpoſed Alfreds death; the Engliſh peoples care about the ſucceſſion to the crowne, moonke Brightwalds dreame and viſion touching that matter; Hardicnute poiſoned at a bridall, his conditions, ſpeciallie his hoſpitalitie, of him the Engliſhmen learned to eate and drinke immoderatlie, the neceſſitie of ſobrietie, the end of the Daniſh regiment in this land, and when they began firſt to inuade the Engliſh coaſts.

The xv. Chapter.

Hardicnute, or Hardiknought.

After that Harold was dead, all the nobles of the realme, both Danes & Engliſhmen agreed to ſend for Hardiknought, the ſonne of Canute by his wife queene Emma, and to make him king. Here is to be noted, that by the death of king Canute, the ſtate of things was much altered in thoſe countries of beyond the ſeas wherein he had the rule and dominion. For the Norwegians elected one Magnus, the ſonne of Olauus to be their king, and the Danes choſe this Hardiknought, whome their writers name Canute the third, to be their gouernor. This Hardiknought or Canute being aduertiſed of the death of his halfe brother Harold, and that the lords of England had choſen him to their king, with all conuenient ſpeed prepared a naule, and imbarking a certeine number of men of warre, toke the ſea, and had the wind ſo fauorable for his purpoſe, that he arriued vpon the coaſt of Kent the firſt day after he ſet out of Denmarke, and

Alteration in the ſtate of things.

Simon Dun. & Matt. Weſt. ſay, that he was at Bruges in Flanders with his mother when he was thus ſent for, being come thither to viſit hir.

and ſo comming to London, was ioifullie receiued, and proclaimed king, and crowned of Athelnotus archbiſhop of Canturburie, in the yere of our Lord 1041, in the firſt yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, in the 9 yeare of Henrie the firſt of that name king of France, and in the firſt yeare of Magſinlochy, alias Hachabeda king of Scotland. Incontinentlie after his eſtabliſhment in the rule of this realme, he ſent into Flanders for his mother queene Emma, who during the time of hir baniſhment, had remained there. For Normandie in that ſeaſon was gouerned by the French king, by reaſon of the minoritie of duke William, ſurnamed the baſtard.

1041

Queene Emma ſent for.

Moreouer, in reuenge of the wrong offered to queene Emma by hir ſonne in law Harold, king Hardicnute did cauſe Alfrike archbiſhop of Yorke and earle Godwine, with other noble men to go to Weſtminſter, and there to take vp the bodie of the ſame Harold, and withall appointed, that the head thereof ſhould be ſtriken off, and the trunke of it caſt into the riuer of Thames. Which afterwards being found by fiſhers, was taken vp and buried in the churchyard of S. Clement Danes without Temple barre at London. He committed the order and gouernement of things to the hands of his mother Emma, and of Godwine that was erle of Kent. He leuied a ſore tribute of his ſubiects here in England to pay the ſouldiers and mariners of his nauie, as firſt 21 thouſand pounds, & 99 pounds, and afterward vnto 32 ſhips there was a paiment made of a 11 thouſand and 48 pounds. To euerie mariner of his nauis he cauſed a paiment of 8 marks to be made, and to euerie maſter 12 marks. About the paiment of this monie great grudge grew amongſt the people, inſomuch that two of his ſeruants, which were appointed collectors in the citie of Worceſter, the one named Feader, and the other Turkane, were there ſlaine. In reuenge of which contempt a great part of the countrie with the citie was burnt, and the goods of the citizens put to the ſpoile by ſuch power of lords and men of warre as the king had ſent againſt them.

The bodie of king Harold taken vp, and throwen into Thames.

S. Clement Danes.

A tribute raiſed. Hen. Hunt.

Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Matth. Weſt. Sim. Dun.

Shortlie after, Edward king Hardicnutes brother came ouer of Normandie to viſit him and his mother queene Emma, of whome he was moſt ioifullie and honorablie welcomed and interteined, and ſhortlie after made returne backe againe. It ſhould appeare by ſome writers, that after his comming ouer out of Normandie he remained ſtill in the realme, ſo that he was not in Normandie when his halfe brother Hardicnute died, but here in England: although other make other report, as after ſhall bee ſhewed. Alſo (as before ye haue heard) ſome writers ſeeme to meane, that the elder brother Alfred came ouer at the ſame time. But ſuerlie they are therein deceiued: for it was knowne well inough how tenderlie king Hardicnute loued his brethren by the mothers ſide, ſo that there was not anie of the lords in his daies, that durſt attempt anie ſuch iniurie againſt them. True it is, that as well earle Godwine, as the biſhop of Worceſter (that was alſo put in blame and ſuſpected for the apprehending and making away of Alfred, as before ye haue heard) were charged by Hardicnute as culpable in that matter, inſomuch that the ſaid biſhop was expelled out of his ſee by Hardicnute: and after twelue moneths ſpace was reſtored, by meanes of ſuch ſummes of monie as he gaue by waie of amends.

Matt. Weſt. Ran. Higd. Marianus.

Polydor.

The biſhop of Worceſter accuſed for making away of Alfred.

Earle Godwin excuſeth himſelfe.

The gift which earle Godwin gaue to the king.

Earle Godwine was alſo put to his purgation, by taking an oth that he was not guiltie. Which oth was the better allowed, by reaſon of ſuch a preſent as he gaue to the king for the redéeming of his fauour and good will, that is to ſay, a ſhip with a ſterne of gold, containing therein 80 ſouldiers, wearing on each of their armes two bracelets of gold of 16 ounces weight, a triple habergion guilt on their bodies, with guilt burgonets on their heads, a ſword with guilt hilts girded to their waſtes, a battell axe after the maner of the Danes on their left ſhoulder, a target with bolles and nails guilt in their left hand, a dart in their right hand: and thus to conclude, they were furniſhed at all points with armor and weapon accordinglie. It hath béene ſaid, that earle Godwine minded to marie his daughter to one of theſe brethren, and perceiuing that the elder brother Alfred would diſdaine to haue hir, thought good to diſpatch him, that the other taking hir to wife, hée might be next heire to the crowne, and ſo at length inioy it, as afterwards came to paſſe. Polydor.

Alſo about that time, when the linage of the kings of England was in maner extinct, the Engliſh people were much carefull (as hath béene ſaid) about the ſucceſſion of thoſe that ſhould inioie the crowne. Whereupon as one Brightwold a monke of Glaſtenburie, that was afterward biſhop of Wincheſter, or (as ſome haue written) of Worceſter, ſtudied oftentimes thereon: it chanced that he dreamed one night as he ſlept in his bed, that he ſaw ſaint Peter conſecrate & annoint Edward the ſonne of Egelred (as then remaining in exile in Normandie) king of England. And as he thought, he did demand of ſaint Peter, who ſhould ſucceed the ſaid Edward: whereunto anſwer was made by the apoſtle; Haue thou no care for ſuch matters, for the kingdome of England is Gods kingdome. Which ſuerlie in good earneſt may appeare by manie great arguments to be full true vnto ſuch as ſhall well conſider the ſtate of this realme from time to time, how there hath béene euer gouernours raiſed vp to maintéine the maieſtie of the kingdome, and to reduce the ſame to the former dignitie, when by anie infortunate miſhap it hath béene brought in danger.

But to returne now to king Hardicnute, after he had reigned two yéers lacking 10 daies, as he ſat at the table in a great feaſt holden at Lambeth, he fell downe ſuddenlie with the pot in his hand, and ſo died not without ſome ſuſpicion of poiſon. This chanced on the 8 of June at Lambeth aforeſaid, where, on the ſame day a mariage was ſolemnized betweene the ladie Githa, the daughter of a noble man called Osgot Clapa, and a Daniſh lord alſo called Canute Pzudan. His bodie was buried at Wincheſter beſides his fathers. He was of nature verie curteous, gentle and liberall, ſpeciallie in keeping good chéere in his houſe, ſo that he would haue his table couered foure times a day, & furniſhed with great plentie of meates and drinks, wiſhing that his ſeruants and all ſtrangers that came to his palace, might rather leaue than want. It hath béene commonlie told, that Engliſhmen learned of him their exceſſiue gourmandizing & vnmeaſurable filling of their panches with meates and drinkes, whereby they forgat the vertuous vſe of ſobrietie, ſo much neceſſarie to all eſtates and degrées, ſo profitable for all commonwealthes, and ſo commendable both in the ſight of God, and all good men.

The death of K. Hardicnute Sim. Dunel. Matth. Weſt.

1042

K. Hardicnute his conditions and liberalitie in houſekéeping.

Hen. Hunt.

Of whom the Engliſhmen learned exceſſiue féeding.

In this Hardicnute ceaſed the rule of the Danes within this land, with the perſecution which they had executed againſt the Engliſh nation, for the ſpace of 250 yeres & more, that is to ſay, euer ſince the tenth yeere of Brithzike the king of Weſtſaxons, at what time they firſt began to inuade the Engliſh coaſts. Howbeit (after others) they ſhould ſéeme to haue ruled here but 207, reckoning from their bringing in by the Welſhmen in deſpite of the Saxons, at which time they firſt began to inhabit here, which was 835 of Chriſt, 387 after the comming of the Saxons, and 35 néere complet of the reigne of Egbert.

The end of the Daniſh rulers.

¶ But to let this peece of curioſitie paſſe, this land felt that they had a time of arriuall, a time of inuading, a time of ouerrunning, and a time of ouerruling the inhabitants of this maine continent. Whereof manifeſt proofes are at this day remaining in ſundrie places, ſundrie ruines I meane and waſtes committed by them; vpon the which whenſoeuer a man of a relenting ſpirit caſteth his eie, he can not but enter into a dolefull conſideration of former miſeries, and lamenting the defacements of this Ile by the crueltie of the bloudthirſtie enimie, cannot but wiſh (if he haue but *Minimam miſericordiæ guttam quæ maior eſt ſpatioſo oceano*, as one ſaith) and earneſtlie deſire in his heart that the like may neuer light vpon this land, but may be auerted and turned away from all chriſtian kingdomes, through his mercie, whoſe wrath by ſinne being ſet on fire, is like a conſuming flame; and the ſword of whoſe vengeance being sharpened with the whetſtone of mens wickednesse, ſhall hew them in peeces as wood for the fornace.

Thus farre the tumultuous and tyrannicall regiment of the Danes, inferring ſulneſſe of afflictions to the Engliſh people, wherewith likewiſe the ſeuenth booke is ſhut vp.

THE EIGHT BOOKE of the Hiſtorie of England.

Edward the third of that name is choſen *king of England by a generall conſent*, ambaſſadours are ſent to attend him home*wardes to his kingdome, and to informe him of his* election, William duke of Normandie accompani*eth him, Edward is crowned king, the ſubtill ambition or ambitious* ſubtiltie of earle Goodwine in preferring Edward to the crowne and betraieng Alfred; the Danes expelled and rid out of this land by decree; whether earle Goodwine was guiltie of Alfreds death, king Edward marieth the ſaid earles daughter, he forbeareth to haue carnall knowledge with hir, and why? he vſeth his mother queene Emma verie hardlie, accuſations brought againſt hir, ſhe is diſpoſſeſſed of hir goods, and impriſoned for ſuffering biſhop Alwine to haue the vſe of hir bodie, ſhe purgeth and cleareth hir ſelfe after a ſtrange ſort, hir couetouſneſſe: mothers are taught (by hir example) to loue their children with equalitie: hir liberall deuotion to Wincheſter church cleared hir from infamie of couetouſneſſe, king Edward loued hir after hir purgation, why Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie fled out of England into Normandie.

The firſt Chapter.

Edward. Hen. Hunt. Polydor.

IMmediatlie vpon the deth of Hardiknought, and before his corps was committed to buriall, his halfe brother Edward, ſonne of king Egelred begotten of queene Emma, was choſen to be K. of England, by the generall conſent of all the nobles and commons of the realme. Thereupon were ambaſſadours ſent with all ſpeed into Normandie, to ſignifie vnto him his election, and to bring him from thence into England in deliuering pledges for more aſſurance, that no fraud nor deceit was ment of the Engliſhmen, but that vpon his comming thither, he ſhould receiue the crowne without all contradiction. Edward then aided by his cosine William duke of Normandie, toke the ſea, & with a ſmall companie of Normans came into England, where he was receiued with great ioy as king of the realme, & immediatlie after was crowned at Winchester by Edſinus then archbiſhop of Canturburie, on Eaſter day in the yeare of our Lord 1043, which fell alſo about the fourth yeare of the emperour Henrie the third, ſurnamed Niger, in the 12 yeare of Henrie the firſt of that name king of France, and about the third yeare of Macbeth king of Scotland. Henr. Hunt. Wil. Malm. The third of Aprill. 1043

This Edward the third of that name before the conqueſt, was of nature more meeke and ſimple than apt for the gouernement of the realme, & therefore did earle Goodwine not onelie ſeeke the deſtruction of his elder brother Alfred, but holpe all that he might to aduance this Edward to the crowne, in hope to beare great rule in the realme vnder him, whome he knew to be ſoft, gentle, and eaſie to be perſuaded. But whatſoeuer writers do report hereof, ſure it is, that Edward was the elder brother, and not Alfred: ſo that if earle Goodwine did ſhew his furtherance by his pretended cloake of offering his friendſhip vnto Alfred to betraie him, he did it by king Harolds commandement, and yet it may be that he meant to haue vſurped the crowne to him ſelfe, if each point had anſwered his expectation in the ſequele of things, as he hoped they would; and therefore had not paſſed if both the brethren had beene in heauen. But yet when the world framed contrarie (peraduenture) to his purpoſe, he did his beſt to aduance Edward, truſting to beare no ſmall rule vnder him, being knowen to be a man more appliable to be gouerned by other than to truſt to his owne wit: and ſo chieflie by the aſſiſtance of earle Goodwine

wine (whoſe authoritie, as appeareth, was not ſmall within the realme of England in thoſe daies) Edward came to atteine the crowne: whereunto the earle of Cheſter Leofrike alſo ſhewed all the furtherance that in him laie.

Ran. Higd. ex Mariano. Alb. Crantz.

Some write (which ſeemeth alſo to be confirmed by the Daniſh chronicles) that king Hardiknought in his life time had received this Edward into his court, and reteined him ſtill in the ſame in moſt honorable wiſe. But for that it may appeare in the abſtract of the Daniſh chronicles, what their writers had of this matter recorded, we dow here paſſe ouer, referring thoſe that be deſirous to know the diuerſitie of our writers and theirs, vnto the ſame chronicles, where they may find it more at large expreſſed. This in no wiſe is to be left vnremembred, that immediatlie after the death of Hardiknought, it was not onelie decreed & agreed vpon by the great lords & nobles of the realme, that no Dane from thenceforth ſhould reigne ouer them, but alſo all men of warre and ſouldiers of the Danes, which laie within anie citie or caſtell in garriſon within the realme of England, were then expelled and put out or rather ſlaine (as the Daniſh writers dow rehearſe.) Amongſt other that were baniſhed, the ladie Gonild neece to king Swaine by his ſiſter, was one, being as then a widow, and with hir two of hir ſonnes, which ſhe had then liuing; Heming and Turkill were alſo cauſed to auoid. Some write that Alfred the brother of king Edward, came not into the realme till after the death of Hardiknought, and that he did helpe to expell the Danes, which being don, he was ſlaine by earle Godwine and other of his complices. But how this may ſtand, conſidering the circumſtances of the time, with ſuch things as are written by diuers authors hereof, it may well be doubted. Neuertheleſſe, whether earle Godwine was guiltie to the death of Alfred, either at this time, or before, certeine it is, that he ſo cleared himſelfe of that crime vnto king Edward the brother of Alfred, that there was none ſo highlie in fauour with him as earle Godwine was, inſomuch that king Edward maried the ladie Editha, the daughter of earle Godwine, begotten of his wife Thira that was ſiſter to king Hardiknought, and not of his ſecond wife, as ſome haue written. Howbeit, king Edward neuer had to dow with hir in fleſhlie wiſe. But whether he abſteined becauſe he had happilie vowed chaſtitie, either of impotencie of nature, or for a priuie hate that he bare to hir kin, men doubted. For it was thought, that he eſteemed not earle Godwine ſo greatlie in his heart, as he outwardlie made ſhew to dow, but rather for feare of his puiſſance diſſembled with him, leaſt he ſhould otherwiſe put him ſelfe in danger both of loſſe of life and kingdome.

Polydor. Danes expelled.

Simon Dun.

Gonil neece to K. Swaine

Polydor.

K. Edward marieth the daughter of earle Godwine.

Polydor.

K. Edward abſteineth from the compaſſe of his wife.

Howſoeuer it was, he vſed his counſell in ordering of things concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, and namelie in the hard handling of his mother queene Emma, againſt whome diuers accuſations were brought and alledged: as firſt, for that ſhe conſented to marie with K. Cnute, the publike enimie of the realme: againe, for that ſhe did nothing aid or ſuccour hir ſons while they liued in exile, but that worſe was, contriued to make them away; for which cauſe ſhe was deſpoiled of all hir goods. And becauſe ſhe was defamed to be naught of hir bodie with Alwine or Adwine biſhop of Wincheſter, both ſhe and the ſame biſhop were committed to priſon within the citie of Wincheſter (as ſome write.) Howbeit others affirme, that ſhe was ſtrictlie kept in the abbie of Warwell, till by way of purging hir ſelfe, after a maruellous manner, in paſſing barefoted ouer certeine hot ſhares or ploughirons, according to the law *ordalium*, ſhe cleared hir ſelfe (as the world toke it) and was reſtored to hir firſt eſtate and dignitie.

K. Edward dealeth ſtrictlie with his mother queene Emma.

Queene Emma deſpoiled of hir goods.

She is accuſed of diſſolute liuing.

Ran. Higd.

She purgeth hir ſelfe by the law Ordalium.

Hir exceſſiue couetouſneſſe, without regard had to the poore, cauſed hir alſo to be euill reported of. Againe, for that ſhe euer ſhewed hir ſelfe to be more naturall to the iſſue which ſhe had by hir ſecond huſband Cnute, than to hir children which ſhe had by hir firſt huſband king Egelred (as it were declaring how ſhe was affected toward the fathers, by the loue borne to the children) ſhe loſt a great peece of good will at the hands of hir ſonnes Alfred and Edward: ſo that now the ſaid Edward inioieng the realme, was eaſilie induced to thinke euill of hir, and thereupon vſed hir the more vncurteouſlie. But hir great liberalitie imploied on the church of Wincheſter, which ſhe furniſhed with maruellous rich iewels and ornaments, wan hir great commendation in the world, and excuſed hir partlie in the ſight of manie, of the infamie imputed to hir for the immoderate filling of hir coffers by all waies and meanes ſhe could deuiſe. Now when ſhe had purged hir ſelfe, as before is mentioned, hir ſonne king Edward had hir euer after in great honor and reuerence. And whereas Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie had beene ſore againſt hir, he was ſo much abaſhed now at the matter, that he fled into Normandie, where he was borne. But it ſhould ſeeme by that which after ſhal be ſaid in the next chapter, that he fled not the realme for this matter, but becauſe he counſelled the king to baniſh earle Godwine, and alſo to vſe the Engliſhmen more ſtrictlie than reaſon was he ſhould.

Wil. Malm.

Ran. Higd.

Why Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie (*queene Emmas heauie friend*) *fled out* of England, the Normans firſt entrance into *this countrie, dearth by tempeſts, earle Goodwines* ſonne baniſhed out of this land, he returneth in hope *of the kings fauour, killeth his cooſen earle Bearne for his good* will and forwardnes to ſet him in credit againe, his flight into Flanders, his returne into England, the king is pacified with him; certeine Daniſh rouers arriue at Sandwich, ſpoile the coaſt, inrich themſelues with the ſpoiles, make ſale of their getings, and returne to their countrie; the Welſhmen with their princes rebelling are ſubdued, king Edward keepeth the ſeas on Sandwich ſide in aid of Baldwine earle of Flanders, a bloudie fraie in Canturburie betwixt the earle of Bullongne and the townesmen, earle Goodwine fauoureth the Kentiſhmen againſt the Bullongners, why he refuſeth to puniſh the Canturburie men at the kings commandement for breaking the kings peace; he ſetteth the king in a furie, his ſuborned excuſe to ſhift off his comming to the aſſemblie of lords conuented about the foreſaid broile; earle Goodwine bandeth himſelfe againſt the king, he would haue the ſtrangers deliuered into his hands, his requeſt is denied; a battell readie to haue been fought betweene him and the king, the tumult is pacified and put to a parlement, earle Goodwines retinue forſake him; he, his ſonnes, and their wiues take their flight beyond the ſeas.

The ſecond Chapter.

Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie. Frenchmen or Normans firſt entered into England

YE muſt vnderſtand, that K. Edward brought diuerſe Normans ouer with him, which in time of his baniſhment had ſhewed him great friendſhip, wherefore he now ſought to recompenſe them. Amongſt other, the forenamed Robert of Canturburie was one, who before his comming ouer was a monke in the abbeie of Gemeticum in Normandie, and being by the king firſt aduanced to gouerne the ſee of London, was after made archbiſhop of Canturburie, and bare great rule vnder the king, ſo that he could not auoid the enuie

…me of diuerſe noble men, and ſpecially of earle Godwine, as ſhall appeare. About the third yeare of king Edwards reigne, Oſgot Clappa was baniſhed the realme. And in the yeare following, that is to ſay, in the yeare 1047, there fell a marueilous great ſnow, couering the ground from the beginning of Ianuarie vntill the 17 day of March. Beſides this, there happened the ſame yeare ſuch tempeſt and lightnings, that the ſame vpon the earth was burnt vp and blaſted: by reaſon whereof, there followed a great dearth in England, and alſo death of men and cattell.

1047
A great dearth.
Ran. Higd.

About this time Swaine the ſonne of earle Godwine was baniſhed the land, and fled into Flanders. This Swaine kept Eoghua, the abbeſſe of the monaſterie of Leoſſe, and forſaking his wife, went to haue married the foreſaid abbeſſe. Within a certeine time after his baniſhment, he returned into England, in hope to purchaſe the kings peace by his fathers meanes and other his friends. But vpon ſome malicious pretenſe, he ſlue his coſen earle Bearne, who was about to labour to the king for his pardon, and ſo then fled againe into Flanders, till at length Alfred the archbiſhop of Yorke obteined his pardon, and found meanes to reconcile him to the kings fauour.

Swaine Godwins ſonne baniſhed.
Eoghua the abbeſſe of Leoſſe.
This Bearne was the ſonne of Vlfua a Dane, vncle to this Swaine by his mother, the ſiſter of ſa. Swaine. H. Hunt.

In the meane time, about the firſt yeare of king Edwards reigne, certeine pirats of the Danes arriued in Sandwich hauen, and entring the land, waſted and ſpoiled all about the coaſt. There be that write, that the Danes had at that time to their leaders two capteins, the one named Lother, and the other Irling. After they had beene at Sandwich, and brought from thence great riches of gold and ſiluer, they coaſted about vnto the ſide of Eſſex, and there ſpoiling the countrie, went backe to the ſea, and ſailing into Flanders, made ſale of their ſpoiles and bootes there, and ſo returned to their countries. After this, during the reigne of king Edward, there chanced no warres, neither forren nor ciuill, but that the ſame was either with ſmall ſlaughter luckilie ended, or elſe without anie notable aduenture changed into peace. The Welſhmen in deed with their princes Riſe and Griffin wrought ſome trouble, but ſtill they were ſubdued, and in the end both the ſaid Riſe and Griffin were brought vnto confuſion: although in the meane time they did much hurt, and namelie Griffin, who with aid of ſome Iriſhmen, with whome he was alied, about this time entred into the Seuerne ſea, and tooke preies about the riuer of Wie: and after returned without anie battell to him offered.

H. Hunt.
The Danes ſpoile Sandwich.
Riſe & Griffin princes of Wales.

About the ſame time, to wit, in the yeare 1049, the emperor Henrie the third made warres againſt Baldwine earle of Flanders, and for that he wiſhed to haue the ſea ſtopped, that the ſaid earle ſhould not eſcape by flight that waie forth, he ſent to king Edward, willing him to keepe the ſea with ſome number of ſhips. King Edward furniſhing a nauie, lay with the ſame at Sandwich, and ſo kept the ſeas on that ſide, till the emperor had his will of the earle. At the ſame time, Swaine, ſonne of earle Godwine came into the realme, and traitorouſlie ſlue his coſen Bearne (as before is ſaid) the which trauelled to agree him with the king. Alſo Goſpat Clappa, who had left his wife at Bruges in Flanders, comming amongſt other of the Daniſh pirats, which had robbed in the coaſts of Kent & Eſſex, as before ye haue heard, receiued his wife, and departed backe into Denmarke with ſix ſhips, leauing the reſidue, being 23 behind him.

1049
Simon Dun.
Hermanus. Contractus. Ia. Meir.
Simon Dun.

About the tenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Euſtace earle of Bullongne, that was father vnto the valiant Godfrey of Bullongne, & Baldwin, both afterward kings of Hieruſalem, came ouer into England in the moneth of September, to viſit his brother in law king Edward, whoſe ſiſter named Goda, he had married, ſhe then being the wife of Gualter de Maunt. He found the king at Glouceſter, and being there ioifullie receiued, after he had once diſpatched ſuch matters for the which he chiefle came, he tooke leaue, and returned homeward. But at Canturburie one of his herbingers, making roughlie with one of the citizens about a lodging, which he ſought to haue rather by force than by intreatance, occaſioned his owne death. Whereof when the erle was aduertiſed, he haſted thither to reuenge the ſlaughter of his ſeruant, and ſlue both that citizen which had killed his man, and eight tarne others.

1051
Fabian.
Matth. Weſt.
The coming of Euſtace earle of Bullongne into England.
Will. Malm.
Diuers ſlain.
Matth. Weſt.

The citizens herewith in a great furie, got them to armor, and ſet vpon the earle and his retinue, of whom they ſlue twentie perſons out of hand, & wounded a great number of the reſidue, ſo that the earle ſcarſe might eſcape with one or two of his men from the fraie, & with all ſpeed returned backe to the king, preſenting greeuous information againſt them of Canturburie, for their cruell vſing of him, not onlie in ſleaing of his ſeruants, but alſo in putting him in danger of his life. The king crediting the earle, was highlie offended againſt the citizens, and with all ſpeed ſending for earle Godwine, declared vnto him in greeuous wiſe, the rebellious act of them of Canturburie, which were vnder his iuriſdiction.

A fraie in Canturburie betweene the earle of Bullongne and the townſmen.
The earle complaineth to the king.

The earle who was a man of a bold courage and quicke wit, did perceiue that the matter was made a great deale worſe at the firſt in the beginning, than of likelihood it would proue in the end, thought it reaſon therefore that firſt the anſwere of the Kentiſhmen ſhould be heard, before anie ſentence were giuen againſt them. Herevpon, although the king commanded him forthwith to go with an armie into Kent, and to puniſh them of Canturburie in moſt rigorous maner, yet he would not be ſo haſtie, but refuſed to execute the kings commandement, both for that he bare a peace of grudge in his mind, that the king ſhould fauour ſtrangers ſo highlie as he did; and againe, becauſe hereby he ſhould ſeeme to doo pleaſure to his countriemen, in taking vpon him to defend their cauſe againſt the rough accuſations of ſuch as had accuſed them. Wherefore he declared to the king that it ſhould be conuenient to haue the ſuppoſed offendors firſt called afore him, and if they were able to excuſe themſelues, then to be ſuffered to depart without further deration: and if they were found faultie, then to be put to their fine, both as well in ſatiſfieng the king, whoſe peace they had broken, as alſo the earle, whom they had indamaged.

Earle Godwine offended with the king for fauouring ſtrangers.

Earle Godwine departed thus from the king, leauing him in a great furie: howbeit he paſſed litle thereof, ſuppoſing it would not long continue. But the king called a great aſſemblie of his lords togither at Glouceſter, that the matter might be more deepelie conſidered. Siward earle of Northumberland, and Leofrike earle of Cheſter, with Rafe earle of Hereford, the kings nephue by his ſiſter Goda, and all other the noble men of the realme, ſaue earle Godwine and his ſonnes ment not to come there, except they might bring with them a great power of armed men, and ſo remained at Beuerſtane, with ſuch bands as they had leuied, vnder a colour to reſiſt the Welſhmen, whome they bruted abroad to be readie to inuade the marches about Hereford. But the Welſhmen preuenting that ſlander, ſignified to the king that no ſuch matter was ment on their parties, but that earle Godwine and his ſonnes with their complices went about to moue a commotion againſt him. Herevpon a rumor was raiſed in the court, that the kings power ſhould ſhortlie march forth

A councell called at Glouceſter.
Siward earle of Northumberland, Leofrike earle of Cheſter, Rafe earle of Hereford. Will. Malmeſ.

ſouth to aſſaile earle Godwine in that place where he was lodged. Whereupon the ſame earle prepared himſelfe, and ſent to his friends, willing to ſticke to this quarrell, and if the king ſhould go about to force them, then to withſtand him, rather than to yeeld and ſuffer themſelues to be troden vnder foot by ſtrangers. Godwine in this meane time had got togither a great power of his countries of Kent, Southerie, and other of the weſt parts. Swaine likewiſe had aſſembled much people out of his countries of Barkeſhire, Oxfordſhire, Summerſetſhire, Herefordſhire, and Glouceſterſhire. And Harold was alſo come to them with a great multitude, which he had leuied in Eſſex, Norffolke, Suffold, Cambridgeſhire, & Huntingtonſhire.

Earle Godwine meaneth to defend himſelfe againſt the king. Swaine. Ran. Higd. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. Harold.

Simon Dun.

On the other part, the earles that were with the king, Leofrike, Siward, and Rafe, raiſed all the power which they might make, and the ſame approching to Glouceſter, the king thought himſelfe in more ſuertie than before, in ſo much that whereas earle Godwine (who lay with his armie at Langton there not farre off in Glouceſterſhire) had ſent vnto the king, requiring that the earle of Bullongne, with the other Frenchmen and alſo the Normans which held the caſtell of Douer, might be deliuered vnto him. The king, though at the firſt he ſtood in great doubt what to do, yet hearing now that an armie of his friends was comming, made anſwere to the meſſingers which Godwine had ſent, that he would not deliuer a man of thoſe whome Godwine required, and herewith the ſaid meſſengers being departed, the kings armie entered into Glouceſter, and ſuch readie good wils appeered in them all to fight with the aduerſaries, that if the king would haue permitted, they would forthwith haue gone out and giuen battell to the enimies.

Thus the matter was at point to haue put the realme in hazard not onelie of a field, but of vtter ruine that might thereof haue inſued: for what on the one part and the other, there were aſſembled the cheefeſt lords and moſt able perſonages of the land. But by the wiſedome and good aduiſe of earle Leofrike and others, the matter was pacified for a time, and order taken, that they ſhould come to a parlement or communication at London, vpon pledges giuen and receiued as well on the one part as the other. The king with a mightie armie of the Northumbers, and them of Mercia, came vnto London, and earle Godwine with his ſonnes, and a great power of the Weſtſaxons, came into Southwarke, but perceiuing that manie of his companie ſtale awaie and ſlipt from him, he durſt not abide anie longer to enter talke with the king, as it was couenanted, but in the night next inſuing fled awaie with all ſpeed poſſible.

Wil. Malm. Swaine eldeſt ſonne to Godwine baniſhed.

Some write, how an order was preſcribed that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwine ſhould depart the land as a baniſhed man to qualifie the kings wrath, and that Godwine and one other of his ſons, that is to ſay, Harold ſhould come to an other aſſemblie to be holden at London, accompanied with 12 ſeruants onelie, & to reſigne all his force of knights, gentlemen and ſouldiers vnto the kings guiding and gouernment. But when this laſt article pleaſed nothing earle Godwine, and that he perceiued how his force began to decline, ſo as he ſhould not be able to match the kings power, he fled the realme, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes. He himſelfe with his ſonnes Swanus, Toſtie, and Girth, ſailed into Flanders: and Harold with his brother Leofwine gat ſhips at Weſtſalow, and paſſed into Ireland. Githa the wife of Godwine, and Judith the wife of Toſtie, the daughter of Baldwine earle of Flanders went ouer alſo with their huſbands.

Earle Godwine fled the realme.

Godwine and his ſonnes are proclaimed outlawes, *their lands are giuen from* them, king Edward putteth awaie the queene *his wife who was earle Goodwines daughter, ſhe* cleareth hir ſelfe at the houre of hir death from ſuſpi*cion of incontinencie and lewdneſſe of life*, *why king Edward* forbare to haue fleſhlie pleaſure with hir; earle Goodwine and his ſonnes take preies on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex; Griffin king of Wales deſtroieth a great part of Herefordſhire, and giueth his incounterers the ouerthrow; Harold and Leofwine two brethren inuade Dorſet and Summerſet ſhires, they are reſiſted, but yet preuaile, they coaſt about the point of Cornwall and ioine with their father Goodwine, king Edward maketh out threeſcore armed ſhips againſt them, a thicke miſt ſeparateth both ſides being readie to grapple and fight, a pacification betweene the king and earle Goodwine, he is reſtored to his lands and libertie, he was well friended, counterpledges of agreement interchangablie deliuered; Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Goodwine a notable rebell and pirat, his troubled conſcience, his wicked life and wretched death.

The third Chapter.

THE king hauing perfect knowledge, that earle Godwine had refuſed to come to the court in ſuch order as he had preſcribed him, and that he was departed the realme with his ſonnes: he proclaimed them outlawes, and gaue the lands of Harold vnto Algar, the ſonne of earle Leofrike, who guided the ſame verie worthilie, and reſigned them againe without grudging vnto the ſame Harold when he was returned out of exile. Alſo vnto earle Oddo were giuen the counties of Deuonſhire and Summerſetſhire.

Godwine and his ſonnes proclaimed outlawes.

Moreouer, about the ſame time the king put his wife queene Editha from him, and appointed hir to ſtreict keeping in the abbeie of Warwell. This Editha was a noble gentlewoman, well learned, and expert in all ſciences, yet hir good name was ſtained ſomewhat, as though ſhe had not liued ſo continentlie as was to be wiſhed, both in hir huſbands life time, and after his deceaſſe. But yet at the houre of hir death (which chanced in the daies of William Conqueror) ſhe cleared hir ſelfe, in taking it vpon the charge of hir ſoule, that ſhe had euer liued in perfect chaſtitie: for king Edward (as before is mentioned) neuer touched hir in ante actuall maner. By this ſtreict dealing with the queene that was daughter to earle Godwine, now in time of hir fathers exile, it hath ſeemed to manie, that king Edward forbare to deale with hir in carnall wiſe, more for hatred of hir kin, than for anie other reſpect. But to proceed.

The king put awaie his wife Editha.

In the ſecond yeere of Godwines baniſhment, both he and his ſonnes hauing prouided themſelues of ſhips and men of warre conuenient for the purpoſe, came vpon the coaſts of England, and after the maner of rouers, tooke preies where as they eſpied aduantage, namelie on the coaſts of Kent and Suſſex. In the meane time alſo Griffin the K. of Wales deſtroid a great part of Herefordſhire, againſt whom the power of that countrie, & alſo manie Normans that lay in garriſon within the caſtell of Hereford, comming to giue battell, were ouerthrowne on the ſame day, in the which about two and twentie yeeres before, or (as ſome copies haue) thirteene yeeres, the Welſhmen had ſlaine Edwine, the brother of earle Leofrike. Shortlie after, earle Harold and his brother Leofwine returning out of Ireland, entered into the Seuerne ſea, landing on the coaſts of Summerſetſhire and Dorſetſhire, where falling to ſpoile, they were incountred by a power aſſembled out of the

1052
Hen. Hunt.

Griffin king of Wales deſtroieth Herefordſhire.

Harold inuadeth the ſhires of Dorſet and Summerſet.

the counties of Deuonſhire and Summerſetſhire: but Harold put his aduerſaries to flight, and ſlue thirtie gentlemen of honor, or thanes (as they called them) with a great number of others. Then Harold and his brethren, returning with their preie and bootie to their ſhips, and coaſting about the point of Cornwall, came and ioined with their father & their other brethren, then ſoiorning in the Ile of Wight.

Simon Dun. King Edward to withſtand their malice, had rigged and furniſhed forth ſixtie ſhips of warre, with the which he himſelfe went to the water, not ſticking to lie aboord at that ſeaſon, although he had appointed for captaines and admerals two earles that were his coſins, Odo and Rafe, who had charge of the whole armie. Rafe was his nephue, as ſonne to his ſiſter Goda by hir firſt huſband Gualter de Maunt. But although they were knowne to be ſufficient men for the ordering of ſuch buſineſſe, yet he thought the neceſſitie to be ſuch, as his perſon could not be preſentlie ſpared. Therefore he was diligent in foreſeeing of things by good aduiſe, although age would not giue him leaue to execute the ſame by his owne hand and force of bodie. But as the nauies on both parts were readie to haue ioined, they were ſeuered by reaſon of a thicke miſt that then roſe, whereby their furious rage was reſtreined for that time: and immediatlie thereupon, Godwine and his complices were forced by a contrarie wind, to returne to the places from whence they came. Shortlie after by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and earle Godwine reſtored home, and obteined againe both the kings fauour, and all his former liuings: for he was ſuch an eloquent & wiſe man, that he cleered and purged himſelfe of all ſuch crimes and accuſations, as in anie ſort had béene laid againſt him. Thus haue ſome written concerning this agréement betwixt king Edward and erle Godwine, where other make ſomewhat larger report thereof, as thus.

At the ſame time that the two ſonnes of erle Godwine Harold and Leofwine came forth of Ireland, and inuaded the weſt countrie, king Edward rigged forth fortie ſhips, the which throughlie furniſhed with men, munition, and victuels, he ſent vnto Sandwich, commanding the captaines there to wait for the comming of erle Godwine, whom he vnderſtood to be in a readineſſe to returne into England: but notwithſtanding, there wanted no diligence in them to looke to their charge, erle Godwine ſecretlie with a few ſhips which he had got togither, arriued in Kent; and ſending forth his letters and meſſengers abroad to the citizens of Canturburie, to them of Suſſex, Southerie, & others, required aid of them, who with one conſent promiſed to liue and die with him.

The captaines of the nauie at Sandwich aduertiſed hereof, made towards the place where they thought to haue found earle Godwine: but he being warned of their comming, eſcaped by flight, and got him out of their danger, whereupon they withdrew to Sandwich, and after returned to London. Earle Godwine aduertiſed thereof, ſailed to the Ile of Wight, and wafted vp and downe thoſe ſeas, till his ſonnes Harold and Leofwine came and ioined their naute with his, and ceaſſing from ſpoile, onlie ſought to recouer victels to ſerue their turne. And increaſing their power by ſuch aid as they might any where procure, at length they came to Sandwich, whereof king Edward hauing knowledge, being then at London, he ſent abroad to raiſe all the power he might make. But they that were appointed to come vnto him, lingred time, in which meane while earle Godwine comming into the Thames, & ſo vp the riuer, arriued in Southwarke, on the day of the exaltation of the croſſe in September, being monday, and their ſtaieng for the tide, ſolicited the Londoners, ſo that he obteined of them what he could deſire.

It ſeemeth that earle Godwine was well friended.

Afterwards, without diſturbance, he paſſed vp the riuer with the tide through the ſouth arch of the bridge, & at the ſame inſtant, a mightie armie which he had by land, muſtered in the fields on that ſouth ſide the ſame riuer, and herewith his nauie made towards the north ſide of the riuer, as if they ment to incloſe the kings nauie, for the king had alſo a nauie & an armie by land: but yet ſith there were few either on the one part or the other, that were able to doo anie great feat except Engliſhmen, they were both to fight one againſt another, whereupon the wiſer ſort on both ſides ſought meanes to make an atonement: and ſo at length by their diligent trauell, the matter was taken vp, and the armies being diſmiſſed on both parts, earle Godwine was reſtored to his former dignitie. Herevpon were pledges deliuered on his behalfe, that is to ſay, Wilnotus one of his ſonnes, and Hacun the ſonne of Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwine. Theſe two pledges were ſent vnto William duke of Normandie, to be kept with him for more aſſurance of Godwines loialtie.

Ran. Higd. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. Wil. Malm. Some write that Swanus the eldeſt ſonne of Godwine was not reconciled to the kings fauour at this time; but whether he was or not, this is reported of him for a truth, that after he had attempted ſundrie rebellions againſt king Edward, he laſtlie alſo rebelled againſt his father Godwine, and his brother Harold, and became a pirate, diſhonouring with ſuch manifold robberies as he made on the ſeas, the noble progenie whereof he was deſcended. Finallie vpon remorſe of conſcience (as hath béene thought) for murthering of his coſine (or as ſome ſay his brother) erle Bearne, he went on pilgrimage to Hieruſalem, and died by the way of cold which he caught in returning homeward (as ſome write) in Licia: but others affirme, that he fell into the hands of Saracens that were robbers by the high waies, and ſo was murthered of them.

Ran. Higd. Will. Malmeſ.

At what time William duke of Normandie *came ouer into England, king Ed*ward promiſeth to make him his heire to the *kingdom and crowne, the death of queene Emma,* earle Godwine being growne in fauor againe *ſeeketh new reuenges of old grudges, cauſing archbiſhop Robert* and certeine noble Normans his aduerſaries to be baniſhed; Stigand intrudeth himſelfe into archbiſhop Roberts ſee, his ſimonie and lacke of lerning; what maner of men were thought meet to be made biſhops in thoſe daies, king Edward beginneth to prouide for the good and proſperous ſtate of his kingdome, his conſideration of lawes made in his predeceſſours times and abuſed; the lawes of S. Edward vſuallie called the common lawes, how, whereof, and wherevpon inſtituted; the death of earle Godwine being ſudden (as ſome ſay) or natural (as others report) his vertues and vices, his behauiour and his ſonnes vpon preſumption and will in the time of their authorities; his two wiues and children; the ſudden and dreadfull death of his mother; hir ſelling of the beautifull youth male and female of this land to the Daniſh people.

The fourth Chapter.

William duke of Normandie commeth ouer into England.

THe foreſaide William duke of Normandie (that after conquered this land) during the time of Godwines outlawrie, came ouer into this land, with a great traine of men, and honourablie receiued of the king, and had great chare. Now after he had taried a ſeaſon, he returned into his countrie, not without great gifts of iewels and other things, which the king moſt liberallie

rallie beſtowed vpon him. And (as ſome write) the king promiſed him at that time, to make him his heire to the realme of England, if he chanced to die without iſſue. ¶ Shortlie after, or rather ſomewhat before, quæne Emma the kings mother died, and was buried at Winchester.

Polydor. K. Edwards promiſe to duke William.

After that earle Godwine was reſtored to the kings fauour, becauſe he knew that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie had beene the chiefe procurer of the kings euill will towards him, he found meanes to weare him out of credit, and diuers other ſpecially of the Normans, bearing the world in hand, that they had ſought to trouble the ſtate of the realme, & to ſet variance betwixt the king and the lords of the Engliſh nation: whereas the Normans againe alledged, that earle Godwine and his ſonnes abuſed the kings ſoft and gentle nature, & would not ſticke to ieaſt and mocke at his curteous and mild proceedings. But howſoeuer the matter went, archbiſhop Robert was glad to depart out of the realme, and going to Rome, made complaint in the court there, of the iniuries that were offred him: but in returning through Normandie, he died in the abbeie of Gemmeticum, where he had beene monke before his comming into England.

The archbiſhop of Canturburie baniſhed.

Diuerſe others were compelled to forſake the realme at the ſame time, both ſpirituall men and temporall, as William biſhop of London, and Alfe biſhop of Lincolne. Oſberne named Pentecoſt, and his companion Hugh, were conſtreined to ſurrender their caſtels, and by licence of earle Leofrike withdrew thorough his countrie into Scotland, where of king Mackbeth they were honorablie receiued. Theſe were Normans: for (as partlie ye haue heard) king Edward brought with him no ſmall number of that nation, when he came from thence to receiue the crowne, and by them he was altogither ruled, to the great offending of his owne naturall ſubiects the Engliſhmen, namelie earle Godwine and his ſonnes, who in thoſe daies for their great poſſeſſions and large reuenues, were had in no ſmall reputation with the Engliſh people.

Normans baniſhed the realme.

After that Robert the archbiſhop of Canturburie was departed the realme, as before ye haue heard, Stigand was made archbiſhop of Canturburie, or rather thruſt himſelfe into that dignitie, not being lawfullie called, in like manner as he had done at Winchester: for whereas he was firſt biſhop of Shireborne, he left that church, and toke vpon him the biſhoprike of Winchester by force, and now attaining to be archbiſhop of Canturburie, he kept both Winchester and Canturburie in his hand at one inſtant. This Stigand was greatlie infamed for his couetous practiſes in ſale of poſſeſſions apperteining to the church. He was nothing learned: but that want was a common fault amongeſt the biſhops of that age, for it was openlie ſpoken in thoſe daies, that he was meet onelie to be a biſhop, which could vſe the pompe of the world, voluptuous pleaſures, rich rament, and ſet himſelfe forth with a iollie retinue of gentlemen and ſeruants on horſeback, for therein ſtood the countenance of a biſhop, as the world then went; and not in ſtudie how to haue the people fed with the word of life, to the ſauing of their ſoules.

Stigand archbiſhop of Canturburie.

Ranul. Hig. Fabian. Stigand infamed of ſimonie.

What maner of men meet to be biſhops in thoſe daies.

Polydor.

King Edward now in the twelfth yeare of his reigne, hauing brought the ſtate of the realme quite from troubles of warre both by ſea and land, began to foreſee as well for the welth of his ſubiects, as for himſelfe, being naturallie inclined to wiſh well to all men. He therefore conſidered, how by the manifold lawes which had beene made by Britaines, Engliſhmen and Danes within this land, occaſion was miniſtred to manie, which meaſured all things by reſpect of their owne priuate gaine and profit, to peruert iuſtice, and to vſe wrongfull dealing in ſtead of right, clouding the ſame vnder ſome branch of the lawe naughtilie miſconſtrued. Wherevpon to auoid that miſchiefe, he picked out a ſumme of that huge and vnmeaſurable maſſe and heape of lawes, ſuch as were thought moſt indifferent and neceſſarie, & therewith ordeined a few, & thoſe moſt wholeſome, to be from thenceforth vſed; according to whoſe preſcript, men might liue in due forme and rightfull order of a ciuill life. Theſe lawes were afterwards called the common lawes, and alſo ſaint Edward his lawes; ſo much eſteemed of the Engliſhmen, that after the conqueſt, when the Normans oftentimes went about to abrogate the ſame, there chanced no ſmall mutinies and rebellions for reteining of thoſe lawes. But here is to be noted, that although they were called ſaint Edwards lawes, they were for the more part made by king Edgar; but now by king Edward reſtored, after they had bin abrogated for a time by the Danes.

The lawes of S. Edward inſtituted.

About this time, earle Godwine died ſuddenlie (as ſome haue recorded) as he ſat at table with the king: and vpon talke miniſtred of the death of Alfred the kings brother, to excuſe himſelfe, he toke a peece of bread, and did eate it, ſaieng; God let me neuer ſwallow this bread downe into my cheſt, but that I may preſentlie be choked therewith, if euer I was wetting or conſenting vnto Alfreds death! and immediatlie therewith he fell downe ſtarke dead. Other ſay, that he ended his life at Winchester, where being ſuddenlie ſurpriſed with ſickneſſe, as he ſat at the table with the king vpon an Eaſter monday; yet he liued till the Thurſday following, and then died. His earledome was giuen vnto his ſonne Harold; and Harolds earledome, which was Oxford, was giuen vnto Algar the ſonne of Leofrike.

1053 or 1054

Hector Boet. Polydor. Will. Malmeſ. Matth. Weſt. Ran. Higd. ex Mariano. Simon Dun. This is the likelieſt tale.

This Godwine, as he was a man of great power, wiſe, hardie, and politike; ſo was he ambitious, deſirous to beare rule, and loth that anie other perſon ſhould paſſe him in authoritie. But yet, whether all be true that writers report of his malicious practiſes to bring himſelfe and his ſonnes to the chiefe ſeat of gouernement in the kingdome, or that of hatred ſuch ſlanders were raiſed of him, it may of ſome perhaps be doubted; becauſe that in the daies of king Edward (which was a ſoft and gentle prince) he bare great rule and authoritie, and ſo might procure to himſelfe euill report for euerie thing that chanced amiſſe: as oftentimes it commeth to paſſe in ſuch caſes, where thoſe that haue great doings in the gouernement of the common wealth, are commonlie euill ſpoken of, and that now and then without their guilt. But truth it is, that Godwine being in authoritie both in the daies of king Edward and his predeceſſors, did manie things (as ſhould appeare by writers) more by will than by law, and ſo likewiſe did his ſonnes: vpon preſumption of the great puiſſance that they and their father were of within the realme.

Hen. Hunt.

He had to wife Editha, the ſiſter of king Cnute, of whome he begat three ſonnes (as ſome write) that is to ſay, Harold, Biorne, & Toſtie: alſo his daughter Editha, whome he found meanes to beſtow in mariage vpon K. Edward, as before ye haue heard. But other write, that he had but one ſon by Cnutes ſiſter, the which in riding of a rough horſe was throwen into the riuer of Thames, and ſo drowned. His mother alſo was ſtricken with a thunderbolt, & ſo periſhed worthilie (as is reported) for hir naughtie doings. She vſed to buy great numbers of yong perſons, and namelie maids that were of anie excellent beautie and perſonage, whome ſhe ſent ouer into Denmarke, and there ſold them to hir moſt aduantage.

Polydor.

Will. Malm.

vantage. After hir deceaſſe (as the ſame authors record) Godwine maried another woman, by whome he had iſſue ſix ſonnes, Swanus or Swaine, Harold, Toſtie or Toſto, Wilnot, Girth, and Leofrike; of whom further mention is ſhall be made, as places conuenient ſhall ſerue thereto.

Edward earle of Northumberland diſcomfiteth *Mackbeth the vſurper of the* Scotiſh kingdome and placeth Malcolme in *the ſame, a controuerſie whether Siward were at* this diſcomfiture or no; his ſtout words when he *heard that one of his ſonnes was ſlaine in the field, biſhop Al*dred is ſent to fetch home Edward the ſonne of K. Edmund Ironſide into England; earle Algar being baniſhed ioineth with the Welſhmen againſt the Engliſh and Normans, and getteth the victorie; Harold the ſon of earle Goodwine putteth earle Algar & his retinue to their ſhifts by purſute, pacification betweene the generals of both armies, their hoſts, Siward earle of Northumberland dieth; his giantlike ſtature, his couragious heart at the time of his deceaſſe, why Toſtie one of Goodwins ſonnes ſucceeded him in the earledome.

The fift Chapter.

Matth. Weſt. 1054 Hector Boet.

ABout the thirteenth yeare of king Edward his reigne (as ſome write) or rather about the nineteenth or twentith yeare, as ſhould appeare by the Scotiſh writers, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland with a great power of horſſemen went into Scotland, and in battell put to flight Mackbeth that had vſurped the crowne of Scotland, and that done, placed Malcolme ſurnamed Camoir, the ſonne of Duncane, ſometime king of Scotland, in the gouernement of that realme, who afterward ſlue the ſaid Mackbeth, and then reigned in quiet. Some of our Engliſh writers ſay, that this Malcolme was king of Cumberland, but other report him to be ſonne to the king of Cumberland. But here is to be noted, that if Mackbeth reigned till the yeare 1061, and was then ſlaine by Malcolme, earle Siward was not at that battell; for as our writers do teſtifie, he died in the yeare 1055, which was in the yeare next after (as the ſame writers affirme) that he vanquiſhed Mackbeth in fight, and ſlue manie thouſands of Scots, and all thoſe Normans which (as ye haue heard) were withdrawen into Scotland, when they were driuen out of England.

Simon. Dun. M. Weſt.

It is recorded alſo, that in the foreſaid battell, in which earle Siward vanquiſhed the Scots, one of Siwards ſonnes chanced to be ſlaine, whereof although the father had good cauſe to be ſorowfull, yet when he heard that he died of a wound which he had receiued in fighting ſtoutlie in the forepart of his bodie, and that with his face towards the enimie, he greatlie reioiſed thereat, to heare that he died ſo manfullie. But here is to be noted, that not now, but a little before (as Henrie Hunt. ſaith) that earle Siward went into Scotland himſelfe in perſon, he ſent his ſonne with an armie to conquere the land, whoſe hap was there to be ſlaine: and when his father heard the newes, he demanded whether he receiued the wound whereof he died, in the forepart of of the bodie, or in the hinder part: and when it was told him that he receiued it in the forepart; I reioiſe (ſaith he) euen with all my heart, for I would not wiſh either to my ſonne nor to my ſelfe any other kind of death.

Shortlie after, Aldred the biſhop of Worceſter was ſent vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into England, whome king Edward was deſirous to ſee, meaning to ordeine him heire apparent to the crowne: but he died the ſame yeare after he came into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Wincheſter, or (as an other ſaith) in the church of S. Pauls in London. Matth. Weſt. 1057 Henr. Hunt. 1057

¶ About the ſame time K. Edward by euill counſell (I wot not vpon what occaſion, but as it is thought without cauſe) baniſhed Algar the ſonne of earle Leofrike: wherevpon he got him into Ireland, and there prouiding 18 ſhips of rouers, returned, & landing in Wales, ioined himſelfe with Griffin the king or prince of Wales, and did much hurt on the borders about Hereford, of which place Rafe was then earle, that was ſonne vnto Goda the ſiſter of K. Edward by hir firſt huſband Gualter de Maunt. This earle aſſembling an armie, came forth to giue battell to the enimies, appointing the Engliſhmen contrarie to their manner to fight on horſſebacke, but being readie (on the two & twentith of October) to giue the onſet in a place not paſt two miles from Hereford, he with his Frenchmen and Normans fled, and ſo the reſt were diſcomfited, whome the aduerſaries purſued, and ſlue to the number of 500, beſide ſuch as were hurt and eſcaped with life. Griffin and Algar hauing obteined this victorie, entered into the towne of Hereford, ſet the minſter on fire, ſlue ſeuen of the canons that ſtood to defend the dores or gates of the principall church, and finallie ſpoiled and burned the towne miſerablie. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. The welſhmen obteine the victorie againſt Engliſhmen and Normans.

The king aduertiſed hereof, gathered an armie, ouer the which Harold the ſonne of earle Godwine was made generall, who followed vpon the enimies that fled before him into Northwales, & ſtaied not, till hauing paſſed through Stratcluid, he came to the mountaines of Snowdon, where he pitched his field. The enimies durſt not abide him, but got them into Southwales, whereof Harold being aduertiſed, left the more part of his armie in Northwales to reſiſt the enimies there, & with the reſidue of his people came backe vnto Hereford, recouered the towne, and cauſed a great and mightie trench to be caſt round about it, with an high rampire, and fenſed it with gates and other fortifications. After this, he did ſo much, that comming to a communication with Griffin and Algar at a place called Billigelhage, a peace was concluded, and ſo the nauie of earle Algar ſailed about, and came to Cheſter, there to remaine, till the men of warre and marriners had their wages, while he went to the king, who pardoned his offenſe, & reſtored him to his earledome. Stratcluid. Snowdon. The citie of Hereford fortified by Harold.

After this, in the verie ſame yeare, being the 15 of king Edwards reigne, as ſome writers affirme, Siward the noble earle of Northumberland died of the flix, of whom it is ſaid, that when he perceiued the houre of death to be neere, he cauſed him ſelfe to be put in armour, & ſet vp in his chaire, affirming that a knight and a man of honour ought to die in that ſort, rather than lieng on a couch like a feeble and fainthearted creature: and ſitting ſo vpright in his chaire armed at all points, he ended his life, and was buried at Yorke. [O ſtout harted man, not vnlike to that famous Romane remembred by Tullie in his Tuſculane queſtions, who ſuffered the ſawing of his leg from his bodie without ſhrinking, looking vpon the ſurgeon all the while, & having no part of his bodie bound for ſhrinking!] The ſaid Siward earle of Northumberland was a man of a giantlike ſtature, & thereto of a verie ſtout and hardie courage, & becauſe his ſonne Waltef was but an infant, and as yet not out of his cradell, the earledome was giuen vnto earle Toſtie one of Godwins ſonnes. The deceaſſe of Siward earle of Northumberland. Ran. Higd.

Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide *is ſent for to be made heire apparant to* crowne, his death, the deceaſſe of Leofrike *earle of Cheſter, the vertues and good deeds of* him and his wife Gudwina, Couentrie free from cuſtome *and toll, churches and religious places builded and repared*, Algar ſucceedeth his father Leofrike in the earledome, he is accuſed of treaſon and baniſhed, he recouereth his earledome by force of armes; Harold is ſent with a power againſt Griffin king of Wales; the countrie waſted, and the people forced to yeeld, they renounce Griffin their king, kill him, and ſend his head to Harold, Griffins brethren rule Wales after him by grant of king Edward; Harolds infortunate going ouer into Normandie, the earle of Ponthieu taketh him priſoner, and releaſeth him at the requeſt of William duke of Normandie, for whoſe vſe Harold ſweareth to keepe poſſeſſion of the realme of England, the duke promiſeth him his daughter in mariage.

The ſixt Chapter.

NOt long after, in the yeare 1057, Aldred biſhop of Worceſter, was ſent ouer vnto the emperour Henrie the third, to fetch Edward the ſonne of Edmund Ironſide into England, whome king Edward was deſirous to ſée, meaning to ordeine him heire aparant to the crowne: but he died the ſame yeare, after that he was returned into England. This Edward was ſurnamed the outlaw: his bodie was buried at Weſtminſter, or (as others ſay) in the church of S. Paule within London. The ſame yeare, that is to ſay, in the ſeuentéenth yeare or in the ſixteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne (as ſome write) Leofrike the noble earle of Cheſter, or Mercia, that was ſonne to duke Leofwine, departed this life in his owne towne of Bromelie on the laſt day of Auguſt, and was buried at Couentrie in the abbeie there which he had builded. This earle Leofrike was a man of great honor, wiſe and diſcréet in all his doings. His high wiſdome and policie ſtood the realme in great ſtéed whileſt he liued.

Edward the outlaw departed this life.

1057

Leofrike earle of Cheſter departed this life. Ran. Higd. Mat. Weſt.

He had a noble ladie to his wife named Gudwina, at whoſe earneſt ſute he made the citie of Couentrie frée of all manner of toll, except horſſes: and to haue that toll laid downe alſo, his foreſaid wife rode naked through the middeſt of the towne without other couerture, ſaue onlie hir haire. Moreouer, partlie moued by his owne deuotion, and partlie by the perſuaſion of his wife, he builded or beneficialie augmented and repared manie abbeies & churches, as the ſaid abbeie or priorie at Couentrie, the abbeies of Wenlocke, Worceſter, Stone, Euesham, and Leof beſides Hereford. Also he builded two churches within the citie of Cheſter, the one called S. Johns, and the other S. Werburgh. The value of the iewels & ornaments which he beſtowed on the abbeie church of Couentrie, was ineſtimable.

Couentrie made frée of toll and cuſtome.

Churches in Cheſter built.

After Leofriks death, his ſonne Algar was made earle, and intituled in all his lands and ſeignories. In the yeare following, to wit, 1058 the ſame Algar was accuſed againe (through malice of ſome enuious perſons) of treaſon, ſo that he was exiled the land, whereupon he repaired againe vnto his old friend Griffin prince of Northwales, of whome he was ioifullie receiued, & ſhortlie after by his aid, & alſo by the power of a nauie of ſhips that by chance arriued in thoſe parts at that ſelfe ſame ſeaſon vnlooked for out of Norwaie, the ſaid Algar recouered his earledome by force, as ſome haue written. King Edward about the twentith yeare of his reigne, as then remaining at Gloceſter, appointed earle Harold to inuade the dominions of Griffin king of Wales. Harold taking with him a power of horſſemen, made ſpéed, and came to Rutland, and there burned Griffins palace, and alſo his ſhips, and then about Midlent returned againe into England.

Henr. Hunt. Algar earle of Cheſter exiled.

1058

Simon Dun.

1063

Simon Dun. Mat. Weſt.

After this, about the Rogation weéke, Harold eſſoones by the kings commandement went againſt the Welſhmen, and taking the ſea, ſailed by Briſtow, round about the coaſt, compaſſing in maner all Wales. His brother Toſtie that was earle of Northumberland, met him by appointment with an hoſt of horſſemen, and ſo ioining togither, they deſtroied the countrie of Wales in ſuch ſort, that the Welſhmen were compelled to ſubmit themſelues, to deliuer hoſtages, and conditioned to paie the ancient tribute which before time they had paied. And moreouer, they renounced their prince the forenamed Griffin, ſo that he remained as a baniſhed perſon: and finallie, about the fift day of Auguſt, they ſlue him, and ſent his head to earle Harold. Afterwards king Edward granted the rule of Wales vnto Blengent or Blethgent, & Riuall, Griffins two brethren, which did homage vnto him for the ſame, and had ſerued vnder Harold againſt their brother the foreſaid Griffin. Where be which write, that not onelie Griffin, but alſo another of his brethren called Rice, was brought to his death by the manfull meanes and politike order of earle Harold, & all the ſauage people of Wales reduced into the forme of good order vnder the ſubiection of king Edward.

Wales deſtroied and harried by the Engliſhmen.

The welſhmen agrée to pay their accuſtomed tribute.

1064

Wil. Malm. Simon. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Shortlie after, earle Harold chanced to paſſe ouer into Normandie, whither of hap or of purpoſe it is hard to define, writers doo varie ſo much in report thereof. Some write that he made earneſt ſute to king Edward, to haue licence to go ouer to ſée his brother Wilnot, and his nephue Hacune, which (as ye haue heard) were deliuered as pledges to king Edward, & ſent into Normandie to remaine there with duke William, and at length with much adoo, got leaue: but yet he was told afore hand of the king, that he would repent his iournie, and doo the thing that ſhould be preiudiciall to the realme. Other write that Harold lieng at his manor of Boſham, went aboord one day into his fiſhers boat or craier, and cauſed the ſame to lanch forth to the ſea for his pleaſure: but by miſfortune at the ſame time, a contrarie wind ſuddenlie came about, and droue the veſſell on land into France vpon the coaſt of Ponthieu, where he was taken by the countrie people, & preſented to the earle of Ponthieu named Guie or Guido, who kept him as priſoner, meaning to put him to a grieuous ranſome. But Harold remembring himſelfe of a wile, diſpatched a meſſenger forth with all ſpéed vnto William duke of Normandie, ſignifieng vnto him, that he being ſent from king Edward to confirme ſuch articles, as other meane men that had béene ſent vnto him afore had talked of, by chance he was fallen into the hands of the earle of Ponthieu, and kept as priſoner againſt all order of law, reaſon, or humanitie. Duke William thus informed by the meſſenger, ſent to the earle of Ponthieu, requiring him to ſet earle Harold at libertie, that he might repaire to him according to his commiſſion. The earle of Ponthieu at the dukes requeſt, did not onelie reſtore Harold to his libertie, but alſo brought him into Normandie, and preſented him there to the duke, of whome he was moſt ioifullie receiued.

Harold goeth ouer into Normandie. Polydor.

Edmerus.

Mat. Weſt. Wil. Malm.

Harold is preſented to William duke of Normandie. Hen. Hunt.

There be that agrée partlie with this report, and partlie varie: for they write, that earle Harold tooke the ſea vpon purpoſe to haue ſailed into Flanders, and that by force of winde he was driuen to the coaſt of Ponthieu, and ſo after came into Normandie in

maner as before is mentioned. But by what meanes or occasion soeuer he came thither, certeine it is, that he was ioifullie receiued, and had great cheare made him by the said duke William, who at that time was readie to make a iournie against the Britains, and toke earle Harold with him to haue his companie in armes in that iournie, that he might haue the better triall of his valiancie. Earle Harold behaued himselfe so, that he shewed good proofe both of his wisedome and policie, and also of his forwardnesse to 10 execute that with hand, which by wit he had deuised, so that duke William had him in high fauour, and (as it hath beene said) earle Harold (to procure him more friendship at the dukes hands) declared vnto him, that king Edward had ordeined him his heire if he died without issue, and that he would not faile to keepe the realme of England to the dukes vse, according to that ordinance, if K. Edward died without issue. And to performe this promise, he receiued a corporall oth, whether willinglie to win the more 20 credit, or forced thereto by duke William, writers report it diuerslie. At the same time, duke William promised vnto him his daughter in marriage, whom Harold couenanted in like maner to take to wife.

Harold was highlie welcomed of duke William.

Matth. West. Duke William promised to Harold his daughter in marriage.

Harold at his returne into England reporteth to K. Edward *what he had doone* beyond the seas, and what the king said vnto *him in that behalfe, who foresaw the comming of* the Normans into this land to conquer it; when and *why king Edward promised to make duke William his heire,* (wherein note his subtiltie) diffention betwixt Harold and Tostie two brethren the sonnes of earle Goodwine, their vnnaturall and cruell dealing one with another, speciallie of the abhominable and merciles murthers committed by Tostie, against whome the Northumbers rebell vpon diuerse occasions, and reward him with answerable reuengement; Harold is sent against them, but preuaileth not; they offer to returne home if they might haue a new gouernor; they renounce Tostie and require Marchar in his roome, Tostie displeased getteth him into Flanders; king Edward dieth, his manners and disposition note-worthie, his charitie and deuotion, the vertue of curing the maladie called the kings euill deriued from him to the succeeding kings of this land, he was warned of his death by a ring, he is canonized for a saint, the last words that he spake on his death-bed, wherein he vttered to the standers by a vision, propheseieng that England should be inhabited with strangers, a description of the kings person, of a blasing starre fore-telling his death, the progenie of the West-saxon kings, how long they continued, the names of their predecessors and successors; whence the first kings of seuen kingdoms of Germanie had their pedegree, &c.

The seuenth Chapter.

Polydor.

NOw when Harold should returne into England, duke William deliuered him his nephue Hacune, but kept his brother Wilnote with him still as a pledge. Then went earle Harold into England, and declared vnto king Edward what he had done, who

"said vnto him; Did not I tell thee that thou wouldest
"doo the thing whereof thou shouldest repent thee, and
"procure a mischiefe to follow vnto thy countrie? But
"God of his mercie turne that euill hap from this
"realme, or at the least, if it be his pleasure, that it must
"needs come to passe, yet to staie it till after my daies!

when the promise was made by king Edward to make duke William his heire.

Some by Harolds purposed going ouer into Normandie, do gather, that king Edward foresaw the comming of the Normans; and that he meant nothing lesse, than to performe the promise made vnto duke William, as to adopt him his heire, which promise should seeme to be made in time of his banishment, when he stood in need of his friendship; as the maner of men in such cases is, to promise much, how so euer they intend to fulfill. But rather it maie be thought, that king Edward had made no such promise at all, but perceiued the ambitious desire of duke William, and therefore would not that anie occasion should be ministred vnto him to take hold of. Wherefore, he was loth that Harold should go ouer vnto him, least that might happen, which happened in deed.

make duke William his heire.

In the foure and twentieth and last yeere of king Edward his reigne, or therabout, there fell variance betwixt the two brethren, earle Harold and earle Tostie at Windsor, where the court then lay, in so much that earle Harold caught Tostie by the haire of the head in the kings presence, and stroke him. Herevpon, Tostie departing from the court in great anger, came to Hereford in the marches of Wales, where Harolds seruants were preparing for the kings comming to their maisters house, which seruants he toke and slue, chopping them in peeces, and threw into this hogshead of wine a leg, into that barrell of sider an arme, into this vessell of ale an head: and so into the tomes of meth and tubs of byne and other liquor he bestowed the parts of the dead carcasses of his brothers seruants, sending the king word that he had prouided at his brothers manor, against his cõming, good plentie of sowse & powdred meat, what soeuer he should find beside.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. West. Fabian. Falling out betwixt brethren.

The cruell dealing of earle Tostie.

The rumor of this cruell deed sprang ouer all the realme, whereupon the Northumbers, whome he had gouerned for the space of ten yeeres verie cruellie, toke occasion to rebell against him, and slue his seruants both Englishmen and Danes, spoiled his houses, and toke awaie his horsses, his armour, and all other his goods and houshold stuffe. The chiefest cause (as is remembred by some writers) that moued the Northumbers thus to rise and rebell against Tostie, was for the detestable murther of certeine gentlemen of their countrie, seruants vnto Gospatrike, whom the quæne in behalfe of hir brother had caused to be slaine in the court by treason, in the fourth night of Christmas last past, and also in reuenge of other noble men, which in the last yeere Tostie himselfe had commanded to be murthered in his owne chamber at Yorke, whither he had allured them to come vnder colour of concluding a peace with them. Also the grieuous paiments, wherewith he charged the people of that countrie, set them in a great rage against him.

The Northumbers rebell against Tostie their earle.

But the king aduertised hereof, liked not their doings, for that they had done it without commandement or commission, and therefore sent earle Harold with an armie to chastise them, but they were strong inough to withstand him, as those which were assembled in armour togither with the people of Lincolneshire, Notinghamshire, and Darbishire, and hauing with them Marcharus or Malcharus, the sonne of earle Algar, were come as farre as Northampton, doing much hurt in the parts therabouts. Howbeit to haue the kings peace, they offered to returne home, so that they might haue an other earle appointed them, for that they plainlie protested, that they being freemen, borne and bred out of bondage, might not suffer anie cruell gouernor to rule ouer them, being taught by their ancestors, either to liue in libertie, or to die in defense therof. If therefore it might please the king to assigne Marcharus the son of earle Algar to be their ruler, he should see how obedient subiects they would prooue & shew themselues to be, when they should be vsed after a reasonable and courteous manner. All things considered, their request seemed reasonable, or at least it was thought necessarie that it should be granted. And so was

Wil. Malm.

Marcharus

Marcharus made earle of Northumberland.

Marcharus or Malcherus made earle of Northumberland. Toſtie in great diſpleaſure with his wife and children ſailed ouer into Flanders, and there remained till after the deceaſſe of king Edward.

K. Edward departed this life. Simon Dun.

Finallie, after that this courteous prince king Edward had reigned three and twentie yeares, ſeuen moneths, and od daies, he departed this life at London the fourth of Januarie, and was buried in the church of Weſtminſter, which he had in his life time roiallie repared, after ſuch a ſtatelie ſort, as few churches in thoſe daies were like thereunto within this realme, ſo that afterwards the ſame was a paterne for other to be built after the ſame forme. This Edward was a prince of ſuch a vertuous diſpoſition of mind, that his fame of holineſſe ſprang ouer all. He abhorred warres and ſhedding of bloud, in ſo much that when he liued as a baniſhed man in Normandie, he had this ſaieng oftentimes in his mouth, that he had rather liue a priuate life for euer, than to obteine the kingdome by the ſlaughter and death of anie man. He could not abide to haue the people oppreſſed with tributes or exactions, in ſo much that he cauſed the paiment called Danegilt (which had continued for the ſpace almoſt of fortie yeares) to ceaſſe. It hath beene ſaid, that when the collectors of this monie, or ſome other ſubſidie, had got an huge quantitie of treaſure togither, they brought it vnto him, and laid it altogither vpon an heape, ſo to delight his eies: but he declaring that he ſaw a diuell plaieng and fetching gambols about that heape of monie, commanded that it ſhould be had awaie, and reſtored againe to them of whome it was leauied.

K. Edward his maners and diſpoſition of mind deſcribed.

A diuell fetching gambols.

In diet and apparell he was ſpare and nothing ſumptuous: and although on high feaſts he ware rich apparell, as became the maieſtie of his roiall perſonage: yet he ſhewed no proud nor leſtie countenance, rather praiſſing God for his bountifull goodneſſe towards him extended, than eſteeming herein the vaine pompe of the world. The pleaſure that he take chieflie in this world for refreſhing of his wits, conſiſted onelie in hawking and hunting, which exerciſes he dailie vſed, after he had firſt beene in the church at diuine ſeruice. In other things he ſeemed wholie giuen to a deuout trade of life, charitable to the poore, and verie liberall, namelie to hoſpitals and houſes of religion in the parties of beyond the ſea, wiſhing euer that the monks and religions perſons of his realme would haue followed the vertue and holineſſe of life vſed amongſt them of forren parties. As hath beene thought he was inſpired with the gift of prophecie, and alſo to haue had the gift of healing infirmities and diſeaſes. He vſed to helpe thoſe that were vexed with the diſeaſe, commonlie called the kings euill, and left that vertue as it were a portion of inheritance vnto his ſucceſſors the kings of this realme.

A tale of a ring.

He was warned (as hath beene reported) of his death certeine daies before he died, by a ring that was brought him by certeine pilgrims comming from Hieruſalem, which ring he had ſecretlie giuen to a poore man that aſked his charitie in the name of God and ſaint John the Euangeliſt. But to conclude, ſuch was the opinion conceiued of his holineſſe of life, that ſhortlie after his deceaſe, he was canonized amongſt the number of ſaints, and named Edward the Confeſſor. Whileſt he lay ſicke of that ſickneſſe, whereof at length he died, after he had remained for two daies ſpeechleſſe, the third day after when he had laine for a time in a ſlumber or ſoft ſleepe, at the time of his waking, he fetched a deepe ſigh, and thus ſaid; Oh Lord God almightie, if this be not a vaine fantaſticall illuſion, but a true viſion which I haue ſeene, grant me ſpace to vtter the ſame vnto theſe that ſtand heere preſent, or elſe not. And

King Edward canonized for a ſaint.

Will. Malmſ. Matt. Weſtm.

herewith hauing his ſpeech perfect, he declared how he had ſeene two monks ſtand by him as he thought, whome in his youth he knew in Normandie to haue liued godlie, and died chriſtianlie. Theſe monks (ſaid he) proteſting to me that they were the meſſengers of God, ſpake theſe words; Becauſe the cheefe gouernors of England, the biſhops and abbats, are not the miniſters of God, but the diuels, the almightie God hath deliuered this kingdome for one yeare and a day into the hands of the enimie, and wicked ſpirits ſhall walke abroad through the whole land. And when I made anſwer that I would declare theſe things to the people, and promiſed on their behalfe, that they ſhould do penance in following the example of the Niniuites: they ſaid againe, that it would not be, for neither ſhould the people repent, nor God take anie pitie vpon them. And when is there hope to haue an end of theſe miſeries ſaid I? Then ſaid they; When a grene tree is cut in ſunder in the middle, and the part cut off is caried three acres bredth from the ſtocke, and returning againe to the ſtocke, ſhall ioine therewith, and begin to bud & beare fruit after the former maner, by reaſon of the ſap renewing the accuſtomed nouriſhment; then (I ſay) may there be hope that ſuch euils ſhall ceaſſe and diminiſh. ¶ With which words of the king, though ſome other that ſtood by were brought in feare, yet archbiſhop Stigand made but a ieaſt thereof, ſaieng, that the old man raued now in his ſickneſſe, as men of great yeares vſe to do. Neuertheleſſe the truth of this prophecie afterwards to plainlie appeared, when England became the habitation of new ſtrangers, in ſuch wiſe, that there was neither gouernor, biſhop, nor abbat remaining therein of the Engliſh nation. But now to make an end with king Edward, he was of perſon comelie, & of an indifferent ſtature, of white haire, both head and beard, of face ruddie, and in all parts of his bodie faire ſkinned, with due ſtate and proportion of limbs as was thereto conuenient. In the yeare before the death of king Edward, a blaſing ſtarre appeared, the which when a monke of Malmeſburie named Eilmer beheld, he vttered theſe words (as it were by way of prophecieng:) Thou art come (ſaith he) thou art come, much to be lamented of manie a mother: it is long agone ſith I ſaw thee, but now I do behold thee the more terrible, threatening deſtruction to this countrie by thy dreadfull appearance. In the perſon of king Edward ceaſed by his death the noble progenie of the Weſtſaxon kings, which had continued from the firſt yeare of the reigne of Cerdike or Cerdicius, the ſpace of 547 yeares complet. And from Egbert 266 yeares.

Moreouer, ſith the progenie of the Saxon kings ſeemeth wholie to take end with this Edward ſurnamed the Confeſſor, or the third of that name before the conqueſt, we haue thought good for the better helpe of memorie to referre the reader to a catalog of the names as well of thoſe that reigned among the Weſtſaxons (who at length, as ye haue heard, obteined the whole monarchie) as alſo of them which ruled in the other ſeuen kingdomes before the ſame were vnited vnto the ſaid kingdome of the Weſtſaxons, which catalog you ſhall find in the deſcription of Britaine, pag. 17, 18, 19.

Here is to be remembred, that as partlie before is expreſſed, we find in ſome old writers, how the firſt kings of ſeuen kingdomes of the Germane nation that bare rule in this Ile, fetcht their pedegrees from one Woden, who begat of Frea his wife ſeuen ſonnes, that is to ſay, 1 Aecta, of whome came the kings of Kent, 2 Fethelgeta, or Frethegeath, from whome the kings of Mercia deſcended, 3 Walday, of whoſe race the kings of the Weſtſaxons had their Matt. Weſt.

originall, 4 Beldagius, anceſtor to the kings of Bernicia, and the Northumbers, 5 Wegodach or Wegdagus, from whome came the kings of Deira, 6 Caſer, from whome proceeded the kings of the Eaſtangles, 7 Paſcad alias Saruad, of whome the kings of the Eaſtſaxons had their beginning. And here you muſt note, that although the kings of the eight kingdome, that is, of the Southſaxons or Suſſex, were deſcended of the ſame people, yet were they not of the ſame line. By other it ſhould ſeeme, that Woden had but fiue ſonnes: as Weca, great grandfather to Hengiſt; Wepedeg, anceſtor to the kings of the Eaſtangles; Wiclac, from whome proceeded the kings of Mercia; Saruad, from whom the kings of Eſſex came; and Beldag, of whoſe generation proceeded the kings of the Southſaxons, Weſtſaxons, and the Northumbers. Moreouer, there be that bring the genealogie from Noe or Noah, the ſonne of Lamech, which Noe was the 9 in deſcent from Adam, and Woden the 15 from Noe, as you ſhall find in the hiſtorie of England, lib. 6. pag. 141. col. 2. Noe was the father to Sem the father of Bedwi, the father of Wala, the father of Hatria or Hathra, the father of Itermod, the father of Heremod, the father of Sheaf or Scaf, the father of Seldoa or Sceldua, the father of Beatu or Beau, the father of Theathwy alias Tadwa or Teathwy, the father of Geta, reputed for a god among the gentiles, the father of Fingodulph otherwiſe Godulph, the father of Fritwolfe otherwiſe Friuin, the father of Freolaf alias Freolater, the father of Frethwold or Friderwald, the father of the aforenamed Woden or Othen.

Simon Dun. Io. Textor.

The peeres are in doubt to whome the *rule of the land ſhould be committed*, why they durſt not that Edgar Edeling ſhould vndertake it though he was intereſſed to the ſame, how William duke of Normandie pretended a right *to the crowne*, *Harold the ſonne of earle Goodwine crowned*, proclaimed, and conſecrated king; his ſubtill and adulatorie meanes to win the peoples fauour; duke William ſendeth ambaſſadors to Harold to put him in mind of a promiſe paſſed to the ſaid duke for his furtherance to obteine the crowne; Harolds negatiue anſwer to the ſaid ambaſſage, as alſo to the marieng of the dukes daughter which was Harolds owne voluntarie motion; he prouideth againſt the inuaſions of the enimie as one doubting afterclaps, a blaſing ſtarre of ſeuen daies continuance.

The eight Chapter.

Harold.

K. Edward departed this life An Chriſti 1065, after the account of the church of England. Matth. Weſt. Polydor.

KIng Edward being thus departed this life, the peeres of the land were in great doubt & perplexitie to whome they might beſt commit the roiall gouernement of the realme. For there was not anie among them that had iuſt title thereto, or able and apt to take the charge vpon him. For although Edgar ſurnamed Edeling, the ſonne of Edward the outlaw, that was ſonne of Edmund Ironſide, was at the ſame time latelie come into England, with his mother and ſiſters out of Hungarie where he was borne: yet for that he was but a child, & not of ſufficient age to beare rule, they durſt not as then commit the gouernement of the realme vnto him, leaſt (as ſome haue thought) his tenderneſſe of age might firſt breed a contempt of his perſon, and therewith miniſter occaſion to ciuill diſcord, whereby a ſhipwracke of the eſtate might enſue, to the great annoie and preſent ouerthrow of ſuch as then liued in the ſame. But what conſideration ſoeuer they had in this behalfe, they ought not to haue defrauded the yong gentleman of his lawfull right to the crowne. For as we haue heard and ſeene, God, whoſe prouidence and mightie power is ſhewed by ouerthrowing of high and mightie things now and then, by the weake and feeble hath gouerned ſtates and kingdomes oftentimes in as good quiet and princelie policie by a child, as by men of age and great diſcretion.

Edeling, that is, a noble man, and ſuch one as is come of the kings bloud.

But to the purpoſe, beſide the doubt which reſted among the lords, how to beſtow the crowne, the manifold and ſtrange wonders, which were ſeene and heard in thoſe daies, betokening (as men thought) ſome change to be at hand in the ſtate of the realme, made the lords afraid, and namelie bicauſe they ſtood in great doubt of William duke of Normandie, who pretended a right to the crowne, as lawfull heire appointed by king Edward, for that he was kin to him in the ſecond and third degree. For Richard the firſt of that name duke of Normandie, begot Richard the ſecond, and Emma; which Emma bare Edward by hir huſband Ethelred. Richard the ſecond had alſo iſſue Richard the third, and Robert, which Robert by a concubine had iſſue William, ſurnamed the baſtard, that was now duke of Normandie, and after the death of his coſſine king Edward, made claime (as is ſaid) to the crowne of England.

Dukes of Normandie.

Whileſt the lords were thus ſtudieng and conſulting what ſhould be beſt for them to do in theſe doubts, Harold, the ſon of Godwine earle of Kent, proclaimed himſelfe king of England: the people being not much offended therewith, bicauſe of the great confidence and opinion which they had latelie conceiued of his valiancie. Some write (among whome Edmerus is one) how king Edward ordeined before his death, that Harold ſhould ſucceed him as heire to the crowne, and that thereupon the lords immediatlie after the ſaid Edwards deceaſſe, crowned Harold for their king, and ſo he was conſecrated by Aldred archbiſhop of Yorke, according to the cuſtom and maner of the former kings, or (as other affirme) he ſet the crowne on his owne head without anie the accuſtomed ceremonies, in the yeere after the birth of our ſauiour 1066, or in the yeere of Chriſt 1065, after the account of the church of England (as before is noted.)

Harold proclaimed king of England.

Edmerus.

Matth. Weſt.

But how and whenſoeuer he came to the ſeat roiall of this kingdome, certeine it is, that this Harold in the begining of his reigne, conſidering with himſelfe how and in what ſort he had taken vpon him the rule of the kingdome, rather by intruſion than by anie lawfull right, ſtudied by all meanes which way to win the peoples fauour, and omitted no occaſion whereby he might ſhew anie token of bountious liberalitie, gentleneſſe and courteous behauiour towards them. The greeuous cuſtomes alſo and taxes which his predeceſſors had raiſed, he either aboliſhed or diminiſhed: the ordinarie wages of his ſeruants and men of warre he increaſed, and further ſhewed himſelfe verie well bent to all vertue and goodneſſe, whereby he purchaſed no ſmall fauor among ſuch as were his ſubiects.

Harold laboureth to win the peoples hearts. Sim. Dunel.

Whileſt Harold went about thus to ſcale the peoples good willes, there came ouer vnlooked for ſundrie ambaſſadours from William the baſtard duke of Normandie, with commiſſion to require him to remember his oth ſometime made to the ſaid William in the time of his extremitie, which was, that he the ſaid Harold ſhould aid him in the obteining of the crowne of England, if king Edward ſhould happen to die without iſſue. This couenant he made (as it is ſuppoſed) in king Edwards daies, when (by licence of the ſame Edward, or rather (as Edmerus writeth) againſt his will) he went ouer into Normandie to viſit his brethren, which laie there

In ambaſſage from Normandie.

as

as pledges.

K. Harolds anſwer.

Howbeit at this preſent, Harolds anſwer to the ſaid ambaſſadors was, that he would be readie to gratifie the duke in all that he could demand, ſo that he would not aſke the realme, which alreadie he had in his full poſſeſſion. And further he declared vnto them (as ſome write) that as for the oth which he had made in times paſt vnto duke William, the ſame was but a conſtreined & no voluntarie oth, which in law is nothing; ſince thereby he tooke vpon him to grant that which was not in his power to giue, he being but a ſubiect whileſt king Edward was liuing. For if a promiſed vow or oth which a maid maketh concerning the beſtowing of hir bodie in hir fathers houſe, without his conſent, is made void; much more an oth by him made that was a ſubiect, and vnder the rule of a king, without his ſouereignes conſent, ought to be void and of no value. He alledged moreouer, that as for him to take an oth to deliuer the inheritance of anie realme without the generall conſent of the eſtates of the ſame, could not be other than a great peece of preſumption, yea although he might haue iuſt title thereunto; ſo it was an vnreaſonable requeſt of the duke at this preſent to will him to renounce the kingdome, the gouernance whereof he had alreadie taken vpon him, with ſo great fauor and good liking of all men.

Edmerus.

Matth. Weſt.

Duke William ſendeth to king Harold.

Duke William hauing receiued this anſwer, and nothing liking thereof, ſent once againe to Harold, requiring him then at the leaſt-wiſe, that he would take his daughter to wife, according to his former promiſe; in refuſing whereof he could make no ſound allegation, becauſe it was a thing of his owne motion, and in his abſolute power, both to grant and to performe. But Harold being of a ſtout courage, with proud countenance frowned vpon the Norman ambaſſadors, and declared to them that his mind was nothing bent as then to yéeld thereunto in any maner of wiſe. And ſo with other talke tending to the like effect he ſent them away without anie further anſwer. The daughter of duke William whome Harold ſhould haue maried, was named Adeliza, as Gemeticenſis faith, and with hir (as the ſame author writeth) it was couenanted by duke William, that Harold ſhould inioy halfe the realme in name of hir dower. Howbeit ſome write that this daughter of duke William was departed this life before the comming of theſe ambaſſadors, and that Harold thereupon thought himſelfe diſcharged of the oth and couenants made to duke William, and therefore ſent them away with ſuch an vntoward anſwer.

Gemeticenſis.

Wil. Malm.

Polydor.

But howſoeuer it was, after the departure of theſe ambaſſadors, king Harold (doubting what would inſue) cauſed his ſhips to be newlie rigged, his men of warre to be muſtered, and ſpéedilie put in a readineſſe, to the end that if anie ſudden inuaſion ſhould be made and attempted by his enimie, he might be able to reſiſt them. ¶ About the ſame time alſo, and vpon the 24 of Aprill (whileſt Harold was making prouiſion to withſtand the Norman force) there appeared a blaſing ſtarre, which was ſéene not onelie here in England, but alſo in other parts of the world, and continued the ſpace of ſeuen daies. This blaſing ſtarre might be a prediction of miſchéefe imminent & hanging ouer Harolds head; for they neuer appeare but as prognoſticats of afterclaps. To be reſolutelie inſtructed herein, doo but peruſe a treatiſe intituled; A doctrine generall of comets or blaſing ſtarres publiſhed by a biſhop of Mentz in Latine, and ſet forth in Engliſh by Abraham Fleming vpon the apparition of a blaſing ſtarre ſéene in the ſouthweſt, on the 10 of Nouember 1577, and dedicated to the right worſhipfull ſir William Cordell knight, then maiſter of hir maieſties rolles, &c.

Rog. Houed. Simon Dun.

Earle Toſtie afflicteth his brother Harold on ſea and land, he taketh the repulſe, and perſuadeth Harfager king of Norweie to attempt the conqueſt of England againſt Harold, Harfager & Toſtie with their powers arriue at Humber, they fight with the Northumbers vnder the conduct of Edwine and Marchar, and diſcomfit them; Harold leuieth an armie againſt them, the rare valiantnes of a Norwegian ſouldior; Harfager and Toſtie ſlaine in battell; the Norwegians are foiled and flie; Harolds vnequall and parciall diuiding of the ſpoile, he goeth to Yorke to reforme things amiſſe.

The ninth Chapter.

WHileſt Harold deſirous to reteine, and verie loth to let go his vſurped roialtie, had crackt his credit with the duke of Normandie, and by his lewd reuolting from voluntarie promiſes ratified with ſolemne othes, had alſo kindled the fire of the dukes furie againſt him; it came to paſſe, that the proud and preſumptuous man was (to begin withall) vered in his owne fleſh, I meane his owne kinred. For Toſtie the brother of king Harold (who in the daies of king Edward for his cruelties had béene chaſed out of the realme by the Northumbers) returning out of Flanders, aſſembled a nauie of ſhips from diuers parts to the number of 60, with the which he arriued in the Ile of Wight, & there ſpoiled the countrie, and afterward ſailing about by the coaſts of Kent, he tooke ſundrie preies their alſo, and came at the laſt to Sandwich: ſo that Harold was now conſtreined to appoint the nauie which he had prepared againſt the Normans, to go againſt his brother earle Toſtie. Whereof the ſaid Toſtie being aduertiſed, drew towards Lindſey in Lincolnſhire, and there taking land did much hurt in the countrie, both with ſword and fire, till at length Edwine earle of Mercia, and Marchar earle of Northumberland, aided with the kings nauie, chaſed him from thence, and cauſed him to flie into Scotland, not without ſome loſſe both of his men and ſhips.

Toſtie ſéekes to diſquiet his brother. Matt. VVeſt. ſaith but 40.

Polydor. Ran. Higd. Sim. Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Toſtie repelled. Polydor. Ran. Higd.

This trouble was ſcarſe quieted, but ſtreightwaies another came in the necke thereof, farre more dangerous than the firſt. For Toſtie, perceiuing that he could get no aid in Scotland to make anie account of, ſailed forth into Norweie, and there perſuaded Harold Harfager king of that realme, to ſaile with an armie into England, perſuading him that by meanes of ciuill diſſention latelie kindled betwixt the king and his lords (which was not ſo) it ſhould be an eaſie matter for him to make a conqueſt of the whole realme, and reigne ouer them as his predeceſſors had done before. Some authors affirme, that Harold king of Norweye tooke this enterpriſe in hand of his owne mind, and not by procurement of Toſtie, ſaieng, that Toſtie méeting with him in Scotland, did perſuade him to go forward in his purpoſed buſines, and that the ſaid Harold Harfager with all conuenient ſpéed paſſed forth, & with a nauie of 300 ſaile entered into the riuer of Tine, where after he had reſted a few daies to refreſh his people, earle Toſtie came alſo with his power (according to an appointment which ſhould be made betweene them.) They ad furthermore, that they ſailed forth alongſt the coaſt, till they arriued in the mouth of Humber, & then drawing vp againſt the ſtreame of the riuer Owſe, they landed at length at a place called Richhall, from whence they ſet forward to inuade

Harold Harfager king of Norweis.

Matt. Weſt. Simon Dun.

Simon Dun. ſaith 500.

The Norwegians arriue in Humber.

Richhall. Hen. Hunt.

nade the countrie, & neere vnto Yorke on the north ſide of the citie, they fought with the power of the Northumbers, which was led by the earls Edwine and Marchar (two brethren) and there diſcomfited and chaſed them into the citie; with great ſlaughter and bloudſhed.

The Engliſh men diſcomfited.

This battell was fought on the euen of S. Matthew the apoſtle, as ſaith Si. Dun.

Harold king of England being aduertiſed of this chance, made the more haſt forward (for he was alreadie in the field with his armie, intending alſo to come towards his enimies) ſo that vpon the fift day after he came to Stamford bridge, finding there the ſaid king Harfager and Toſtie readie imbattelled, he firſt aſſailed thoſe that kept the bridge, where (as ſome writers affirme) a Norwegian ſouldier with his axe defended the paſſage, mauger the whole hoſt of the Engliſhmen, and ſlue fortie of them or more with his axe, & might not be ouercome, till an Engliſhman went with a boat vnder the ſaid bridge, and through an hole thereof thruſt him vp into the bodie with his ſpeare: yet Matt. Weſt. ſaith that he was ſlaine with a dart which one of king Harold his ſeruants threw at him, & ſo ended his life. Which bridge being woone, the whole hoſt of the Engliſhmen paſſed ouer, and ioined with their enimies, and after a verie great and ſore battell put them all to flight.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matt. Weſt.

The Norwegians diſcomfited.

In this conflict Harold Harfager king of the Norwegians was ſlaine, & ſo was Toſtie the king of England his brother, beſides a great number of other, as well in the battell as in the chaſe: neither did the Engliſhmen eſcape all free, for the Norwegians fought it out a long time verie ſtoutlie, beating downe and killing great numbers of ſuch as aſſailed them with great courage and aſſurance. The reſidue of the Norwegians that were left to keepe their ſhips vnder the guiding of Olaue ſonne to the king of Norwaie, and Paule earle of Orkneie, after they vnderſtood by their fellowes that eſcaped from the field, how the mater went with Harfager and Toſtie, they hoiſed vp their ſailes and directed their courſe homewards, bearing ſorowfull newes with them into their countrie, of the loſſe of their king and ouerthrow of all his people. Some write, that the king of England permitted them frankelie to depart with 20 ſhips, hauing firſt cauſed them to deliuer ſuch hoſtages as they had receiued of the citizens of Yorke. Harold reioiſing in that he had atteined ſo glorious a victorie, and being now ſurpriſed with pride and couetouſneſſe togither, he diuided the ſpoile of the field nothing equallie, but to ſuch as he fauored he diſtributed liberallie, and to other (though they had much better deſerued) he gaue nothing at all, reteining ſtill the beſt part of all to himſelfe, by reaſon whereof he loſt the fauor of manie of his men, who for this his diſcourteſie, did not a little alienate their good willes from him. This done, he repaired to Yorke, and there ſtaied for a time to reforme the diſordered ſtate of the countrie, which by reaſon of theſe warres was greatlie out of frame.

Hen. Hunt. Matth. Weſt. Simon Dun. M. Weſt. Vnequall diuiding of the ſpoile. Wil. Malm.

¶ But Harold being more preſumptuous and ſolehardie, than prouident and wiſe in his enterpriſe; bending all his force to redreſſe enormities in thoſe quarters of Yorkeſhire (much like vnto him, whom the Comediographer marketh for a fole, *Ea tantùm quæ ad pedes iacent contemplans, non autem ventura præuidens*) neglected the kinglie care which he ſhould haue had of other parts of his realme, from the which he had withdrawen himſelfe, and (as it is likelie) had not left ſufficientlie prouided of a conuenient vicegerent to gouerne the ſame by his warranted authoritie, and ſuch fortifications as might expell and withſtand the enimie. Which want of foreſight gaue occaſion to the enimie to attempt an inuaſion of the Engliſh coaſts, as in the next chapt. ſhall be ſhewed.

William duke of Normandie prepareth to inuade England and to conquere it, the earle of Flanders and the French king aſſiſt him, the number of his ſhips, his arriuall at Peuenſey in Suſſex, vpon what occaſions he entred this realme; the pope liked well duke Williams attempt, why king Harold was hated of the whole court of Rome; why duke William would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to waſt the countries where they came; Harold goeth towards his enimies, why his vnskilfull eſpials tooke the Normans (being old beaten ſouldiers) for prieſts; Girth diſſuadeth his brother Harold from preſent incountering with the duke; where note the conſcience that is to be had of an oth, and that periurie can not ſcape vnpuniſhed.

The tenth Chapter.

WIlliam duke of Normandie hauing knowledge after what maner K. Harold was buſied in the north parts of his realme, and vnderſtanding that the ſouth parts thereof remained deſtitute of due proviſion for neceſſarie defenſe, haſted with all diligence to make his purueiance of men and ſhips, that he might vpon ſuch a conuenient occaſion ſet forward to inuade his enimie. And amongeſt other of his friends, vnto whome he laboured for aid, his father in law Baldwine earle of Flanders was one of the chiefeſt, who vpon promiſe of great ſummes of monie and other large offers made, did aid him with men, munition, ſhips, and victuals, verie freelie. The French king alſo did as much for his part as laie in him to helpe forwards this ſo high an enterpriſe. Wherefore when all things were now in a readineſſe, he came to the towne of S. Valerie, where he had aſſembled togither an huge nauie of ſhips (to the number (as ſome authors affirme) of three hundred ſaile; and when he had taried there a long time for a conuenient wind, at length it came about euen as he himſelfe deſired. Then ſhipping his armie which conſiſted of Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, and Britains, with all expedition he toke the ſea, and directing his courſe towards England, he finallie landed at a place in Suſſex, ancientlie called Peuenſey, on the 28 day of September, where he did ſet his men on land, & prouided all things neceſſarie to incourage and refreſh them.

Ia. Meir. Baldwine earle of Flanders aided duke William to conquere England.

Wil. Geme. The chronicles of Normandie haue 896 ſhips.

Duke William landed at Peuenſey, now Pemſey.

At his going out of his ſhip vnto the ſhore, one of his feet ſlipped as he ſtepped forward, but the other ſtacke faſt in the ſand: the which ſo ſone as one of his knights had eſpied, and ſeeing his hand therevpon he ſtaied full of earth, when he roſe, he ſpake aloud and ſaid: Now ſir duke, thou haſt the ſoile of England faſt in thy hand, & ſhalt of a duke per long become a king. The duke hearing this tale, laughed merilie thereat, and comming on land, by and by he made his proclamation, declaring vpon what occaſions he had thus entered the realme.

The firſt and principall cauſe which he alleged, was for to chalenge his right, meaning the dominion of the land that to him was giuen and aſſigned (as he ſaid) by his nephue king Edward late ruler of the ſame land. 1

Hen. Hunt.

The ſecond was, to reuenge the death of his nephue Alured or Alfred the brother of the ſame king Edward, whome Godwine earle of Kent and his adherents had moſt cruellie murthered. 2

The third was to be reuenged of the wrong done vnto Robert archbiſhop of Canturburie, who (as he was informed) was exiled by the meanes and labor 3

of

of Harold in the daies of king Edward.

Wherein we haue to note, that whether it were for diſpleaſure that the pope had ſometime conceiued for the wrong done to the archbiſhop, or at the vnlie ſute of duke William, certeine it is that the pope, as then named Alexander the ſecond, fauored this enterpriſe of the duke, and in token thereof ſent him a white banner, which he willed him to ſet vp in the decke of the ſhip, wherein he himſelfe ſhould ſaile. In deed (as writers report) the pope with his cardinals, and all the whole court of Rome had king Harold euer in great hatred and diſdaine, becauſe he had taken vpon him the crowne without their conſent, or anie eccleſiaſticall ſolemnitie or agreement of the biſhops. And although the pope and his brethren the ſaid cardinals diſſembled the matter for the time, yet now beholding to what end his bold preſumption was like to come, with frowning fortune they ſhewed themſelues open aduerſaries, inclining ſtreightwaies to the ſtronger part, after the manner of couetous perſons, or rather of the reed ſhaken with a ſudden puffe of wind.

Will. Lamb. The pope fauored duke Williams enterpriſe.

Matth. Weſt.

Duke William at his firſt landing at Peuenſey or Pemſey (whether you will) fortified a peece of ground with ſtrong trenches, and leauing therein a competent number of men of warre to keepe the ſame, he ſped him toward Haſtings, and comming thither, he built an other fortreſſe there with all ſpeed poſſible, without ſuffering his ſouldiers to rob or harrie the countrie adioining, ſaieng that it ſhould be great follie for him to ſpoile that people, which per manie daies to come were like to be his ſubiects. K. Harold being as yet in the north parts, and hearing that duke William was thus landed in England, ſped him ſouthward, and gathering his people together out of the countries as he went forwards, at length came neere his enimies: and ſending eſpials into their campe to vnderſtand of what ſtrength they were; the vnskilfull meſſengers regarding ſmallie their charge, brought word againe of nothing elſe, but that all duke Williams ſouldiers were prieſts. For the Normans had at that time their vpper lips and cheekes ſhauen, whereas the Engliſhmen vſed to ſuffer the haire of their vpper lips to grow at length. But Harold anſwered, that they were not prieſts, but wether-beaten and hardie ſouldiers, and ſuch as were like to abide well by their capteine.

Gemeticenſis.

Matth. Weſt.

Normans beards ſhauen. Wil. Malm. Hen. Marle.

In the meane ſeaſon, Girth one of Harolds yonger brethren (conſidering that periurie is neuer left vnpuniſhed) aduiſed his brother not to aduenture himſelfe at this preſent in the battell, for ſo much as he had beene ſometime ſworne to duke William, but rather to ſuffer him and other of the nobilitie to incounter with the ſaid duke, that were not bound to him by former oth, or otherwiſe: but Harold anſwered that he was free from anie ſuch oth, and that in defenſe of his countrie he would fight boldly with him as with his greateſt enimie. ¶ Where (by the waie) would be noted the conſcience which Girth a yonger brother made of an oth, not concerning himſelfe directlie, but his elder brother Harold, who had ſworne the ſame; meaning nothing leſſe than the performance therof, as the ſequele of his doings to his diſcredit and vndoing euidentlie declared, which euents might ſeeme countable to him as due puniſhments and deſerued plagues inflicted vpon him and others, for his ſake; ſith he made no reckoning of violating a vow ratified with an oth to a prince of no ſmall puiſſance, who afterwards became a whip vnto him for his periurie; a ſinne deteſted of the heathen, and whereof the poet notablie ſpeaketh, ſaieng:

Girth would not haue his brother king Harold fight himſelfe. Gemeticenſis.

Ah miſer, & ſi quis primo periuria celat,
Sera tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus.

Tibul. lib. 1.

After peace offered & refuſed on each ſide, both armies meete in the field, the order of the Engliſhmens attire & array, the manner how the Normans were placed in fight, with diuerſe other things incident; the diſſolute and vnbridled behauior of the Engliſhmen the night before the battell, and after the ſame the Normans deuout demenour; duke Williams ſpeech vpon occaſion of wrong putting on his armour, the battell betwixt him and king Harold is valiantlie tried, the Engliſh by duke Williams politike ſtratagem are deceiued, king Harold ſlaine, his armie put to flight and maſſe of them ſlaine after a long and bloudie incounter, manie of the Normans purſuing the Engliſh ouerhaſtilie procure their owne death, they take the ſpoile of the Engliſh, the dead bodies of both armies are iudged to be buried, the differing reports of writers touching the maner of Harolds death, a deſcription of his perſon, his ambition did him much hurt and hinderance, the number that were ſlaine on both ſides, his bodie buried at Waltham, nothing diſpraiſe-worthie in him but his ambitious mind, a view of his vallantneſſe in a conflict againſt the VVelſhmen, his rigorous or rather pitileſſe handling of them, his ſeuere law or decree touching their bounds, they are vtterlie ſubdued, and (by the kings leaue) the VVelſhwomen marrie with the Engliſhmen, the Saxon line ceaſſeth, how long it laſted, and how long it was diſcontinued by the inuaſion of the Danes.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOw it fortuned that both armies, as well the kings as the earles, being prepared to battell, diuerſe offers were made on each ſide (before they fell to the conflict) for an vnitie to haue beene had betwixt the two princes: but when no conditions of agreement could take place, they forthwith prepared themſelues to trie the matter by dint of ſword. And ſo on the 14 day of October, being ſaturday, both hoſts met in the field, at a place in Suſſex not farre from Haſtings, whereas the abbeie of Battell was afterward builded. The Engliſhmen were all brought into one entire maine batell onelie, with huge ares in their hands, and paled a front with paueiſes, in ſuch wiſe that it was thought impoſſible for the enimie to breake their arraie. On the other ſide, the Normans were diuided into ſeuerall battels, as firſt the footmen that were archers, and alſo thoſe that bare gleiues and ares were placed in the forefront, and the horſſemen diuided into wings ſtood on the ſides in verie good order.

Will. Malmeſ.

The order of the Engliſhmen.

Matth. Weſt.

The arraie of the Normans

All the night before the battell, the Engliſhmen made great noiſe and ſlept not, but ſang and fell to drinking and making of reuell paſtime, as though there had beene no account to be made of the next daies trauell. But the Normans behaued themſelues wartlie and ſoberlie, ſpending all that night in prair and confeſſing their ſinnes vnto God; and in the morning earelie they receiued the communion before they went forth to the battell. Some write, that when duke William ſhould put on his armour to go to the field, the backe paire of his curaſſes by chance was ſet on before by ſuch as holpe to arme him: at which chance he take occaſion of laughter, ſaieng merrilie to them that ſtood by; No force, this is good lucke, for the eſtate of my dukedome ſhall be per night changed into a kingdome. Beſide this, he ſpake manie comfortable words vnto his men, to incourage them to the battell. Neither was Harold forgetfull in that point on his part. And ſo at conuenient time when both armies were readie, they made forward each to incounter with other, on the ſaid fourteenth day of October, with great force and aſſurance.

Hen. Hunt. Will. Malmeſ.

In the beginning of the battell, the arrowes flue abroad

Polydor.

The battell betwixt king Harold and duke William is begun.

abroad freſhlie on both ſides, till they came to ioine at hand ſtrokes, and then preaſſed each side vpon his counterpart with ſwords, axes, and other hand weapons verie egerlie. Duke William commanded his horſſemen to giue the charge on the breaſts of his enimies battels: but the Engliſhmen keeping themſelues cloſe togither without ſcattering, receiued their enimies vpon the points of their weapons with ſuch ſtearneſſe and in ſuch ſtiffe order, that manie of the Norman horſſemen were ouerthrowne without recouerie, and ſlaine at the firſt brunt. When duke William perceiued this inconuenience (as he that well and throughlie vnderſtood the ſkilfull points of warre as well as the beſt) he gaue a ſigne to his men (according to an order appointed before hand vpon anie ſuch occaſion) that they ſhould giue backe, and make a countenance as though they did flee, which was quicklie done by the Normans, and withall they imbattelled their footmen in a new order, ſo that their horſſemen thikked themſelues on the wings, readie to reſcue the footmen if their arraie ſhould happen to be diſturbed.

The policie of duke William to diſorder his enimies. H. Hunt. Will. Malm.

By this wilie ſtratagem and policie of warre, the Engliſhmen were deceiued: for they beholding the Normans ſomwhat ſhrinking backe to bring themſelues into the aboue ſaid order, thought verelie that they had fled, and therevpon meaning to purſue them before they ſhould recouer their ground, they brake their arraie, and began to follow the chaſe: whereupon the Normans (perceiuing now that all things came to paſſe as they deſired) ſpedilie returned, and calling themſelues togither quicklie into arrie, began to charge them againe afreſh, and ſo hauing them at that aduantage, they ſlue them downe on euerie ſide. The Engliſhmen on the other part fought ſore, and though their king was beaten downe among them and ſlaine, yet were they loth to flee or giue ouer; ſo sharpe was the battell, that duke William himſelfe had three horſſes ſlaine vnder him that day, and not without great danger of his perſon.

A ſore fought ten battell. King Harold ſlaine.

Some of the Engliſhmen got them to the height of an hill, and beate backe the Normans that forced themſelues to win the hill of them, ſo that it was long yer the Normans could preuaile, being oftentimes driuen downe into the botome of the vallie beneath. At length the Engliſhmen, perceiuing themſelues to be ouermatched and beaten downe on euerie ſide, and therevnto greatlie diſcouraged with ſlaughter of their king, began firſt to giue ground, and after to ſcatter and to run away, ſo that well was he that might then eſcape by flight. When they had fought the moſt part of all that ſaturday, the Normans followed the chaſe with ſuch eger raſhneſſe, that a great number of them falling with their horſſes and armour into a blind ditch (ſhadowed with reed and ſedges which grew therein) were ſmouldered and preſſed to death, yer they could be ſuccoured or get anie reliefe. The nert day the Normans fell to gathering in the ſpoile of the field, burieng alſo the dead bodies of their people that were ſlaine at the battell, giuing licence in ſemblable manner to the Engliſhmen to do the like. Of the death of Harold diuerſe report diuerſlie, in ſo much that Girald Cambrenſis ſaith, that after king Harold had receiued manie wounds, and loſt his left eie, he fled from the field vnto the citie of Weſtcheſter, and liued there long after, an holie life, as an anchoret in the cell of S. Iames, ſaſt by S. Johns church, and there made a godlie end. But the ſaieng of Girald Cambren. in that point is not to be credited, becauſe of the vnlikelihood of the thing it ſelfe, and alſo generall conſent of other writers, who affirme vniuerſallie that he was killed in the battell, firſt being ſtriken thorough the left eie by the ſcull into the braine with an arrow, therevpon falling from his horſſe to the ground, he was ſlaine in that place, after he had reigned nine monethes and nine daies, as Floriacenſis doth report. He was a man of a comelie ſtature, and of a hautie courage, albeit that for his valiancie he was highlie renowmed and honored of all men, yet through his pride and ambition he loſt the harts of manie. There were ſlaine in this battell, beſides king Harold and his two brethren, Girth and Leofrike, what on the one ſide and on the other, aboue twentie thouſand men.

Floriac. Simon Dun. Henr. Hunt. Polydor. The chronicles of Normandie haue of Engliſh men ſlaine 67974, and of Normans 6013.

The bodie of king Harold being found among other ſlaine in the field, was buried at Waltham, within the monaſterie of the holie croſſe which he before had founded, and indowed to the behoofe of ſuch canons as he had placed there, with faire poſſeſſions. Verelie (as ſome old writers haue reported) there was nothing in this man to be in anie wiſe diſpraiſed, if his ambitious mind could haue beene ſtaied from coueting the kingdome, and that he could haue beene contented to haue liued as a ſubiect. Among other manifeſt proofes of his high valiancie, this is remembred of him, that being ſent againſt the Welſhmen (as before is partlie mentioned) knowing their readie nimbleneſſe in ſeruice, and how with their light armed men they were accuſtomed to annoie and diſtreſſe thoſe that ſhould aſſaile them, he likewiſe (to match them) prepared light armed men for the purpoſe, & ſo being furniſhed with ſuch bands of nimble men and light ſouldiers, entered vpon the mounteins of Snowdon, and there remained amongſt the enimies for the ſpace of two yeares. He ſore afflicted the Welſh nation, tooke their kings, and ſent their heads vnto the king that ſent him about his buſineſſe, and proceeding in ſuch rigorous maner as might moue the hearers to lament and pitie the caſe, he cauſed all the male kind that might be met with, to be miſerablie ſlaine: and ſo with the edge of his ſword he brought the countrie to quiet, and withall made this lawe; that if anie Welſhman from thenceforth ſhould preſume to paſſe the limits ouer Offas ditch with anie weapon about him, he ſhould loſe his right hand. To conclude, by the valiant conduct of this chieftaine, the Welſhmen were then ſo ſore brought vnder, that in maner the whole nation might ſeeme to faile, and to be almoſt vtterlie deſtroied. And therefore by permiſſion of the king of England, the women of Wales ioined themſelues in marriage with Engliſhmen. Finallie, hereby the bloud of the Saxons ceaſſed to reigne in England after they had continued poſſeſſion of the ſame, from the firſt comming of Hengiſt, which was about the yeare of our Sauiour 450, or 449, vntill that preſent yeare of king Harolds death, which chanced in the yeare 1069. So that from the beginning of Hengiſt his reigne, vnto Harolds death, are reckoned 916 yeares, or (after ſome) 617, as by the ſupputation of the time will eaſilie appeare. By all the which time there reigned kings of the Saxons bloud within this land, except that for the ſpace of twentie yeares and ſomewhat more, the Danes had the dominion of the realme in their poſſeſſion: for there are reckoned from the beginning of K. Swaines reigne (which was the firſt Dane that gouerned England) vnto the laſt yeare of K. Hardicnute (the laſt Dane that ruled heere) 28 yeares, in which meane ſpace Egelred recouering the kingdome reigned 2 yeares, then after him his ſonne Edmund Ironſide continued in the rule one yeare; ſo that the Danes had the whole poſſeſſion of the land but 25 yeares in all. Touching this alteration, and others incident to this Iland, read a ſhort aduertiſement annexed (by waie of concluſion) to this hiſtorie, compriſing a ſhort ſummarie of the moſt notable conqueſts of this countrie

1069

Chron. de bello. Wil. Geme. The Normans fall into a ditch.

Giral. Camb.

Wil. Malm. Hen. Hunt. Matth. Weſt.

Ex 6. libro Polycratici, ſive de nugis curialium. Iohn Sarisb.

trie one after an other, by diſtances of times ſucceſſiuelie.

The rule of this realme by Gods prouidence allotted to duke William, his deſcent from Rollo the firſt duke of Normandie downewards to his particular linage, he was baſe begotten vpon the bodie of Arlete duke Roberts concubine, a pleaſant ſpeech of hirs to duke Robert on a time when he was to haue the vſe of hir perſon, a concluſion introduſtorie for the ſequele of the chronicle from the ſaid duke of Normandies coronation, &c: with a ſummarie of the notable conqueſts of this Iland.

The twelfe Chapter.

NOw, forſomuch as it pleaſed God by his hid and ſecret iudgement ſo to diſpoſe the realme of England, and in ſuch wiſe, as that the gouernance ther of ſhould fall after this maner into the hands of William duke of Normandie, I haue thought good before I enter further into this hiſtorie (being now come to the conqueſt of the realme, made by the foreſaid duke of Normandie) to ſet downe his pedegree, thereby to ſhew how he deſcended from the firſt duke of that countrie, who was named Rollo, and after by receiuing baptiſme called Robert.

The ſaid Rollo or Rou, was ſonne to a great lord in Denmarke called Guion, who hauing two ſons, the ſaid Rou and Gourin, and being appointed to depart the countrie, as the lots fell to him and other (according to the maner there vſed, in time when their people were increaſed to a greater number than the countrie was able to ſuſteine) refuſed to obeie that order, and made warre there againſt the king, who yet in the end by practiſe found meanes to ſlea the foreſaid Guion, and his ſonne Gourin; ſo that Rou or Rollo, hauing thus loſt his father and brother, was compelled to forſake the countrie, with all thoſe that had holpe his father to make warre againſt the king. Thus driuen to ſeeke aduentures, at length he became a chriſtian, and was created duke of Normandie, by gift of Charles king of France, ſurnamed le Simple, whoſe daughter the ladie Gilla he alſo married: but ſhe departing this life without iſſue, he married Popée daughter to the earle of Beſſin and Baieulx, whome he had kept as his wife before he was baptiſed, and had by hir a ſonne named William Longeſpée, and a daughter named Gerlota.

William Longeſpée or Longaſpata, had to wife the ladie Sporta, daughter to Hubert earle of Senlis, by whome he had iſſue Richard the ſecond of that name duke of Normandie, who married the ladie Agnes, the daughter of Hugh le grand, earle of Paris, of whome no iſſue proceeded: but after hir deceaſſe, he maried to his ſecond wife a gentlewoman named Gonnor, daughter to a knight of the Daniſh line, by whom he had three ſonnes, Richard that was after duke of Normandie, the third of that name, Robert and Mauger. He had alſo by hir three daughters, Agnes otherwiſe called Emma, married firſt to Egelred king of England, and after to K. Cnute: Helloie, otherwiſe Alix, beſtowed vpon Geffrey earle of Britaine: and Mawd coupled in marriage with Eudes earle of Charters and Blais. Richard the third of that name maried Judith, ſiſter to Geffrey earle of Britaine, by whome he had iſſue three ſonnes, Richard, Robert, and William, and as manie daughters: Alix, married to Reignold earle of Burgogne, Eleonor married to Baldwine earle of Flanders; and the third died yong, being affianced to Alfonſe king of Nauarre. Their mother deceaſſed after ſhe had beene married ten yeres, and then duke Richard married ſecondlie the ladie Eſtric, ſiſter to Cnute king of England and Denmarke, from whome he purchaſed to be diuorſed, and then married a gentlewoman called Paule, by whome he had iſſue two ſonnes, William earle of Arques, and Mauger archbiſhop of Rouen.

Richard the fourth of that name, duke of Normandie, eldeſt ſonne to Richard the third, died without iſſue, and then his brother Robert ſucceeded in the eſtate, which Robert begat vpon Arlete or Harleuina daughter to a burgeſſe of Felais, William ſurnamed the baſtard, afterward duke of Normandie, and by conqueſt king of England. Of whoſe father duke Robert, & his paramour Arlete, take this pleaſant remembrance for a refection after the peruſing of the former ſad and ſober diſcourſes.

In the yeare of Chriſt 1030, Robert, the ſecond ſonne of Richard the ſecond duke of Normandie, and brother to Richard the third duke of that name there hauing with great honour and wiſedome gouerned his dukedome ſeuen yeres, for performance of a penance that he had ſet to himſelfe, appointed a pilgrimage to Jeruſalem; leauing behind him this William a yong prince, whome ſeuen yeres before he had begotten vpon his paramour Arlete (whom after he held as his wife) with whoſe beautifull fauour, louelie grace and preſence, at hir dauncing on a time then as he was tenderlie touched, for familiar vtterance of his mind what he had further to ſay, would needs that night ſhe ſhould be his bedfellow, who elſe as vnlueleſſe ſhould haue lien alone: where when ſhe was beſtowed, thinking that if ſhe ſhould haue laid hir ſelfe naked, it might haue ſeemed not ſo maidenlie a part ſo when the duke was about (as the maner is) to haue lift vp hir linnen, ſhe in an humble modeſtie ſtaid hir lords hand, and rent downe hir ſmocke aſunder, from the collar to the verie ſkirt. Wherat the duke all ſmiling did aſke hir what therby ſhe ment: In great lowlines, with a feate queſtion ſhe anſwered againe; My lord, were it meet that any part of my garments dependant about me downeward, ſhould preſume to be mountant to my ſouereignes mouth vpward: Let your grace pardon me. He liked hir anſwer: and ſo and ſo forth for that time.

This duke before his voiage, calling at Fiſcam all his nobilitie vnto him, cauſed them to ſweare fealtie vnto his yong ſonne William, whome he then at his iournie betooke vnto the gouernance of earle Gilbert, and the defenſe of the gouernour vnto Henrie the French king. So Robert paſſing forth in his pilgrimage ſhewed in euerie place and in all points a magnanimitie and honour of a right noble prince, and pleaſant withall; who once in Turie not well at eaſe, in a litter was borne toward Jeruſalem vpon Saracens ſhoulders, & meeting with a ſubiect of his that was going home toward Normandie: Friend (quoth he) if my people at thy returne aſke after me, tell them that thou ſaweſt their lord carried to heauen by diuels. The Norman nobilitie during duke Roberts life, did their dutie to the yong prince faithfullie, but after they heard of his fathers death, they ſlackened apace, euerie one ſhifting for himſelfe as he liſt, without anie regard either of oth or obedience toward the pupill their ſouereigne. Whereby not manie yeres after, as Gilbert the gouernour, by Raſe the childes cooſine germane, was ſlaine; the dukedome anon, by murther and fighting among themſelues was ſore troubled in all parts. Thus much a little of duke Robert the father, and of prince

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ranulph. lib. 6. cap. 19.

Ran. li. 6. ca. 19.

Wil. Malm. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid.

Ran. ibid.

Wil. Mal. idem. Ran. idem.

Ye muſt note that there was one Richard duke of Normandie before Rollo.

prince William his ſonne for part of his tender yéeres.

A notable aduertiſement touching the *ſumme of all the foreſaid hiſtorie, wherin* the foure great and notable conqueſts *of this land are briefly touched, being a concluſion introductorie, as is ſaid in the argument.*

Britaine inhabited by Brute.

IN the former part of this hiſtorie it is manifeſt to the heedfull reader, that (after the opinion of moſt writers) Brute did firſt inhabit this land, and called it then after his owne name, Britaine, in the yéere after the creation of the world 2855, and in the yéere before the incarnation of Chriſt 1108. ¶ Furthermore, the ſaid land of Britaine was conquered by C. Julius Ceſar, and made tributarie to the Romans in the 50 yéere before the natiuitie of Chriſt, and ſo continued 483 yéeres. So that the Britains reigned without tribute and vnder tribute, from Brute, vntill the fourth yéere of the reigne of king Cadwallador, which was in the yéere of our Lord 686. And ſo the Britains had continuance of the gouernement of this land the ſpace of 1794 yéeres. Then was the realme of Britaine an heptarchie, that is, diuided into ſeuen kingdoms. And Britaine receiued the faith of Chriſt in the 7 yéere of the reigne of king Lucius, which was in the 187 yéere after the birth of Chriſt. ¶ Next after the Britains entered the Saxons, in the third yéere of king Voztiger; and in the yéere of our Lord 450; and they gouerned vntill the laſt yéere of king Athelſtane, which was in the yéere of Chriſt 938. So that the time of the Saxons firſt entrance into this realme, and the time of their regiment was the ſpace of 487 yéeres. ¶ Howbeit, in the time of their gouernement, that is to ſay, in the 9 yéere of king Britricus, which was in the yéere of our Lord 787, the Danes entred into this land, ſpoiling and perſecuting the people therin moſt grieuouſlie. At the laſt, Sweno or Swaine the Dane obteined poſſeſſion roiall, in the yéere of Grace 1012, whoſe time of regiment laſted about three yéeres. After whom his ſonne Canutus ſucceeded, and reigned 19 yéeres. After him Harold his ſonne, who ruled three yeeres: and after him Hardicnute the ſonne of Canutus, whoſe gouernement continued but three yéeres. This Hardicnute was the laſt king of the Danes, at which time the Danes were expelled and hunted out of the realme, which was in the yéere of our Lord 1042. So that it may appeare by this collection, that the Danes ruled as kings in this land by the ſpace of 28 yéeres. Hereby alſo it is euident, that from the time of the firſt entrance of the Danes into this realme, vntill their laſt expulſion & riddance, was 255 yéeres. ¶ Finallie the Normans entred this land likewiſe, and conquered the ſame as before is expreſſed, in the yéere of our Lord 1067, which is ſince, vntill this preſent yéere of our Lord 1585, drawing néere to the number of 600 and od yéeres.

3 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Danes.

4 Britaine conquered and poſſeſſed by the Normans.

Now let theſe alterations of regiments be remembred [touching the which read a notable animaduerſion in the deſcription of Britaine, pag. 28, 29] and teach vs that therein the iudgements of God reuealed themſelues to ſpeciall purpoſes. And what ſoeuer hath béene mentioned before, either concerning the ſubuerſion of people, the deſolation of prouinces, the ouerthrow of nobles, the ruine of princes, and other lamentable accidents diuerſlie happening vpon ſundrie occaſions: let vs (I ſay) as manie as will reape fruit by the reading of chronicles, imagine the matters which were ſo manie yéeres paſt to be preſent, and aplie the profit and commoditie of the ſame vnto our ſelues; knowing (as one wiſely ſaid) *Poſt ſacram paginam chronica vnum veritatis typum gerere*, that next vnto the holie ſcripture, chronicles do carie credit. But now to the ſequele, and firſt to duke William of Normandie.

2 Britaine conquered and ouercome by the Saxons.

Thus farre the hiſtorie of England from Noah and his ſonnes, &c: to William duke of Normandie. Hereafter followeth a chronologicall continuation beginning at the firſt yeere of the ſaid dukes reigne ouer this land, vntill the 25 yeere of the Queenes moſt excellent maieſtie Elizabeth, &c: whoſe daies God in mercie prolong (like the daies of heauen) in peace and proſperitie, &c.